



CENTENNIAL PUBLICATION

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of

THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

Edited by HARALD INGHOLT



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ERRATA

Page 66, ll. 5 and 7 from top: For "Brettiens" *read* "Bruttiens".

Page 66, l. 11 from top: For "PLANCHE VII, 7" *read* "PLANCHE VII, 4".

Page 67, l. 3 from bottom: For "Brettiens" *read* "Bruttiens".

Page 80, l. 12 from top: For "PLATE II, 10" *read* "PLATE IX, 10".

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FOREWORD

Born a century ago with no resources except hope and enthusiasm, our Society has now reached a great milestone in its career. It has today all the hope and enthusiasm with which it began life. It also has something more: its physical plant, its collections, its place among the world's learned societies,— all the result of the generosity, the vision and the wise service given by a long line of devoted members.

Many suggestions for the proper celebration of this anniversary were offered and considered. In 1908 when the Society first occupied its new home on Audubon Terrace, it inaugurated the Archer M. Huntington Medal "in Commemoration of the Fiftieth Anniversary of The American Numismatic Society." Copies of that medal have been awarded from time to time since then for distinguished service to numismatics. Another means of celebration seemed desirable today, the publication of two special volumes, one a history of the Society, the other this collection of short papers covering the entire range of numismatic interest.

This particular volume brings together articles contributed by friends throughout the world. Their papers will, we believe, be a permanent memorial to the anniversary which they and we now commemorate.

LOUIS C. WEST

President

The American Numismatic Society

EDITOR'S NOTE

The Council of the Society at its meeting of April 15, 1955, entrusted the preparation of the publication marking the Society's Centennial to a committee composed of Caspar J. Kraemer, Jr., Professor, New York University, George C. Miles, Chief Curator, Sawyer McA. Mosser, Executive Director, and Louis C. West, President of the Society, and myself.

With the work now coming to a close I want to express my thanks to Miss Rose E. Mangini and to Miss Vivian D. Kline of the Society's clerical staff for the care with which they have read the proofs. For valuable advice freely given I am deeply grateful to my colleagues on the committee, especially to Mr. Mosser who not only gave me the benefit of his wide experience in numismatic publications, but also temporarily took over for me last summer when I was excavating in the Near East. Finally, may I humbly express the hope that the *Tyche* of Numismatics may have so guided the reading of the page proofs that mistakes will be found to be neither too numerous, nor too serious.

HARALD INGHOLT
Centennial Publication

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ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
<i>AJN</i>	<i>American Journal of Numismatics</i>
<i>AJP</i>	<i>American Journal of Philology</i>
<i>ANS</i>	<i>American Numismatic Society</i>
<i>ANSMN</i>	<i>American Numismatic Society Museum Notes</i>
Babelon, <i>Traité</i>	Babelon, <i>Traité des monnaies grecques et romaines</i>
<i>BCH</i>	<i>Bulletin de correspondance hellénique</i>
<i>BMC</i>	<i>British Museum Catalogue</i> . Individual volumes quoted deal with Greek, Byzantine, Vandal, Indian, or Anglo-Saxon coins.
<i>BMCRE</i>	<i>Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum</i>
<i>BMCR</i>	<i>Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum</i>
<i>BNJ</i>	<i>British Numismatic Journal</i>
<i>BSFN</i>	<i>Bulletin de la Société Française de Numismatique</i>
<i>BZ</i>	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>CAH</i>	<i>Cambridge Ancient History</i>
<i>CIL</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i>
<i>CRAI</i>	<i>Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres</i>
<i>ESM</i>	Newell, <i>The Coinage of the Eastern Seleucid Mints</i>
<i>HN²</i>	Head, <i>Historia Numorum</i> , 2. edition
<i>IG</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i>
<i>ILS</i>	Dessau, <i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i>
<i>JDAI</i>	<i>Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts</i>

<i>JHS</i>	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
<i>JIAN</i>	<i>Journal international d'archéologie numismatique</i>
<i>JNG</i>	<i>Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte</i>
<i>JRS</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
<i>MBNG</i>	<i>Mitteilungen der Bayerischen Numismatischen Gesellschaft</i>
<i>MGH</i>	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica</i>
<i>NC</i>	<i>Numismatic Chronicle</i>
<i>NNM</i>	<i>Numismatic Notes and Monographs</i>
<i>NZ</i>	<i>Numismatische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>RBN</i>	<i>Revue belge de numismatique</i>
<i>RE</i>	Pauly-Wissowa, <i>Real-Encyclopädie</i>
<i>REA</i>	<i>Revue des études anciennes</i>
<i>REG</i>	<i>Revue des études grecques</i>
<i>Rev.Arch.</i>	<i>Revue archéologique</i>
<i>Rev.Phil.</i>	<i>Revue de philologie</i>
<i>RIC</i>	Mattingly and Sydenham, <i>Roman Imperial Coinage</i>
<i>RIN</i>	<i>Rivista italiana di numismatica</i>
<i>RN</i>	<i>Revue numismatique française</i>
<i>RSN</i>	<i>Revue suisse de numismatique</i>
<i>SHA</i>	<i>Scriptores Historiae Augustae</i>
<i>SIG</i>	Dittenberger, <i>Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum</i>
<i>SNG</i>	<i>Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum</i>
<i>WSM</i>	Newell, <i>The Coinage of the Western Seleucid Mints</i>
<i>ZDMG</i>	<i>Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>
<i>ZfN</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Numismatik</i>

SILVER CURRENCY AND VALUES IN THE EARLY BYZANTINE EMPIRE

HOWARD L. ADELSON

Probably about the year 292 or 293, Diocletian and his colleagues began striking good silver coins of 1/96th of a Roman pound (3.41 grammes). The *terminus ante quem* is determined by the obverse legends on some of the coins which appear to be struck in this standard, and the weight is clearly indicated by the mark XCVI which is found on other coins of this standard.¹ The average weight of 560 coins weighing between 1.9 and 4.4 grammes is 3.09 grammes with the best preserved specimens varying between 3.2 grammes, the mode of the frequency curve, and

¹ Theodor E. Mommsen, *Histoire de la monnaie romaine*, trans. Duc de Blacas (Paris, 1873-4), III, p. 73, n. 2, hereafter cited as Mommsen-Blacas. Some silver pieces of Carausius of the period 287-293 were struck on the same standard. Karl Pink, "Die Silberprägung der Diocletianischen Tetrarchie," *NZ*, Neue Folge, XXIII (1930), p. 38, argues in favor of 293 A.D. Otto Seeck, "Die Münzpolitik Diocletians und seiner Nachfolger," *ZfN*, XVII (1890), p. 61, suggests that it is possible that the new silver coin was introduced in 286 A.D. at the same time as the aureus of 1/60th of a pound. On the mark of value and the literature explaining it see E. Babelon, *Traité des monnaies grecques et romaines* (Paris, 1901), I, pt. I, col. 565, n. 2, hereafter cited as Babelon, *Traité*, and Mommsen-Blacas, III, p. 74, n. 2. Cf. C. H. V. Sutherland, "Flexibility in the 'Reformed' Coinage of Diocletian," in R. A. G. Carson and C. H. V. Sutherland, *Essays in Roman Coinage Presented to Harold Mattingly* (Oxford, 1956), pp. 175-6. C. H. V. Sutherland, "Diocletian's Reform of the Coinage: A Chronological Note," *JRS*, XLV (1955), pp. 116-8, dates the silver reform, at least at Treveri, to 294 A.D.

3.4 grammes.² Thus the difference between the average weight and the theoretical weight is only about eleven percent.

These new silver coins differ in alloy from those of the third century. The Romans were fully capable of obtaining virtually pure silver from the ores at their disposal, and this they did for many purposes.³ In the *Life of St. Theodore of Sykeon* there is mention of a chalice and paten of silver bearing a five-fold stamp of purity. These objects were purchased in Constantinople and brought to the Saint. In answer to the prayers of the Saint, who thought them to be of unholy origin, they turned black before they were used in the church. Further investigation revealed that they came from an improper source and were therefore not fit for use in the Divine service.⁴ This five-fold stamp of purity was probably of the same variety as that found on several ingots bearing notations such as PRI(S)CI TR PS. PI. which Evans has expanded as *Prisci(anus) Tr(everorum) p(u)s(ulati) p(ondo) u(num)*.⁵ It was silver of this sort which was used in the new currency, and one estimate of the fineness of the coined metal places it at over 98% pure.⁶

The usurping British Emperor Carausius had, in fact, begun to strike fine silver currency at a standard of about 1/50th of a pound, but even his coinage contained some plated pieces while the main body of third century silver was quite base. Diocletian's new silver issues were of fine silver, and his successors continued to

² Gunnar Mickwitz, "Die Systeme des römischen Silbergeldes im IV. Jhdt. n. Chr.: Ein Beispiel zum Anwendung der variationsstatistischen Methode in der Numismatik," *Societas Scientiarum Fennica (Finska Vetenskaps Societeten), Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum*, VI, 2, p. 42, hereafter cited as Mickwitz, *Die Systeme*. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 51ff.

³ On the refining methods see J. and L. Sabatier, *Production de l'or, de l'argent et du cuivre chez les anciens et hôtels monétaires des empires romain et byzantin* (St. Petersburg, Paris, and London, 1850), pp. 47-9. Cf. J. Hammer, "Der Feingehalt der griechischen und römischen Münzen," *ZfN*, Neue Folge, XXVI (1926), p. 11, and R. J. Forbes, *Metallurgy in Antiquity. A Notebook for Archaeologists and Technologists* (Leiden, 1950), pp. 169-231, as well as R. J. Forbes, "Metallurgy", in⁵ S. Singer et al., *A History of Technology* (Oxford, 1956), II, p. 42, notes 1, 2 and 3, and pp. 43-45. In my own article ("The Bronze Alloys of the Later Roman Empire," *ANSMN*, VI (1954), pp. 111-129, and esp. p. 121) I have shown that after the mid-fourth century great care was taken to remove all of the silver from the ores used for the bronze coinage.

⁴ *Life of St. Theod. of Sykeon*, in E. Dawes and N. H. Baynes, *Three Byzantine Saints. Contemporary Biographies Translated from the Greek* (Oxford, 1948), pp. 117-8.

⁵ A. Evans, "Notes on Coinage and Silver Currency in Roman Britain from Valentinian I to Constantine III," *NC*⁴, XV (1915), pp. 494ff.

⁶ A. von Rauch, "Über die römischen Silbermünzen und den innern Werth derselben. Ein Beitrag zu den ältern metrologischen Untersuchungen," *Mitteilungen der Numismatischen Gesellschaft in Berlin*, III (1857), p. 307. Hammer, "Der Feingehalt der griechischen und römischen Münzen," *ZfN*, Neue Folge, XXVI (1926), pp. 109f., lists a series of analyses of coins of this period.

strike good silver.⁷ The XCVI coin was in fact a restoration of the Neronian denarius, and though the average weight of the fourth century coins is slightly below that of the denarius both were meant to be 1/96th of a pound of pure silver.⁸ This is important because the Germanic tribes outside of the Empire had continued to use the Neronian coin as currency during the third century. The new silver piece was the first struck since Septimius Severus which was also used by the free barbarians.⁹

In the period from the abdication of Diocletian (305 A.D.) until about 330 A.D. there is surprisingly little evidence of silver minting.¹⁰ In this same period, however, a new coin which was one-half the restored XCVI piece in weight was introduced, but the new coin of 1/192nd of a pound of silver is relatively rare. During the reign of Constantine further additions were also made to the monetary system in the form of heavy silver coins of 1/72nd and 1/60th of a pound.¹¹ The date of the introduction of these coins is uncertain, but 324 A.D. has been suggested as the most likely date because large coins are customarily viewed as commemorative issues or for use in the distribution of largesses, and the final defeat of Licinius in that year provides a satisfactory motive for minting them.¹²

These are the basic silver coins of the early fourth century, and the changes that they underwent may be briefly recorded. Both heavy pieces were consistently struck by the later emperors of the fourth century save for Julian, who minted only the lighter of the two.¹³ The smallest coin, that of 1/192nd of a pound,

⁷ Mommsen-Blacas, III, pp. 88-9, 91-2, and esp. p. 91, n. 4, where the point is explicitly made that plated coins were not accepted as silver. Thus in the *aes* hoard of Wroxeter a plated coin was found which was obviously circulating as a bronze piece. Cf. J. Maurice, *Numismatique constantinienne. Iconographie et chronologie, description historique des émissions monétaires* (Paris, 1908-12), I, pp. 397-8.

⁸ Mickwitz, *Die Systeme*, p. 43, presents a frequency curve of 278 Neronian denarii with a mean weight of 3.27 grammes.

⁹ Mommsen-Blacas, III, pp. 121, 132. In the first century the Germans had a manifest preference for silver as opposed to gold. Tacitus, *Germania*, V.

¹⁰ H. Mattingly, *Roman Coins from the Earliest Times to the Fall of the Western Empire* (London, 1928), p. 222, n. 1; Maurice, *Numismatique constantinienne*, I, p. xxxviii.

¹¹ See the tables based on F. Gnechi, *I Medaglioni Romani*, I (Milan, 1912), given by G. Dattari, "Del Miliarense e della Siliqua nell'Epoca Costantiniana," *RIN*, XXXI (1918), pp. 209 ff.

¹² Maurice, *op. cit.*, I, p. xxxvii. Cf. Mickwitz, *Die Systeme*, pp. 6, 31, and 61-3, who suggests that a series of 1/66th of a pound also existed. Coins at 1/72nd of a pound can be distinguished from those of 1/60th of a pound, but pieces of 1/66th of a pound would be virtually indistinguishable from those at 1/72nd and at 1/60th of a pound.

¹³ Mommsen-Blacas, III, pp. 72-3; Mickwitz, *Die Systeme*, pp. 6 and 32. Cf. H. A. Grueber, "The Southsea Find of Fourth Century Coins," *NC*⁶, XVI (1936), pp. 293-303.

was struck as late as the reign of Constantius II, but it was not issued afterwards.¹⁴

The most important change in the fourth century silver coinage is the replacement of the piece of 1/96th of a pound by a coin of approximately 1/144th of a pound. Coins of the period 337–361 A.D., when plotted on a frequency curve, show a lack of definite peaks, which fact is directly attributable to a change of standards.¹⁵ Maurice, who had been influenced by the work of Mommsen, believed that at the latest by the year 324 a new coin was introduced.¹⁶ Mattingly has stated that at some time about the year 348 the new coin of 1/144th of a pound was introduced.¹⁷ Actually Mommsen noted that the coin of 1/96th of a pound disappeared only during the second half of the fourth century. Most of the coins of Constantius II and those of Julian as Caesar, and even some of his as Augustus, are of this standard, but about the year 360 A.D. the coin of 1/144th of a pound replaced the older one.¹⁸

The average weight of the new coins, as is to be expected, was low. The 261 coins minted in Treves from the Growely Wood hoard and the British Museum Collection showed an average weight of only 1.93 grammes, but it must be remembered that the average weight of coins is generally below the theoretical weight and the coefficient of variation in this instance is 12.85. It is therefore quite safe to postulate a theoretical weight of 1/144th of a pound, *ca.* 2.27 grammes, for these pieces.¹⁹ Thus the new coin would be in an exact weight relationship of 2:1 with the commonest heavy piece, that of 1/72nd of a pound. The new coin, as compared with the earlier one of 1/96th of a pound, is quite common, and its variation from the theoretical weight is not much greater (fifteen percent).

¹⁴ Mommsen-Blacas, III, p. 73; Mickwitz, *Die Systeme*, pp. 7 and 60.

¹⁵ L. C. West and A. C. Johnson, *Currency in Roman and Byzantine Egypt* (Princeton, 1944), p. 180, *infra*.

¹⁶ Maurice, *Num. const.*, I, p. cxxxi; Mommsen-Blacas, III, pp. 76–7.

¹⁷ Mattingly, *Roman Coins*, p. 223, places the change early in the reign of the sons of Constantine the Great. Mattingly, "The Monetary Systems of the Roman Empire from Diocletian to Theodosius I," *NC*⁶, VI (1946), p. 116, gives the year of this change as 348 A.D., when the 1,100th year since the foundation of Rome occurred.

¹⁸ Mommsen-Blacas, III, pp. 73–7. *Ibid.*, III, p. 79, n. 2, mentions the fact that it cannot be mere chance that the Holwel silver hoard as well as others are generally confined either to coins struck before 360 or to coins issued after 360. Mickwitz, *Die Systeme*, pp. 60–1, has since confirmed this. Cf. Seeck, "Die Münzpolitik Diocletians und seiner Nachfolger," *ZfN*, XVII (1890), p. 66.

¹⁹ Mickwitz, *Die Systeme*, pp. 61–3. *Ibid.*, p. 13, argues against this. Cf. Mommsen-Blacas, III, p. 77.

There may perhaps be a reminder of the introduction of this new reduced denomination in the story of the mutinous uproar in the army after the siege of Pirisobora (363 A.D.). Julian promised to each soldier *argenteos nummos centenos*. If paid in the new coin this would amount to quite a bit less than if paid in the old 1/96th of a pound coinage. The soldiers, in any event, thought that it was a small sum, and they voiced their opposition. There is no way of proving which coins are meant, but since the date of the event is after 360, it would seem as though the new denomination was signified.²⁰

For some time after the reign of Julian this coin of 1/144th of a pound remained the principal silver denomination. The slow decline in the effective weight of the coin during the period to the reign of Honorius was not sufficient in magnitude in the larger hoards, such as that of North Mendip, to be of any real significance. It is only some time about the years 392–397 A.D. that a sharp drop in the weight of the coinage occurs. The new pieces issued after that date weighed approximately 1.3 grammes. These new coins are in direct continuation in the hoards of the 1.9 gramme pieces. Indeed, the evidence of the clipping of the older coinage to the new size is quite manifest, and it seems probable that the new coin was not an addition to the monetary system but a replacement of the older piece. In the period from Honorius to Anastasius, which encompasses the entire fifth century, this reduced silver denomination was virtually the only silver coin in existence. There are to be sure, some coins that appear to weigh over two grammes, but their number is so limited that the fifth century is as bleak a period in silver currency as it is in dated papyri.²¹

The heavy silver coins of 1/72nd and 1/60th of a pound and even larger continued through the fourth century, but in 384 A.D. a law of Theodosius and Valentinian prohibited those who gave the public games from distributing a coin heavier than 1/60th of a pound.²² After that date the large medallions which had

²⁰ Amm. Marc., XXIV, 3, 3. Cf. Zosimus, III, 18. Babelon, *Traité*, I, pt. I, col. 566, felt that the older coins of 1/96th of a pound were meant. If these older coins are siliquae then the largess was 4 1/6 solidi per soldier. Mommsen-Blacas, III, p. 72, *infra*, felt that only siliquae could have been meant. Cf. W. Kubitschek, "Der Übergang von der vordiakletianischen Währung ins IV. Jahrh. Randbemerkungen zu Schriften von G. Mickwitz," *BZ*, XXXV (1935), p. 342, who suggests that the miliarensis, a heavier coin, is meant. The miliarensis was certainly the coin commonly used for largesses, but the value of 100 miliarenses must have been about seven or eight solidi and could not have aroused complaints regarding the paucity of the gift.

²¹ Mickwitz, *Die Systeme*, pp. 15–9 and 61–3, is the source for the information in this paragraph.

²² *C. Th.*, XV, 9, 1.

survived the reform of about 360 A.D. became extremely rare. The fifth century presented a black picture with the absence of heavy silver pieces.

The economic revival which followed the end of the first onslaught of the barbarians began during the reign of Anastasius (491–518), who reformed the bronze coinage. During his reign silver coinage was still extremely rare, and it was only during the reign of Justin I that the quantity of silver issued from the imperial mints began to rise appreciably. The various denominations, however, cannot be determined because of an insufficiency of weights until the reign of Justinian I, who, in addition to heavy coins of 1/72nd of a pound, struck some light coins (below two grammes) marked CN, PKE, and PK. This series, which was struck only in Italy, was continued by Justin II, but it seems to have come to an end before the accession of Tiberius Constantine. The weights of these coins are too few in number to establish very meaningful curves. It is not at all improbable, however, on the basis of the recorded weights for these coins that those marked CN (250 units) were struck on a standard of 1/288th of a pound, and that those marked PKE (125 units) and PK (120 units) were meant to be roughly one-half as heavy. There is also a series of small silver coins of approximately the same standard as the CN and PKE pieces, but without marks of value, that was issued in Carthage and Ravenna during the period from Justinian's reign to that of Heraclius. This short-lived revival under Justinian and Justin II, which was followed by a period of small irregular silver coinage issued in very limited quantities, was only relieved by the Heraclian reforms.²³

²³ The known weights and sources of the CN, PKE, and PK pieces are collected by Mickwitz, *Die Systeme*, p. 19, n. 3. Babelon, *Traité*, I, pt. I, col. 579, gives some silver weights for the reigns of Anastasius and Justin I, but actually very few coins of these rulers are known, certainly not enough to identify the standard. It is most likely that the revival of the economic life of the Empire began in the reign of Anastasius, and that the reigns of Justin I and Justinian are to be accounted as a unit during which the revival reached its peak. Cf. W. Wroth, *BMC, Vandals*, pp. xlix, and 120–1, who classifies the small coins bearing marks of value and the name of Justin as being derived from the reign of Justin II. W. Wroth, *BMC, Byz.*, I, p. lxxvi, gives a list of the weights of silver coins without marks of value from the reign of Anastasius through the remainder of Byzantine silver coinage. Babelon, *Traité*, I, pt. I, cols. 570–1, lists some coins of 1/72nd of a pound beginning with the reign of Zeno. Mickwitz, *Die Systeme*, p. 31, lists the weights of thirteen coins of this series from the reign of Zeno through that of Justinian.

CHART I*

Standard	Theoretical Wt. in grs.	PERIOD AT WHICH THE COINS WERE ISSUED								
		292- 305	305- 337	337- 361	361- 363	363- 393	393- 450	450- 518	518- 565	565- 610
576	0.568								{PK PKE CN	X X
288	1.14									
192	1.71		X	X			X	X		
144	2.27			X	X	X				
96	3.41	X	X	X						
72	4.55		X	X	X	X		X	X	
60	5.46		X	X		X				

* This chart is a somewhat revised and expanded version of one found in West and Johnson, *Currency in Roman and Byzantine Egypt*, p. 106. Such charts are the simplest way of keeping track of what coins were issued during the different periods.

In determining the gold-silver ratio during the early Byzantine period we are fortunate in having the review article by West in which most of the earlier views and almost all of the sources are discussed and summarized. There is no point in reproducing this work, but it would be well to summarize very briefly West's results and to add a short discussion of one or two of the sources omitted by him.²⁴

West has concluded from his study of the sources, as they were known in 1941, that only three texts furnish a true indication of the gold-silver ratio. To these three given by West three more that seem to be of almost equal value can now be added. The complete list of six notices, counting *C. Th.*, XIII, 2, 1, as distinct from *C. Just.*, X, 78, 1, because there are intervening notices of different ratios, is as follows:

CHART II

Source	Date	Ratio
SB 6086	early IV cent.	1:18
P. Oslo 162*	IV cent.	1:14.4
<i>C. Th.</i> , XIII, 2, 1	397 A.D.	1:14.4
<i>C.I.L.</i> , V, 8734*	ca. 400 A.D.	1:15
<i>C. Th.</i> , VIII, 4, 27	422 A.D.	1:18
<i>C. Just.</i> , X, 78, 1*	534 A.D.	1:14.4

* The asterisk indicates that this source was omitted by West.

²⁴ L. C. West, "The Roman Gold Standard and the Ancient Sources," *AJP*, LXII (1941), pp. 289-301.

West has quite properly omitted the passage in Ammianus Marcellinus recording that Julian gave a donative of five solidi and one pound of silver to each soldier. Since this passage is often quoted, however, it would perhaps be best to undertake to demonstrate the correctness of omitting it from any discussion of the gold-silver ratio.

Mommsen quoted this passage in his work and then stated that the two sums were equivalent and showed a gold-silver ratio of 1:14.4.²⁵ The passage itself merely says *quinos omnibus aureos, argentique singula pondo promisit*.²⁶ There is no indication that the two sums are equivalent. Later scholars, however, such as Sabatier and Kubitschek, to cite only one earlier and one later numismatist, have accepted Mommsen's point of view.²⁷ Segrè has said of this passage that it "is doubtless a very unusual donativum," and one which he reckoned at about twenty solidi.²⁸ There is absolutely no reason for this assumption. Ammianus Marcellinus himself indicates that the *donativa* on the election of an emperor were fixed.²⁹ The sources show that there was a custom of distributing five solidi and a pound of silver to each of the soldiers on the election of a new emperor. Leo I, in 457 A.D., Leo II, in 473 A.D., Anastasius I, in 491 A.D., and Justin I, in 518 A.D., all gave the same donative.³⁰ In the case of Leo I our information is derived from a late ceremonial guide, and Bury comments, "This description is taken from an evidently contemporary document preserved in Constantine Porph. *De ceremoniis*, I, c. 91 [ed. Bonn, p. 412]. There can, I think, be little doubt that Constantine found it in the ceremonial book (κατάστασις) compiled by Peter the Patrician in the sixth century, from which we know that he derived other accounts of early ceremonies (see *ib.* cc. 84, 85)."³¹ Ceremonies of the type

²⁵ Mommsen-Blacas, III, p. 155.

²⁶ Amm. Marc., XX, 4, 18.

²⁷ J. Sabatier, *Description générale des monnaies byzantines frappées sous les empereurs d'Orient depuis Arcadius jusqu'à la prise de Constantinople par Mahomet II*, I (Paris, 1862), p. 50; Kubitschek, *BZ*, XXXV (1935), p. 348.

²⁸ A. Segrè, "Essays on Byzantine Economic History. I: The *Annona Civica* and the *Annona Militaris*," *Byzantion*, XVI (1942-3), p. 413.

²⁹ Amm. Marc., XXVI, 2, 10, on the election of Valentinian I, says, "*ob nuncupationem augustam debita protinus accepturi*."

³⁰ J. B. Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire from the Death of Theodosius to the Death of Justinian (A.D. 395 to A.D. 565)* (London, 1931), I, pp. 316, 431-2; II, p. 17.

³¹ *Ibid.*, I, p. 316, n. 2. Cf. the note in the Bonn edition of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Caerimoniis*, II, p. 415. The passages are to be found in *De Caerimoniis* (ed. Bonn), p. 412 (Leo I); p. 432 (Leo II); pp. 424-5 (Anastasius); p. 429 (Justin I).

that are written down in books of that order are not likely to respond to changes in the relative values of silver and gold. At one time the ratio of silver and gold may have been expressed in this gift, but there is no way of proving that such was the case during the reign of Julian, and the passage should certainly not be used as evidence in that connection. The custom of granting five gold pieces (solidi) to every soldier on every fourth year was enshrined in a law which was abrogated by Justinian.³² Possibly the addition of a pound of silver to this donative merely indicated the commencement of a new reign. Certainly the accession of Tiberius II Constantine in 578 was marked by a donative of nine solidi and no silver, which would seem to indicate that the pound of silver had been replaced by four solidi which may have been its equivalent in gold.³³ If that were so the gold-silver ratio in 578 A.D. would have been 1:18.

The six acceptable quotations of the gold-silver ratio deserve a moment's consideration. The dating of SB 6086 has presented a problem for many scholars because the papyrus itself is undated. The dating of Mickwitz, which places the document as post 324 A.D. but definitely in the early part of the fourth century, seems worthy of acceptance.³⁴ The ratio of 1:18 which is given in SB 6086 is given in another instance which will be discussed later.

P. Oslo 162 cannot be dated closer than the fourth century. It records the purchase of one pound of silver bullion (μνάς) for five solidi. Both SB 6086 and P. Oslo 162 deal in terms of metal weights and what appears to be silver bullion. The ratio of P. Oslo 162 is confirmed by that of *C. Th.*, XIII, 2, 1, of 397 A.D. That is to say that a ratio of 1:14.4 was in use in the latter half of the fourth century. Mickwitz has suggested that this might be only a temporary ratio caused by an unusual export of gold which was forbidden by a law of 374(?).³⁵ West, in

³² Procopius, *Anecdota*, XXIV, 27-9.

³³ Ed. E. W. Brooks, *Iohannis Ephesini Historiae Ecclesiastici Pars Tertia*, lib. III, c. xi, which is vol. 55 of the *Scriptores Syri = Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* (Louvain, 1952), vol. 106, p. 101. Cf. R. Payne Smith, *The Third Part of the Ecclesiastical History of John Bishop of Ephesus Now Translated from the Original Syriac* (Oxford, 1860), p. 186, for a somewhat different translation than that of Brooks. This donative, which was given on accession to the throne, was apparently called the *Augustaticum*.

³⁴ Mickwitz, *Die Systeme*, pp. 7ff. He gives a full exposition of his reasoning there. Also see West and Johnson, *Currency in Roman and Byzantine Egypt*, pp. 185-6. J. G. Milne, "On P. Oslo 83 and the Depreciation of Currency," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, XXIII, pt. 2, pp. 258-9, and L. C. West, *Gold and Silver Standards in the Roman Empire*, *NNM*, No. 94 (New York, 1941), p. 187, n. 394, quite properly reject the use of P. Oslo 83 which is often cited to determine the gold-silver ratio.

³⁵ Mickwitz, *Die Systeme*, p. 19, n. 1; *C. Just.*, IV, 63, 2.

his article, refutes this by referring to the some twenty year time lag between the law of 374 and that of 397. It can be shown that the Romans had a bullionist approach to economics, and this law of 374 A.D. may have been nothing more than a measure in that direction. It need not refer to a specific export of gold and a consequent shortage.

The bullionist approach to economics on the part of the Romans is patent. It was with a view to freeing the Empire from economic dependence upon Persia that Justinian sought direct routes, or routes through the lands of other peoples than the Sassanians, to the East.³⁶ The organization of the silk monopoly and the price regulations for the import of that commodity illustrate the fact that the motive of Justinian in attempting to secure routes to the East, which lay to the north and to the south of Persia, was not only to ensure the continued access to eastern luxuries during the periods of strife with Persia, but also to prevent the Persians from making a profit on Roman trade. The history of Roman sumptuary legislation from the days of the Republic to those of Justinian indicates this bullionist view of governmental wealth and power. Many examples may be cited to prove this, but it is sufficient to note that Tiberius in the course of his letter to the Senate advocating stringent sumptuary legislation speaks of the purchase of luxuries which divert the wealth of Rome to strange and hostile nations.³⁷ More important, however, is the fact that the text of *C. Th.*, XIII, 2, 1, is repeated in exactly the same words in the Justinian Code.³⁸ This would seem to indicate that the same ratio adhered in 534 that had existed in 397 A.D.

Silver values, however, must have been falling towards the end of the fourth century, if Mommsen's expansion of the abbreviations in *CIL*, V, 8734 is accepted. The inscription contains the line SOL XX VIΛ L, which is expanded as *sol(idos) XX v(el) i(n) a(rgento) u(ncias) L*. Mickwitz accepts this expansion, but Kubitschek rejects it.³⁹ Even if this expansion is rejected it can still be shown quite certainly that silver values fell, for in the year 422 there was issued the decree preserved in the Theodosian Code which grants the right of paying the *sportulae* to the *duces* of the *primipilares* in the form of either one pound of silver

³⁶ A. A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire* (Madison, 1928), pp. 199 and 203 ff.

³⁷ Tacitus, *Annals*, III, 53. Justinian refused permission to the grandmother of John the son of Basilius to ransom him from Chosroes for 2,000 pounds of silver because he did not wish Roman wealth to be transferred to the Persians. Procopius, *Anecdota*, XII, 8. Also see the speech of Julian after the mutiny at Pirisobora quoted in Amm. Marc., XXIV, 3, 4-5.

³⁸ *C. Just.*, X, 78, 1.

³⁹ Mickwitz, *Die Systeme*, p. 18, n. 3; Kubitschek, *BZ*, XXXV (1935), p. 348.

or four solidi.⁴⁰ The ratio of 1:14.4, which adhered in 397, was therefore replaced by that of 1:18. Mickwitz saw in this fact a change in the actual market price of silver, and he therefore attempted to refute the view that this edict referred exclusively to the case of the *sportulae* by citing the text of SB 6086 which shows the same ratio.⁴¹

In this discussion of the gold-silver ratio, in addition to those sources not accepted by West, the very many ratios set forth by secondary authors based upon the actual weights of the coins have been omitted because, quite obviously, those ratios would be based upon the theoretical weight of the non-fiduciary silver coins, and there would also have to be absolute certainty regarding the identification of the denominations of the coins. Some scanty references such as those for the expedition against the Vandals in 467 are also disregarded. John Lydus gives the cost of that expedition at 65,000 pounds of gold and 700,000 pounds of silver.⁴² Procopius gives the cost of this same expedition at 130,000 pounds of gold.⁴³ This yields a ratio of 1:10.7. The sources of these two statements are discussed by Bury, but their value from the standpoint of economic history of numismatics is questionable.⁴⁴ The figure obtained from this data cannot be confirmed from any other source, and one of the reports may well have been corrupted. The ratio, if correct, would be unusual. Even the statement of John Malalas that a general sent to Antioch just before the fall of that city to the Persians purchased silver from the inhabitants for two or three solidi per pound is not to be used in connection with establishing the mint ratio because it was a price peculiar to siege conditions.⁴⁵ Malalas, as a sixth century author, is probably truthful when speaking of nearly contemporary events such as the siege of Antioch, but this price would reflect the desire of the fleeing Antiochenes to replace their silver with less bulky gold. The general, on the other hand, could make use of the military transport, and, therefore, the price of silver would be depressed.

That the basic silver coin, the *siliqua*, cannot have been a mere unit of account or a fiduciary coin has been proved by Mickwitz.⁴⁶ Therefore it follows that the actual

⁴⁰ *C. Th.*, VIII, 4, 27.

⁴¹ Mickwitz, *Die Systeme*, pp. 17-8.

⁴² John Lydus, *De Magistratibus*, III, 43.

⁴³ Procopius, *Wars*, III, 5.

⁴⁴ Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire*, I, p. 337, n. 3.

⁴⁵ John Malalas, *Chronographia*, lib. XVIII, O 222 (ed. Bonn, p. 480).

⁴⁶ Mickwitz, *Die Systeme*, pp. 11 ff.; Mickwitz, "Geld und Wirtschaft im römischen Reich des vierten Jahrhunderts n. Chr.," *Societas Scientiarum Fennica (Finska Vetenskaps Societeten)*, *Commen-*

weight of the *siliqua* should vary inversely with the rise and fall of the value of silver, since it is clear that it is always 1/24th of the value of a *solidus*. Obviously, on the basis of the evidence regarding the gold-silver ratio, the rulers from Constantine to Heraclius did not succeed in maintaining the mint ratio established by Constantine when he created the *solidus* and valued a certain silver coin at 1/24th of it.

What has been said indicates that actually the silver currency formed part of a seemingly bimetallic monetary arrangement in which the government was most interested in the gold portion of the system. The legal relationship of the silver coins to the gold, i.e., the number of *siliquae* equal to a *solidus*, remained unchanged. Gresham's law should then have operated to cause silver to appear and to disappear from the market with regularity. The government might reduce the weight of the silver coin or raise it in order to counterbalance the effects of this law, but in the long run the arrangement could not operate successfully. The saving feature was that silver was unimportant in the Roman monetary system, and that the bronze was fiduciary. The Roman monetary system may actually be considered as monometallic in its important aspects, but a discussion of the silver series requires a clarification of the bimetallic aspect. The text of a law of 429 A.D. stipulating that the treasurer or tax collector had to accept either gold or silver without injustice in the matter of weights indicates that questionable practices involving Gresham's law were known to these officials.⁴⁷ Nevertheless consideration of this should be deferred until the identification of the various denominations is completed.

All earlier theories regarding the so-called money of account *siliqua* have been adequately treated by Mickwitz. Any account of the fourth century denominations must begin by pointing out that since Diocletian struck only one silver coin that coin was known as the *argenteus minutulus*, *argenteolus* or more simply *argenteus*.⁴⁸

tationes Humanarum Litterarum, IV, 2, pp. 21ff., hereafter cited as Mickwitz, *Geld und Wirtschaft*. Also see the arguments of L. Blancard, "Une millarés de Constantin à Héraclius," *RN*³, VI (1888), p. 428, for distinguishing between coined metal and bullion. This silver coinage, however, was of fine metal and would have been considered as bullion in transactions carried out by weight. P. Le Gentilhomme, "Le Monnayage et la circulation monétaire dans les royaumes barbares en Occident (V^e-VIII^e siècle)," *RN*⁵, VII (1943), pp. 51ff., does not accept the non-fiduciary character of this silver currency and argues strongly against accepting the views set forth by Mickwitz.

⁴⁷ *C. Just.*, X, 72, 15 = *C. Th.*, XII, 6, 32.

⁴⁸ Mommsen-Blacas, III, p. 81. Cf. P. Antinoopolis 38, of 301 A.D. where a pound of worked silver is priced at sixty-two denarii and a pound of cast silver at thirty-one denarii. Clearly the denarius was a unit of account.

Our knowledge of this term in connection with fourth century coinage is almost exclusively drawn from the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*. The histories of the various rulers included in that work were composed in the fourth century, but the events referred to are of the third century. The numismatic material contained in these histories has, however, been adequately treated by Menadier with regard to its date.⁴⁹ Only three quotations from this series of histories refer to the *argenteus minutulus*. Vopiscus speaks of a coin called an *argenteus philippeus minutulus*.⁵⁰ Aelius Lampridius mentions the reduction of the price of beef or pork from eight *minutuli* to two or even one *minutulus* in the reign of Alexander Severus.⁵¹

This argenteus was in common usage until the time of Julian the Apostate, but at some time prior to 323 Constantine changed its name to siliqua. It was then valued at 1/24th of a solidus. The *terminus ante quem* for the introduction of this term is furnished by an inscription from Feltre which uses the abbreviation SIL in speaking of coinage.⁵² The identification of the argenteus with the siliqua was first established by Mickwitz, who pointed out that the siliqua is known to have been 1/24th of a solidus, and the ratio of gold to silver *ca.* 324 A.D. to have been 1:18. The *siliqua auri* or 1/1728th of a pound of gold would thus be equal to 0.1895 grammes. If minted in silver at the above ratio the coin would weigh 3.4 grammes. This is exactly the theoretical weight of the argenteus of the years before 360.⁵³ Therefore in the period prior to 360 A.D. the argenteus-siliqua is the coin of 1/96th of a pound of silver. The light coin of 1/192nd of a pound, which was struck in the early fourth century, was obviously the half-argenteus or siliqua.⁵⁴

At some time after 355 A.D. the ratio of gold to silver changed. Silver rose in value. It must have risen much higher than a ratio of 1:14.4 would suggest, and it would seem from the weights of the new coins that the ratio should have been approximately 1:12. This would be about the ratio of the early empire in the period from Nero to Septimius Severus.

It is immediately evident that on this matter there is a divergence from the

⁴⁹ Menadier, "Die Münzen und das Münzwesen bei den Scriptores Historiae Augustae," *ZfN*, XXXI (1914), pp. iff.

⁵⁰ Vopiscus, *Vita Aureliani*, IX, 7; XII, 1.

⁵¹ Aelius Lampridius, *Vita Sev. Alex.*, XXII, 9. Cf. A. Evans, "Notes on Coinage and Silver Currency in Roman Britain from Valentinian I to Constantine III," *NC*⁴, XV (1915), pp. 476-7.

⁵² *ILS*, 9420.

⁵³ Mickwitz, *Die Systeme*, pp. 2-10.

⁵⁴ West and Johnson, *Currency in Roman and Byzantine Egypt*, p. 108; Mommsen-Blacas, III, p. 73.

system set forth by Mickwitz. Mickwitz has proposed to see a drop in silver values to the ratio of 1:20 at this point and then to identify the 1.9 gramme coin as the half-siliqua.⁵⁵ The error in this identification is twofold. Firstly, Mickwitz used the average weights of the coins introduced after 360 instead of the theoretical weight, and, as a result, he made an error in calculating the gold-silver ratio. On the basis of the theoretical weight of the coin (2.27 grammes), if it were a half-siliqua, the ratio would be 1:23 or 1:24 and not 1:20. The second error made by Mickwitz was to base his identification of the coin on the fact that one gold-silver ratio rather than another seemed closer to the recorded fourth century range of mint ratios which is 1:14.4–1:18. This last error was aggravated by his mistaken use of the average weight of the coin. In addition it should be noted that our earliest notice of the half-siliqua comes from the fifth century (*Nov. Valent.*, XV, 1, 1 (444/5)) when the 1.14 gramme coin (1/288th of a pound) was the common one.

If the mint ratio was, as we suggest, 1:12 about the year 361 A.D., then the siliqua would have a theoretical weight of 2.27 grammes which fits the new coinage of Julian most admirably. This new coin which replaced the piece of 1/96th of a pound was struck a 1/144th of a pound.⁵⁶ Possibly Julian returned to the early empire mint ratio as part of his program of reviving the ideals and practices of that period, or perhaps he had an economic or financial motive in mind.

The next notice of a changed gold-silver ratio is of the year 397 A.D. In that year the mint ratio was specified as 1:14.4. The theoretical weight of the siliqua was then 2.73 grammes. The drop in silver values made the old siliqua too light to serve its purpose. The new coin of *ca.* 1.3 grammes, however, which replaced the siliqua, will serve admirably as the half-siliqua. This portion of the exposition of fourth century silver coinage, it will be seen, does not follow Mickwitz in viewing this coin of 1.3 grammes as the reduced weight of the same denomination as the 1.9 gramme piece.

The drop in silver values continued, and at one point in the early fifth century the market ratio may have been 1:15. By the year 422 the mint ratio was certainly 1:18. This meant that the half-siliqua was now too light, and that it would not find general acceptance. The result was that though the half-siliqua was

⁵⁵ Mickwitz, *Die Systeme*, pp. 14–5, 31–2.

⁵⁶ Mattingly, "The Monetary Systems of the Roman Empire from Diocletian to Theodosius I," *NC*⁶, VI (1946), p. 116, would also view the new coin as a siliqua. This change of standards put the siliqua in the ratio of 2:1 with the miliarensis of 1/72nd of a pound which was the most common of the large silver pieces.

mentioned in two legal texts of the mid-fifth century, the government had ceased to issue silver coinage in any quantity.⁵⁷ During the period when significant quantities of it were issued, however, the half-silique was also known as the *nummus decargyrus*. This identification rests upon the fact that in the only text mentioning this term the exchange of bronze coins for others is treated. These other coins must have been silver.⁵⁸

Smaller coins of a quarter of a silique were also minted. No silver coins of less than the half-silique except the quarter-silique are known from the literary sources, and it is improper to presume that they existed.⁵⁹ These quarter-silique coins are so small, and the weights vary so widely in view of their size, that it is unsafe to attempt to identify them with a specific standard of weight. They were probably used as largesses for the humbler classes of the population. There are aurei which show the emperor scattering handfuls of coin from a chariot, and these minute pieces may well have served that purpose.⁶⁰

That the value of silver was falling in the period from 397-450 A.D. and even afterwards can be shown easily by the evidence of the clipping of the older siliquae to approximately half-silique size. The British hoards such as Coleraine, Colerne, South Ferriby, Icklingham II and III, and Tuddenham show the most marked signs of open clipping.⁶¹ This open clipping cannot have been for fraudulent purposes because it is too easily recognizable, and there is no evidence of this practice in hoards dated prior to the reign of Honorius.⁶² The silver coinage of the fifth century, however, was not really in accord with the actual gold-silver ratio in the market-place, and the apparent experiment in bimetallism, which had been tried in the fourth century, came to a disastrous end.

⁵⁷ The legal texts are *Nov. Valent.*, XV, 1, 1, of 444/5 A.D., and *Nov. Maioriani*, VII, 1, 16, of 458 A.D.

⁵⁸ *C. Th.*, IX, 23, 2. Mommsen-Blacas, III, pp. 83-4; 84, note 1; and 164. Cf. J. de Petigny, "Études sur l'histoire monétaire du quatrième au septième siècle," *RN*, nouvelle série, II (1857), p. 127, n. 1, who identifies the *maiorina pecunia* with the *nummus decargyrus*. The law dates from 395 A.D.

⁵⁹ F. Hultsch, *Metrologicorum Scriptorum Reliquiae* (Lipsiae, 1864-6), I, pp. 222, 231, 245, and 248, mentions the σιτάριον which is defined *ad loc.* as the quarter-silique. This work will hereafter be cited as Hultsch, *Scriptores*. Cf. Babelon, *Traité*, I, pt. I, col. 578.

⁶⁰ J. W. E. Pearce, "A Half-Silique of the Treveran Mint," *NC*⁶, III (1943), pp. 97-9. Cf. Evans, *NC*⁴, XV (1915), pp. 476-7.

⁶¹ H. Mattingly and J. W. E. Pearce, "The Tuddenham Hoard of Siliquae," *NC*⁶, VI (1946), pp. 172-173.

⁶² See J. W. E. Pearce, "A Second Find of Siliquae from Shapwick," *NC*⁴, XVIII (1938), pp. 57-8.

When silver coinage in the smaller denominations was resumed under Justinian an attempt may have been made to maintain a mint ratio of gold and silver. The notice which is extant of a ratio of 1:14.4 for the reign of Justinian is merely a copy of the earlier decree preserved in *C. Th.*, XIII, 2, 1. The wording of this law remained unchanged. After 200 years, in tax receipts, one part of gold was still equivalent to 14.4 parts of silver. If this ratio is meaningful then the CN coins of 1/288th of a pound can only be half-siliquae and those marked PK€, quarter-siliquae.⁶³ If this could be proven then we should have established that the solidus of the sixth century contained 12,000 nummi. The PK€ coin would be 1/96th of a solidus or the quarter-siliqua and equal 125 nummi. This agrees remarkably well with the mint ratio and the marks on the coins, but it must be remembered that there is a statement in Procopius regarding the number of units in the solidus. This passage, which has often been discussed at length, states that the solidus of Justinian was worth 210 coins called folles, and that its value was reduced to 180 folles. The follis, virtually all authorities are agreed, was a large bronze coin. The highest denomination of bronze minted by Justinian was marked M which means forty nummi. This yields a solidus of 8,400 nummi. The CN piece would then equal 1/33.6th of a solidus, but this is not a convenient simple relationship between gold and silver coins.⁶⁴ The markings on the coins cannot be made

⁶³ A. Segrè, *Metrologia e circolazione monetaria degli antichi* (Bologna, 1928), p. 481; A. Luschin von Ebengreuth, "Der Denar der Lex Salica," *Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien*, Phil.-hist. Klasse, CLXIII (1910), Abh. 4, p. 18, n. 1; Mommsen-Blacas, III, p. 90; A. Engel and R. Serrure, *Traité de numismatique du moyen âge*, I (Paris, 1891), p. 4; and Mickwitz, *Die Systeme*, p. 20, view the CN coins as siliquae. Seeck, *ZfN*, XVII (1890), p. 67, identifies the CN coins as half-siliquae. Babelon, *Traité*, I, pt. I, col. 579, felt that they were one-third of a miliarensis. Mattingly, *NC*⁶, VI (1946), p. 116, n. 8, accepts the CN coins as half-siliquae and equates them with the Vandal coins marked as equalling fifty units. On this basis he gets a solidus of 12,000 nummi, and five nummi then equal one Vandalic denarius. A. Segrè, "Inflation and Its Implication in Early Byzantine Times," *Byzantion*, XV (1940-1), p. 273, suggests that the CN coins were not reckoned as siliquae but as 250 nummi. This would be equal to 1/33.6-1/28.8th of a solidus. It would be calculated as 1/30th of the gold coin.

⁶⁴ Segrè, *Byzantion*, XV (1940-1), p. 273, follows this system despite this fact. The literary evidence on the number of nummi in a solidus is very contradictory. In *Nov. Valent.*, XVI, 1 (445 A.D.), it is stated that the money-changers may purchase a solidus for 7,000 nummi and sell it for 7,200 nummi. Procopius, *Anecdota*, XXV, 11-12, says that the solidus was valued at 210 folles and that Justinian lowered it to 180 folles, but Procopius, *Anecdota*, XXII, 38, accuses Peter, the treasurer of Justinian, of issuing gold coins of lower value, and it is likely that this is the reduction referred to in the first passage cited from that author. The number of nummi equivalent to a solidus was regulated by the government very strictly. See the request made to the emperor to raise that number. Symmachus, *Relationes*, X, 28 (384/5 A.D.). Cf. Mickwitz, *Geld und Wirtschaft*,

to coincide with the statement of Procopius, if it is assumed that the CN coins are either siliquae or half-siliquae.

These silver coins bearing a mark of value were struck only in the newly recovered province of Italy.⁶⁵ They cannot be set in any simple relationship with a solidus of any possible number of units or nummi save 6,000 or 12,000. Possibly such a local standard existed in Italy, but more probably the answer is that in the time of Justinian these coins were minted in that province on a system of parallel standards. That is to say that in Italy they were an intermediate form of currency with the bronze coinage on the one side and the gold coinage on the other but without a simple relationship to the gold.⁶⁶ A guinea in English monetary usage has no simple relationship to the pound of the crown.

It is only proper to point out that this solution is merely an admission of defeat because it remains impossible to establish a simple mathematical relationship between 250 nummi and any of the possible values for the solidus in terms of the statement of Procopius. If the marks on the bronze coinage are in terms of the same units as those on the silver pieces, then a system of parallel standards is necessary to explain those silver coins. If the marks of value are in terms of different units, then our problem must await the discovery of further evidence to indicate the unit expressed by CN, PKE or PK.

p. 88, n. 34, on this passage. Cassiodorus, *Variarum*, I, x, 5, says that the "ancients" valued a solidus at 6,000 denarii. The passage is of the early sixth century. B. Hilliger, "Die Kupferrechnung der spätrömischen Kaiserzeit," *Numismatik*, II (1933), pp. 56-7, says in an unconvincing statement that this passage from Cassiodorus refers to a valuation begun in the past and still current in the early sixth century. Seeck, "Die Münzpolitik Diocletians und seiner Nachfolger," *ZfN*, XVII (1890), pp. 73-4, felt that the wording of the passage indicated that Cassiodorus had drawn his information from books. He pointed out that St. Epiphanius (Hultsch, *Scriptores*, I, p. 276), had said that the talent of what seems to be New Testament usage was equivalent to a solidus. Possibly Cassiodorus had this passage at hand. All of these passages concerning gold coinage are discussed in my book on *Light Weight Solidi and Byzantine Trade during the Sixth and Seventh Centuries*, *NNM*, No. 138 (New York, 1957).

⁶⁵ Mickwitz, *Die Systeme*, p. 20, n. 1, following Wroth, *BMC, Byz.*, I, pp. 21-2, and Wroth, *BMC, Vandals*, pp. xlixf.

⁶⁶ It is interesting to note that the Ostrogothic silver coins as well as those struck by Justinian at Ravenna have been found in southern and western Germany. Werner mentions a total of nineteen silver coins of Justinian and forty Ostrogothic silver pieces found in that area. Joachim Werner, *Münzdatierte austrasische Grabfunde* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1935), p. 14, in Hans Zeiss, *Germanische Denkmäler der Völkerwanderungszeit*, III, issued by the Römisch-Germanische Kommission des Archäologischen Instituts des Deutschen Reiches. Apparently the Germanic proclivity for the use of silver currency persisted in the more backward areas throughout the early mediaeval period.

In the case of the miliarensis, I have already set forth my views in a short note in *ANSMN*, VII (1957), pp. 125–35, and it would be a needless repetition to restate them at length here. It need only be noted that the same methods that were applied to the siliqua may be used in that instance. At the start of the fourth century the coin of 1/60th of a pound was probably the miliarensis, and that of 1/72nd of a pound must have been valued at either $1\frac{1}{3}$ or $1\frac{1}{2}$ siliquae. After the change of the mint ratio the coin of 1/72nd of a pound must have served as the miliarensis, and the piece of 1/60th of a pound would then have been valued at two carats. In this later case, however, the coin was somewhat too heavy, and very few were issued. Of those that were issued many must have suffered the usual fate of such overweight pieces and been melted down. As a result the government soon ceased to issue them. When in the latter part of the sixth century the coinage of pieces of 1/72nd of a pound was resumed, these must have been the miliarenses.

The relationship of the Roman monetary system, insofar as the silver coins are involved, to the systems of the Germanic invaders can now be set forth briefly. The barbarian systems of coinage contained denominations that bore Roman names, but the weights of these denominations did not coincide with those of the imperial issues. Until the individual Germanic people began to strike their own coinages they used Roman issues. When barbarian silver first appeared in the fifth century the Roman coins must have been the half- and quarter-siliquae. The barbarians seem to have struck siliquae, in the case of the Ostrogoths, at the same weight as the Roman half-siliquae of the fifth century or the CN coins of Justinian. The barbarian half-siliquae correspond in weight to the Roman quarter-siliquae or the PK€ coins minted in Italy by Justinian.⁶⁷ Is it not likely that Justinian valued the Ostrogothic siliqua at 250 nummi and marked his coinage in Italy accordingly? This would conform with the weights and marks on the coins as well as with the system of parallel standards which has been postulated for that period.

The Vandalic silver coinage approaches the Roman in having three coins; a reduced siliqua of approximately 2.5 grammes marked ·C; a half-siliqua of ap-

⁶⁷ Mommsen-Blacas, III, p. 90, based on J. Friedlaender, *Münzen der Ostgothen* (Berlin, 1844), p. 17. Friedlaender is followed by most numismatists. Cf. Keary, *Coinages of Western Europe from the Fall of the Western Empire under Honorius to Its Reconstruction under Charles the Great* (London, 1879), pp. 46ff.; Wroth, *BMC, Vandals*, p. xxix. Mommsen-Blacas, III, pp. 79–80, states that the coinage of the Ostrogoths and Vandals was struck on the Roman standard of 1/144th and 1/288th of a pound. Still virtually the only imperial issues of light silver during the fifth century were of 1.3 grammes effective weight.

proximately 1.25 grammes marked L; and a quarter-siliqua of approximately 0.625 grammes marked XXV. These are estimated theoretical weights based on very little evidence.⁶⁸ The marks of value correspond to nothing on the imperial issues. The Frankish system, as displayed in the law codes of Merovingian Gaul which speak of a denarius worth 1/40th of a solidus, is also not Roman in form. The innumerable explanations of the Frankish system of coinage still leave the undeniable fact that, though it may be related to the imperial arrangement, it is not a true copy.

It is, of course, true that silver coinage was relatively unimportant in the Byzantine Empire, but it is impossible to speak of the unity of silver coinage in the Mediterranean or Europe after the Germanic invasions. The only coinage that was truly uniform in any sense was that in gold. The gold coinage served as the medium of international exchange and necessarily had to be relatively uniform. Even in the case of gold, however, it is evident that the normal gold coin of the West after the sixth century was the light tremissis while in the Byzantine Empire it was the solidus. The tremissis of the West is even lighter than the same denomination struck by the Byzantines, and this fact is reflected in the famous light gold coinage of Justinian and later emperors.⁶⁹ The silver denominations after the middle years of the fourth century seem to have been for local use, and therefore the systems diverged. All used the same names for their denominations and all coins bore a relationship to the solidus, so that exchange was possible, but the monetary unity of the Mediterranean was simply non-existent in the coinage which did not enter into international trade.⁷⁰

The fact that silver was not widely used in international trade is intimately connected with its disappearance as an important monetary medium. The explanation of this disappearance is somewhat exaggerated by the fact that it does not seem to have been noticed by the people of the period. In the early empire it was common usage to express value in terms of silver currency. In the fourth century the common method was in terms of a bronze unit of account, and in the sixth century gold itself was used to express value. These changes did not occur with equal rapidity in all parts of what had been the expanded Roman Empire at

⁶⁸ Sabatier, *Description générale des monnaies byzantines*, I, p. 214. Cf. Engel and Serrure, *Traité de numismatique du moyen âge*, I, p. 18.

⁶⁹ See my book on *Light Weight Solidi and Byzantine Trade*.

⁷⁰ Cf. R. Blake, "The Monetary Reform of Anastasius I and Its Economic Implications," *Studies in the History of Culture, The Disciplines of the Humanities, Dedicated to Waldo Gifford Leland* (Menasha, Wisconsin, 1942), p. 86.

its height, but in the area that remained under imperial jurisdiction these shifts did occur in that sequence. The changes during the fourth century even in the lands under Roman dominion did not proceed with equal rapidity in all corners of the realm. The West retained its use of silver to a greater degree than did the East. The authors in the West did on occasion speak of coins such as the "denarius" which were evidently of sufficient value so that they would have been of silver.⁷¹ In the East, particularly in Egypt, where our evidence is clearest, there is no mention in contemporary documents of either the new imperial silver or the new bronze by the names which were in use in the West.⁷² The papyri of the fourth century continue to use the terminology of the third century to describe the current coinage. The valuation applied to the units implied in these terms fell steadily throughout the century, but the same names continued to be used. Silver currency in the period from Diocletian to Heraclius was of so little importance to the economic system and the daily life of the average Egyptian that only in the works of Palladius (fourth century) and Cosmas Indicopleustes (sixth century), of all the literary sources of certain Egyptian origin, are silver coins mentioned.⁷³ This is a very impressive change from the third century with its dependence on "silver" tetradrachms.

The fact that the Alexandrian mint seems to have struck very little silver may be a partial explanation of this phenomenon because, as has been pointed out, silver coinage was primarily for local use. Diocletian had struck some silver at Alexandria, but the principal occupation of that mint was the striking of *aes*.⁷⁴ Even this small amount of silver, however, which was struck locally does not seem to have been widely circulated or hoarded. Silver hoards in Egypt in the period after Diocletian are quite unusual.⁷⁵ There was apparently some payment of taxes in terms of silver bullion during the fourth century but such payments might be commuted into gold at a fixed rate.⁷⁶ The bronze of units account, the

⁷¹ Mattingly and Pearce, *NC*⁶, VI (1946), p. 172, point to the fact that Gildas knew of a silver coin current in Britain which he called a "denarius," and which they identify as a Roman siliqua. The Germanic barbarians did strike silver coins. See Mommsen-Blacas, III, pp. 78-80.

⁷² West and Johnson, *Currency in Roman and Byzantine Egypt*, pp. 157-8.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 107.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 157-8; Mickwitz, *Geld und Wirtschaft*, p. 98.

⁷⁵ Segrè, *Metrologia e circolazione monetaria degli antichi*, p. 477, n. 3. This passage refers to miliarenses, hoards of siliquae are unknown.

⁷⁶ SB 6086, records just such a commutation of a silver levy. Cf. P.O. 1653 (306 A.D.); P. Thead. 33 (312 A.D.); P.O. 2106 (300-16 A.D.); P. Bremer 83 (early fourth century); P. Flor. 95 (375 A.D.); P. Leipz. 61 (375 A.D.); P. Oslo 162 (fourth century).

drachma and the denarius, were still called silver just as they had been during the third century, and the taxes might be listed under the rubrics of ἀργυρικῶν or χρυσικῶν τίτλων, but this does not mean that the coinage in which these taxes were satisfied was either gold or silver.⁷⁷ In the sixth century, and even in the seventh, taxes were generally reckoned in gold, but the use of the term ἀργυρικά to describe such payments is not at all uncommon.⁷⁸ Even when the payment is specified as νομίσματα ἀργυρίου there is still some doubt as to whether the account was satisfied in actual silver or in the bronze equivalent.⁷⁹ The expression δόκιμος ἀργύριος occurs only once in the Byzantine period. This instance involves the phrase (τάλαντα) μ δοκίμον ἀργυρίου τὰ συναγόμενα χ. "Whether it applies to the forty talents of bronze or to an equation in real silver is not clear. The former is more probable."⁸⁰

Some silver coin was definitely in use during the Byzantine period as shown by a building account in which payments were made in silver coin as well as in solidi or myriads of denarii.⁸¹ Silver bullion, however, was in more common use, as has been shown, and it is most often described as "asemon" or uncoined.⁸²

The great variation in the weights of the silver coins of the fourth century, however, can be removed from among the number of factors influencing the disappearance of silver as a monetary metal. Even if the weight variations in the first half of the fourth century did render the use of the balance necessary, as Mommsen proposed, still it cannot have been the deciding factor.⁸³ These weight

⁷⁷ West and Johnson, *Currency in Roman and Byzantine Egypt*, p. 114.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 120. Cf. P.O. 1911; 1914; 2195; P. Cairo 67138-9.

⁷⁹ This term occurs twice, SB 4898 and P.O. 2025. See West and Johnson, *Currency in Roman and Byzantine Egypt*, p. 119, concerning the uncertainty regarding the nature of the currency involved.

⁸⁰ West and Johnson, *loc. cit.* These same authors suggest (p. 165) that in the *adaeratio* of clothing in A.D. 340 the assessment might have been made in silver, but that the payments could have been made in bronze. The expression ἀργυρίου μεγάλου (P. Warsaw 28; Kl. Form. 775; SB 6174) may also refer to either bronze or actual silver. West and Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

⁸¹ SB 5300. West and Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

⁸² Mickwitz, "New Papyri of Numismatic Interest," *NC*⁵, XVII (1937), p. 142, n. 2, suggests that the term "asemon" or "asemon katharon" meant "pure silver" in contrast to billon. He points out that "as a matter of fact the meaning 'silver' for 'asemon' is not known before the fourth century (Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, cf. C. A. Johnson, *AJA*, 1934, p. 51)." Therefore he holds that it is not improbable that since in the third century there was no pure silver save uncoined metal and the billon was called "argyron," the Egyptians borrowed the term "asemon" to mean "pure silver" whether in bullion or coin during the post-Diocletian period. There is no evidence to support this hypothesis. Cf. P. Oslo 162 and P.O. 1223.

⁸³ Mommsen-Blacas, III, pp. 74-5, 158-9.

variations do indicate *al-marco* striking but nothing more. They cannot have greatly influenced the shift in the form of economic life, since this lessening in the accuracy of minting would be counter-balanced by the lowered value of silver as well as by its relative unimportance as compared with the earlier periods of the empire.⁸⁴

Silver, according to Mommsen, lost its position as independent money with full bullion value when it was set into a definite relationship with gold by the introduction of the *miliarensis* at 1/1,000th of a pound of gold. This mint ratio meant that the silver coins would rapidly become fiduciary and decline in weight, so that it would become difficult to exchange them for gold.⁸⁵ Silver would then become unacceptable and would neither be hoarded nor passed easily. It has, however, been shown that during the entire fourth century the attempt was made to preserve and to operate the failing bimetallic system.⁸⁶ The lightening of the coinage seems to coincide with the notices that are preserved concerning the mint ratio, and the hoards show that clipping of coinage after the reign of Honorius was quite open. The clipping in the British hoards is so open that it is impossible to believe that the clipper expected to perpetrate a fraud. Halving coins could not have been overlooked even if the coins passed by tale. Such clipping was in the nature of an attempt to lighten the coins to accord with the new mint ratio.

Mattingly has pointed out that silver fell in value in relation to gold at a period when the silver coins were generally struck below weight and when the silver hoards are restricted in the main to Britain. In 395 the government called in the "*pecunia Maior*."⁸⁷ Mattingly would suggest that the purpose of this move was the recovery of the silver in that denomination. He explains the entire complex of facts by saying that "everything, in fact, except the ratio of gold to silver, points rather to a scarcity than to a superabundance of silver. A possible explanation might be that silver was replacing gold on a large scale for articles of luxury in trade, and for this reason, silver though not actually scarce, was not readily available for the coinage."⁸⁸ According to Mattingly's hypothesis the silver supplies had been squandered in the manufacture of masses of bullion

⁸⁴ Mickwitz, *Geld und Wirtschaft*, p. 80.

⁸⁵ Mommsen-Blacas, III, pp. 159ff., see also *ibid.*, pp. 90-1.

⁸⁶ Cf. Mickwitz, *Die Systeme*, p. 67. See also pp. 13-6.

⁸⁷ See my article "The Bronze Alloys of the Later Roman Empire," *ANSMN*, VI (1954), pp. 111-129.

⁸⁸ Mattingly, *Roman Coins*, p. 232.

during the third century, and the supplies available for coinage began to fail so that the Byzantine coinage rested on gold and *aes*.⁸⁹

Actually the evidence for a scarcity of silver for monetary purposes is not at all incontrovertible. In 384 A.D., when salary schedules were put into law, they were expressed in terms of silver pounds.⁹⁰ According to one source the expenses of the great Vandalic expedition of 467 were in large measure met by silver payments.⁹¹ In the seventh century, when the Empire was at the nadir of its power, we read tales of ships of the Alexandrian church transporting silver on the Adriatic Sea and elsewhere.⁹² That hoards of silver were restricted in the main to Britain does not indicate that the coins were not minted elsewhere, nor does the fact that silver coin was not a medium of exchange in trade preclude its use as an article of trade. In other words the silver coinage may well have been sold for

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 259. Cf. Gibbon, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (New York, n.d.), I, p. 50, points to the falling value of silver as shown by the mint ratio and explains it on the basis of an increase in the silver supply. P. Strauss, "Remarques sur la monnaie de cuivre romaine au IV^e siècle," *RN*⁵, VIII (1944), p. 11, n. 12, feels on the basis of *C. Th.*, XI, 21, 2, that the value of silver fell and that this was so because of a decline in the exploitation of mines during the troubled period. If one accepts Seeck's view, as put forth in *ZfN*, XVII (1890), p. 152, that a system of parallel standards of gold, silver and bronze was in use both for private business transactions and for the government, then a solution must be found along other lines than those set forth in this paper, but there does not seem to be the slightest reason to assume such a system of parallel standards while there is a good deal of evidence indicating that such open bargaining was not permitted. P. Le Gentilhomme, "Le Monnayage et la circulation monétaire dans les royaumes barbares en occident (V^e-VIII^e siècle)," *RN*⁵, VII (1943), pp. 51ff., does not accept the view that silver coinage was not fiduciary during the fourth century, and he points out that if it were overvalued in the Empire as a fiduciary coin it might migrate to Britain. This would not be so, unless other factors, such as an over-issue of silver, were present, so Le Gentilhomme's view must be discarded. L. C. West, "The Coinage of Diocletian and the Edict of Prices," in P. R. Coleman-Norton, *Studies in Roman Economic and Social History in Honor of Allan Chester Johnson*, p. 302, suggests two possible explanations for the failure of Diocletian's monetary reform. The first is that Diocletian attempted to establish a bimetallic coinage as Augustus had done. The second is that Diocletian put too low a value on silver in relation to bronze, "and with the great mass of bronze in circulation, the silver disappeared." Dr. Robert B. Warren in a letter to West (*ibid.*, p. 302, n. 15) suggests that the ratio 1:12.5 which West gives as the highest possible gold-silver ratio during the reign of Diocletian is unusually high. He goes on to say that if one takes that ratio as indicating a real and growing scarcity of silver then that very scarcity of silver would make it impossible to establish a fixed gold-silver and silver-bronze ratio. He proposes that an investigation of what was transpiring at the silver mines in Spain might explain a good deal.

⁹⁰ *C. Th.*, VI, 4, 25.

⁹¹ John Lydus, *De Magistratibus*, III, 43 (ed. Bonn, p. 237).

⁹² *Vita S. Johannes Eleem.*, c. 28. Cf. *ibid.*, c. 10.

bullion by the Romans and used as coin by the British and the Germans. It is now known that silver coinage was not as rigidly restricted to Britain as was previously thought to be the case.⁹³ Two silver hoards from the Lower Danube region have been scientifically treated, and some small ones from France are known.⁹⁴ In addition the finds of Ostrogothic and Ravennese silver coins indicate that the Germanic peoples in southern and western Germany continued to use coins of that metal. The coins found in these deposits as well as in those of Britain show that in the fourth century imperial mints in all parts of the Roman world struck silver coins. In the British hoards, as is to be expected, the western mints are more numerous represented, but in the two Danubian hoards the coins of the eastern mints are more common.⁹⁵ This phenomenon Mickwitz proposed to explain on the basis of a specific British provincial customary preference for silver. He pointed to the fact that earlier investigators had noted such a customary preference in the second century. This poor province, according to Mickwitz, carried on most of its business transactions in silver, and, as a result, the quantity of silver in the province increased greatly. The absence of silver hoards elsewhere, of course, does not indicate that silver did not enter into trade there.⁹⁶

The fact remains, however, that it is not only the lack of silver hoards in the interior of the Empire, but even the absence of direct literary evidence of its use that causes one to speak of the disappearance of silver. The solution proposed by Mickwitz amounts to little more than a statement that this is illusory, and that the concentration of silver in Britain is only relative. Another hypothesis, different from all those which have been offered, presents what seems like the most probable solution. It has already been pointed out that the mint ratio far from showing an increased value for silver, such as would be the case in the event of a scarcity, actually demonstrates just the opposite. For the period from the reign of Nero to the end of the second century and possibly even as late as the reform of Diocletian this mint ratio was approximately 1:12.⁹⁷ Only in the reign of Julian do we have the slightest suggestion that such a ratio might have been accepted as the standard of the imperial government. At all other periods after

⁹³ Cf. Mommsen-Blacas, III, pp. 132-3.

⁹⁴ Mickwitz, *Die Systeme*, pp. 11-12.

⁹⁵ *Loc. cit.* The figures for several hoards are given there.

⁹⁶ For a full statement of this hypothesis see *op. cit.*, pp. 12-13.

⁹⁷ See L. C. West, *Gold and Silver Standards in the Roman Empire*, NNM, No. 94 (1941), pp. 1ff.

the reign of Diocletian the ratio varied between 1:14.4 and 1:18. This may not demonstrate that silver became more plentiful, as Gibbon suggested, but it may indicate the increased demand for gold coinage during the fourth century.⁹⁸

Mattingly has suggested that the Romans withdrew all gold from Britain when they abandoned the island, but of this there is no positive evidence.⁹⁹ Such a move would have raised the value of gold in relation to silver in Britain to such an extent that silver would actually have left Britain in the form of gold purchases. Hoards of silver would have been more generally found elsewhere. Silver hoards are not restricted to Britain either because the Roman government removed the gold from the island or because the workers in the silver mines were paid in terms of silver, as Evans suggested.¹⁰⁰ Silver was struck throughout the Empire, and it is illogical to assume that the government took silver from Britain to strike it elsewhere and then shipped it back to the island.

There is good reason, however, to believe that Roman coins were not always used merely as a medium of exchange. Indeed there is a law which specifically prohibits the export or trading in coinage.¹⁰¹ Such trading in coinage can only have been profitable because there was a differential in the value of the coin between one region and another. It is not in the least improbable that the Germanic peoples and outlying provinces in places such as Britain and the lower Danube valley might have continued to adhere to the older mint ratio, and that Roman merchants chose to sell currency in place of other articles. As the Germanic peoples became settled and gained closer contacts with the Romans, silver coinage lost its importance for them. Nevertheless the fact that the silver issues of Diocletian resembled those of Nero in weight and could be used by the barbarians must have created a demand for them. Only in the Lower Danube valley, where Germans must have been numerous in the fourth century, are hoards of imperial silver founds outside of Britain and adjacent Gaul. Britain was not firmly united to the Empire during the major portion of the fourth century, and in the fifth century it was definitely abandoned. The adherence to the old mint ratio there would cause a flow of silver coinage to the island. Silver was more valuable in Britain than elsewhere. Little silver was struck in any event by the mints of the

⁹⁸ Cf. Mickwitz, *Die Systeme*, pp. 14-15.

⁹⁹ Mattingly, *Roman Coins*, p. 257.

¹⁰⁰ Evans, *NC*⁴, XV (1915), pp. 498ff.

¹⁰¹ *C. Th.*, IX, 23, 1. This law is actually dated in 356, but Mommsen by comparing it with other edicts addressed to the Praetorian Prefect Rufinus has dated it in 352 A.D. See Mommsen's comments on *C. Th.*, II, 9, 1, in the Mommsen-Mayer edition.

Empire, and because the mint ratio established by the government valued silver too low, coins of that metal were not generally acceptable save by merchants who intended to ship them to Britain or to the Germanic barbarians. Therefore when taxes were assessed in terms of gold and silver, the payments would, in most cases, require either commutations of at least some portion of the silver assessment into gold or the use of silver bullion in satisfaction of the exaction. This interpretation of the facts also serves to explain the mint ratio used by Julian. Perhaps that Emperor, who had great financial difficulties and was most aware of conditions along the western frontier, hoped to put an end to trading in silver coins by maintaining within the Empire the same ratio as prevailed among the barbarians. This would have ended the export of silver.

Admittedly this solution is not proven, but it does serve to explain all of the facts in what seems to be a more logical fashion than any of the preceding ones. The evidence is too slight to present any answer to the problem which is completely verifiable, but there is an analogous modern counterpart. This counterpart is found in the history of the Maria Theresa taler in modern times. In our own days this coin was current only in the Near East, i.e. Arabia and Abyssinia. It was struck in Italy, Britain and Austria solely for the purpose of facilitating trade in the Near East, and its history is an important source for Anglo-Italian rivalry in that region.¹⁰² This taler could be sold at a premium in the Near East but was virtually worthless elsewhere. The result has been the accumulation of hoards of this coin there, and a virtual absence of the coin where it was actually struck. In the same sense it is known that, at least in the early period of the Roman Empire, the Germanic peoples showed a decided preference for silver as opposed to gold as a medium of exchange. It is hardly likely that the shift to gold could be accomplished very quickly in the fourth century, and it is most probable that in the early fifth century and even earlier, when Britain was gradually losing strong contact with Rome, this preference for silver might have remained strong among the Germans who were settling there and caused it to have a premium value.

¹⁰² J. Hans, *Zwei Jahrhunderte Maria-Theresien Taler, 1751-1951* (n.p., 1950), pp. 1 ff., is the best modern work treating this matter.

THE PORTRAIT OF CAESAR ON THE DENARII OF 44 B.C. AND THE SEQUENCE OF THE ISSUES

ANDREW ALFÖLDI

I

SOME years ago I tried to exploit the coins as a source of the history of the crucial early months of 44 B.C.¹ Since then, several specialists have taken a position for or against my chronological reconstruction. K. Kraft² accepts the sequence of the issues I proposed, whereas C. M. Kraay³ thinks that my numismatic arguments, "if they were to prove correct, would be far-reaching in their results; but there is reason to think that they are, for the most part, unsound,

¹ A. Alföldi, "Studien über Caesars Monarchie, I," *K. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundets i Lund Årsberättelse*, 1952-53, referred to hereafter as *Studien*. My sincere thanks are due to Mrs. E. Clain-Stefanelli for the photographs of the Vatican Collection, to A. Alföldi, Jr. for those of the Italian and other collections, to H. A. Cahn for those of the collections of W. Niggeler and A. Voirol. Miss M. Thompson selected the coins of the American Numismatic Society for its splendid photographer, Mr. Raymond W. Johnson. T. V. Buttrey kindly polished my rough English.

² K. Kraft, "Der goldene Kranz Caesars und der Kampf um die Entlarvung des Tyrannen," *JNG*, 1952/53 (1955). We will return elsewhere to his important discovery of the exact nature of the wreath which Caesar wears on his portrait-coins; I do not accept the historical evaluation of his discovery and maintain against it my own views expressed in my *Studien*. O. Ulrich-Bansa discussed the issues of 44 B.C. in *RIN*, 56 (1954), pp. 52 sqq. He had not yet seen my *Studien*, so I need not comment on his article in this connection. Where he differs from my results, I prefer my own conclusions.

³ C. M. Kraay, "Caesar's *quattuorviri* of 44 B.C.: the arrangement of their issues," *NC*, 1954, pp. 18 sqq.

and therefore, do not illuminate Caesar's policy in the way that Alföldi claims." In spite of this sweeping verdict – the reader of this note will be able to decide whether it is correct or not – I wish to welcome his contribution, both because he has made some sound observations on details hitherto unnoticed, and also for a more general reason.

A historian who uses the coins as well as many other groups of evidence for the reconstruction of the events – and I made my attempt as a historian – cannot go so far in detail as the specialist whose aim is to illuminate a more restricted field. Thus the intervention of a specialist is a healthy control and a supplement of every branch of historical research. Also Kraay's attempt to upset my reconstruction and replace it by another offers a good starting-point for checking the facts anew; it helps to strengthen and correct my own results.⁴

I tried to show in my *Studien* that, as a consequence of the political reconsiderations and setbacks of the dictator, the coins of early 44 display first a short interval when the senior *monetalis* still had the freedom to glorify his ancestor Sulla, and then three successive phases of the titulature of Caesar, who calls himself first *dictator quartum*, then *imperator* and *pontifex maximus*, and finally *dictator perpetuo*. Further, I tried to show that Antony's conception becomes apparent when after the Ides of March Caesar appears first as *dictator perpetuo* but veiled with the solemn ritual garb of the *pontifex maximus*, because a little later a concomitant obverse of Antony himself reveals the intentions of the presumptive heir of the crown. I expounded also my conviction that, after the abolition of the dictatorship, the title *parens patriae* and the temple of the divine *Clementia* of Caesar were employed to foment hatred against his foes; and, lastly, that the reference to the games in honor of the dead Caesar as the new founder of the city at the Parilia closes the coinage of the year.

Kraay accepts my interpretation for the interval after the death of Caesar, but tries to supplant it with another reconstruction before that event. Though he objects to the use of the varying titles as a main criterion of the sequence of the issues, his own argument is based on a supposition of the same kind: he thinks (Kraay, p. 23 sq.) that he can separate a series with the title *imperator* as "military" issues from those with *dictator* (*quartum*, resp. *perpetuo*) as "civilian". He believes that the latter (his group A) might be termed the normal issues of the state on

⁴ Kraay—I cite his paper henceforth by his name alone – states (p. 18) that Chilo struck (along with P. Clodius, Regulus and Longus) also in the names of Octavian and Antony. This is a *lapsus calami*, cf. Sydenham, *Coins of the Roman Republic*, no. 1088–9, referred to hereafter as Sydenham.

which Caesar defined the magistracy by which he governed; the issues of his group B (with *imperator*) would be the stockpile of coins for the Parthian war and were signed by Caesar as commander-in-chief.

I am glad to say that Kraay contributed significantly to the distinction of the varieties of the Venus-types on the reverses and the distribution of them between the workshops (Kraay, p. 28 sq.). I acknowledge gratefully that I am using his observations in my synoptic table (pp. 43–44) of the Venus-types, to which all numbers in brackets without additional indication in the text of this paper refer. This table makes evident the comprehensive planning and careful distribution of the types. The central scheme seems to me not to be the work of the four moneyers, but to come from the intelligent Greek slaves, the *peculiares servi*, whose interference was reckoned with the criminal ambitions of the dictator, which, overthrowing ancestral institutions, induced his murder. Disregarding the fact upon which we shall dwell once more below, that the complete plan was somewhat disturbed by the events, the picture that it offers is that of the differentiation of tasks and timing in *one sole* establishment. The twisting of the issues into two isolated parts does not work. The definition of those two supposed units of production is not consistent. Kraay speaks of two “workshops” (p. 28) of “the mint of the series B” (*ibid.*, p. 30), “the mints A and B” (p. 30, n. 30), of two “geographically separate” establishments, and again of the exceptional and temporary establishment of the *imperator*-series (pp. 30 sq.). On the other hand, he admits that these expressions could give a deceptive impression of a wide separation; he stresses that both series were struck in Rome under the same direction. Now, fortunately, we know that there was a second, geographically separated mint in Rome, under separate management. This was the mint for gold, working under praetors and city-prefects, which was separated from the main mint – surely to prevent political enemies from seizing it – and jealously guarded. I assume it was on the Janiculum.^{4a} We know perfectly the uncouth style of this second mint⁵ which has nothing in common in style and so nothing to do with our denarii. We also know well Caesar’s numerous military issues. There are only two exceptional cases in which he calls himself *imperator*: the very scarce issue, Sydenham 1016, and the denarius struck in Sicily, Sydenham 1022. The latter case offers no support for the reasoning of Kraay: the proconsul A. Allienus had C· CAESAR IMP·COS·ITER inscribed on the

^{4a} This argument will be discussed soon in a paper on the Golden Chair of Caesar.

⁵ M. v. Bahrfeidt, “Die römische Goldmünzenprägung während der Republik und unter Augustus,” *Münzstudien*, I (Halle, 1923), pl. IV, 1–22 and pp. 35 sqq.

silver only because Caesar did not possess at that time the dictatorship. I would like to suggest the same for Sydenham 1016 because when Caesar had the *imperium maximum* of the dictatorship this superseded the title *imperator*. The *aurei* with **DIC. QVAR. – COS. QVINC.** produced undoubtedly for the army of the Parthian war in 44 in huge quantities⁶ in the second mint of Rome do *not* have this title, neither do the gold and silver of the *moneta castrensis* with **LII**, nor the elephant-*denarii*, etc. On the other hand the dictatorship was hated in Rome because it meant the overthrow of civilian freedom by the commander of the armed forces: to reserve mention of the dictatorship to the “civilian” issues would not fit in the categories of Roman thinking. But there are also other difficulties obstructing the possibility of distributing the *denarii* of 44 B.C. between two “establishments.” To assume that Mettius displays in one “mint” the glory of his own family with Juno Sospita and **DICT. QVART.**, and simultaneously in the other “mint” begins with the special reverse displaying not his own ancestral divinity but that of Caesar, anticipating the commencement of the Venus-types of his colleagues who would use it only in a later phase, makes little sense. Kraay himself notes⁷ two specimens of the Venus of Macer coupled irregularly with **IMPER** - obverses of Mettius. But he overlooked that in this case the special reverse-variety (3) of Macer is not that which is always coupled with the **IMP** and star series, but that which goes always with the **DICT. PERPETVO** obverses. These hybrids clearly originated in the same mint. The dies of the **IMP**- and **DICT.**-series did not merge with the death of Caesar,⁸ but were always produced in the same mint.

A very good observation of Kraay is the fact I overlooked, that the **IMP** series of Mettius, in spite of the common reverse and the correlation clearly accentuated by the mint-marks, are split into two distinct groups: the series G–L with good, and the series A–E with coarse portraits. But it is impossible to generalize this very special case, as we shall see, and it is a simplification of a rather complicated situation to say that the *imperator*-group should have two parallel series, the one employing the fine style, the other the inferior. The inferior style is due to the cancellation of this half of the emission, of which the stockpile of reverses has been used later for an emergency issue.

Kraay’s argument is accepted without any reservation by R. A. G. Carson.⁹

⁶ M. v. Bahrfeldt, *op. cit.*, pp. 39 sq., no. 23 and pl. IV, 14–16.

⁷ Kraay, p. 26, n. 23. Cf. also O. Ulrich-Bansa, *RIN*, 56 (1954), pl. 2, 22.

⁸ Kraay, p. 27.

⁹ R. A. G. Carson, *Gnomon*, 28 (1956), pp. 181 sqq.

We need to discuss only what he adds of his own. Some questions, such as the Hague denarius with Caesar's diadem (PLATE I,8) will be discussed below,¹⁰ so the following remarks will suffice here. There is a denarius of Buca¹⁰ with the head of Venus and the famous dream of Sulla on its reverse. Carson thinks – like Kraay¹¹ – that Buca could not coin in two non-consecutive issues, and he would let the Sullan Venus run in pair with Mettius' DICT. QVART.-type. But recent studies have elucidated somewhat the customary sequence of the supervisors in those years. I have shown¹² that after Octavian's *marcia su Roma* in 43, Flaminius Chilo, the senior *quattuorvir* struck first and alone, proudly underlining his right to priority with the statement *pr(imus) fl(avit)*;¹³ after him, the pair Ti. Sempronius Gracchus and Q. Voconius Vitulus run the coin production. For the gold-issues of the following year, Th. V. Buttrey¹⁴ established the exact order: the senior officer was L. Livineius Regulus, after him P. Clodius signed the aurei, then L. Mussidius Longus, who was followed by C. Vibius Varus; but for a new reverse-type Mussidius Longus was employed again. So contemporaneous practice demonstrates the sole rule and signature of the senior officer at the beginning, but admits the possibility of employing either one or two officials at the same time after him, as well as the return of a *monetalis* as supervisor later, for a second period of activity.

Kraay¹⁵ regarded Mettius as the senior officer in 44, whereas Buttrey¹⁶ confirmed my chronology which put the Sullan Venus of Buca at the head of the emissions. In fact, on a small silver denomination¹⁷ Buca has the title IIII VIR used under Caesar¹⁸ only by the first ranking member of the Collegium of the moneyers; and Maridianus discreetly avoids express mention of it,¹⁹ demonstrating by a transparent hint that only Buca was allowed to use it.²⁰

¹⁰ *Studien*, pl. I, 1–4.

¹¹ Kraay, p. 27.

¹² A. Alföldi, "Porträtkunst und Politik in 43 v. Chr.," *Netherlands Year-Book for History of Art*, V, 1954, pp. 153 sqq.

¹³ Th. V. Buttrey, *The Triumviral Portrait Gold of the Quattuorviri Monetales of 42 B.C.*, NNM, No. 137 (New York, 1956), p. 39, n. 81, shares my views.

¹⁴ Buttrey, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

¹⁵ Kraay, p. 31.

¹⁶ Buttrey, *op. cit.*, p. 39, n. 81.

¹⁷ Sydenham, 1065.

¹⁸ A. Alföldi, "Studien zur Zeitfolge der Münzprägung der römischen Republik," *Schweizerische Numismatische Rundschau*, 36 (1954), pp. 28 sq.

¹⁹ He symbolizes with the saltire in which his name is written, *Studien*, pl. XIV, 4–6, the fourfold team of his office, but adds *a.a.a.f.f.*, which is not against the Caesarian rule, the title of IIII VIR being reserved for the senior.

²⁰ What Kraay, p. 27, n. 47, says against this is not persuasive, at least for me.

If Carson²¹ doubts that the portraits of Caesar began to be struck only after an interval, rather than beginning immediately after the New Year, we have now decisive evidence for it through the discovery of Kraft that the wreath on Caesar's head is a golden one, made in archaic Etruscan style. We know, too, that the high boots and the purple cloak of Caesar were anachronistic features of an archaizing royal attire. Caesar appeared in the purple robes with the golden wreath and sat on the golden chair awarded to him first on February 14th in 44.²² This means that on the solemn days just after the New Year, he did not yet have those distinctions. If they were voted only shortly before February 14th, the portrait with the golden wreath could not have appeared much earlier on the *denarii*. Before this first issue of Mettius with **DICT. QVART.** we have a gap of some weeks from the New Year on.²³ The type of Buca with Sulla's dream fits excellently in this frame; he could display Sulla's dream in the first and foremost silver issue of the year, on account of the leniency and magnanimity, the *clementia*, of Caesar. In my mind, it would go too far to suppose, as Kraay does, that this remarkable witness of the free decision of the *monetalis*, so abhorrent from the uniformly planned quadrupartite complex of the later Venus-reverses, and so inconsistent with the portrait of the ruler obligatory since the first Mettius-emission, could go along with these monarchic features and could have been issued with them. The time was over for such individual and heretical types after the total concentration of the coinage on the person of the ruler.

Thus it is evident – even without the Hague-denarius with the diadem – that the **DICT. QVART.** issue of Mettius must have been continued until a date very close to the Lupercalia on February 15th.

In opposition to Kraay,²⁴ Carson²⁵ does not believe that the veiled head is posthumous. But this is not a mere guess. The veiled head of the later Pariliaissue struck together with the veiled head of Antony, bearded in sign of mourning, is coupled with a reverse die²⁶ so near the other that the existence of common dies

²¹ *Gnomon*, 28 (1956), p. 183.

²² Cf. *Studien*, I, pp. 21 sq.

²³ How large an amount of the *denarii* of Mettius with **DICT. QVART.** could have been produced, if begun with the New Year, is shown by the enormous quantity of gold with **DIC. QVAR. – COS QVINC.**

²⁴ Kraay, p. 18.

²⁵ *Gnomon*, 28 (1956), p. 183.

²⁶ *Studien*, I, pl. XV, 1 where the reverse was unfortunately exchanged with that of XV, 3 by the printer. Cp. also *RIN*, 56 (1954), pl. 2, 34 with my *Studien*, pl. XV, 2.

must be assumed. The carefully harmonized heads of Antony and Caesar, both with veil, both with implements of state-priests, establish contemporaneity and exclude the supposition of subsequent issues. Therefore, the previous emission with veiled head must also indicate the intention of Antony to exhibit the treacherously assassinated high priest of the Roman people, to enhance the sacrilegious act of the murderers. But, quite apart from these considerations, the veiled head appears only after the wreathed head with **DICT. PERPETVO** under the auspices of Macer, and only after Buca – who struck a considerable quantity of **DICT. PERPETVO** types without veil – was eliminated. There is no possibility of placing the veiled head before March 15: there is no room for it before that date as we shall see. The association of the posthumous *parens patriae* issues with the abolition of the dictatorship and the attribution of the *desultores* to the Parilia (accepted by Kraay and denied by Carson) are reaffirmed again by the chronological results expounded below. It is plain that Octavian was not present at the games as Dio thought; the young Quintus Cicero celebrated them in the hope of gaining favor with Antony.

II

One of the ways which allow us to understand the chronology more fully is the reconstruction of the development of Caesar's portrait on the coins, which will reveal itself as an evolution from a single root, but with many successive ramifications. In the same way as prehistoric archaeology establishes a sequence for certain categories of objects in order to base the chronological sequence on a typological chain, so the successive stages of the evolution of Caesar's portrait-types offer a similar possibility. My plan was and still is to collect the denarii struck in 44 B.C. from the collections all over the world; but a survey on the ground of a rather restricted amount of material should suffice for a first draft. This shows the following branches and stages of the typological aspects of Caesar's portrait:

1. The head of the denarii of M. Mettius (PLATE I, 1-8; II, 1, 3; IV, 1) has unquestionably the high priority over all the other types. Since there is no second starting point for the evolution, Kraay's assumption of a second "establishment" within the frame of the mint of the denarii in 44 B.C. has no typological evidence. It is also to be underlined that, though the imitations and retouches of the changing dies break the way for a gentle and unobtrusive transformation, the general

characteristics of this portrait-type remain stable. Thus, we shall call it henceforth the "prototype."

2. Next to the prototype stand the portraits with the Mettius-reverse (10a) (PLATE I,9-24; II,10; V,5), representing a special subtype. The progress of the stylistic development can be checked by the succession of the mint letters G-L. The starting point of this is a somewhat enlarged imitation of the prototype (PLATE I,9), carefully performed, though the fine curve of the nose is straightened, evidently against Caesar's natural appearance. The size of the head is already enlarged on the earliest dies (with G), but its execution remains constantly on the same level. Whereas the hair is always combed downwards on the neck of the prototype, here it is with rare exceptions (PLATE I,10) more or less sharply brushed backwards and up. There is a noticeable endeavor by the die-cutter to make the face smooth and beautiful, younger than it was in reality (PLATE I,10, 14, 15) which points towards a marked encroachment on the likeness of the portrait in the course of the subsequent issues. Only the transverse striae on the abnormally elongated neck represent a dissonant "cacophonic" element, in terms of the contemporary taste. But with the letters K and L on the reverse, i.e., with the last ones of the sequence applied as special marks of control (PLATE I,20-24), the features of the head begin to be distorted through technical deficiencies. The metal of the dies was not hard enough to bear the brunt of the wear and tear, and qualified engravers were not there in sufficient number to supply first-class substitutes for these. It became necessary to mend the worn-out dies which were damaged, above all, on the nose. Thus the nose is very frequently retouched by a pointed tool and the mechanical reproduction of previous dies perpetuates its deformation. This is the main reason for the ever-growing transformation of Caesar's profile (PLATE I,23), often reaching the grade of a caricature (PLATE I,24; for other types especially PLATE V,21-24). The high pressure of the ceaselessly changing types of 44 B.C. on the die-production enhanced the speed of this process considerably.

The place of this head-type of Mettius with **CAESAR IMP** in the evolution can be determined by the following indications: (a) the dependence on, and the close connection with, the prototype defines our head-type as one immediately following the **DICT. QVART** obverses; (b) several varieties are almost identical with those of the **IM.-P.M.** heads of Buca (cf. PLATE I,22 with II,20 and II,10 with II,9), which implies an approximate contemporaneity. The profile with the aquiline nose which emerges at the end of the emission of this group (PLATE I,23)

is the model of the head struck under the supervision of Macer with IMP and star (PLATE II,20-21); the latter then seems to have followed immediately the IM.-P.M. series of Buca.

3. The issue of P. Aemilius Buca with the legend IM.-P.M. and the crescent of the moon (PLATE II,2, 4-9, 11-13) is directly based, like the previous one of M. Mettius, on the prototype (cf. PLATE II,1 with 2, and II,3 with 4). The naturalistic modelling of the flesh is vanishing, the deep wrinkle which splits the face vertically behind the profile (PLATE II,3) is exaggerated (PLATE II,5); the chin is bigger, so that the proportions of the features and the character of the face are greatly altered. The whole head is enlarged, exactly as on the previous head-type. But nevertheless, the style of this portrait of the IM.-P.M. issue of Buca is stable and consistent. So it, too, forms an individual phase within the frame of the multifarious evolution. Its good quality is illustrated by the deterioration of the workmanship in the successive head-types based on it (PLATE II,14-16). We have already seen that this issue was produced along with the IMP-issue (10a) of Mettius.

4. We have seen that the IMP-and-star obverse of Macer (1-2) closely followed the IMP obverse (10a) of Mettius. The head with the star and IMP legend (PLATE II,17-24; III,1-10; IV,21,24) grows very much in the course of its production, from the smallest variation (PLATE II,17) to the largest (PLATE III,9-10). It starts with a portrait-type (PLATE II,17) based not on the prototype, but on the head of the previous issue (PLATE II,5). The deformation of features on the successive dies is much stronger than it was before; many varieties show very different faces indeed. Nevertheless, the issue represents in its style a special coherent unit and an intermediary stage between the head-types of the earlier IMP. and of the subsequent DICT. PERPETVO issues. For the connection with the latter, PLATE IV,21 is to be compared with IV,22 and IV,23 with IV,24.

A very essential new trait of this stage is that the power to maintain a certain artistic level vanished, and in spite of the excellent dies introduced at the beginning of some following issues, the deterioration is abrupt. The die-engravers show a complete failure to overcome the strain of ever-changing devices.

5. The portraits of the next short but crucial and intricate emissions with the new legend CAESAR DICT. PERPETVO were produced under the supervision of three moneyers. Buca has no veiled head, Maridianus has only that; Macer strikes both with wreath only, and with veil. The study of the portraits reaffirms that the wreath without veil belongs to the earlier section of this phase of pro-

duction. The complicated characteristics of this earlier stage of the **DICT. PERPETVO** issues will be illustrated here only by some selected samples sufficient for our present purpose.

Hitherto every portrait-group corresponded to a single reverse, as was the original intent. Macer marks the innovation by changing the direction in which his *cognomen* is written (compare (2) with (3)), and by introducing another variety of his Venus-reverse with shield, with the *cognomen* written counterclockwise at first (4) and, at the very end, clockwise (5). These varieties correspond to three of Buca, who first only distinguishes the new start with the abbreviated form of his name (8); but he adds new reverses to this, one with the sitting Venus (9) and one with a group of symbols of the new Golden Age (6).

The first dies of Buca are excellent, made presumably by the best man who created the first portrait with **DICT. QVART.**, but the level drops instantly on the subsequent dies. The only reverse, if my incomplete collection of materials does not deceive me, which is still connected with an individual development of the portrait, is the group of symbols of world-happiness (6). The head (**PLATE V,9**), which may be the primary die of the series, is finely engraved, though it is a derivate which lost much of Caesar's resemblance. Then the nose becomes upturned (**PLATE V,10,14**), the jaw too much stressed, the chin drawn backwards, the neck too much elongated (**PLATE V,11-13**), the face more rugged. The outline of the nose varies (**PLATE V,11,12,13**) and becomes bulbous on the coarse dies at the end (**PLATE V,15**).

Apart from this case, the obverse dies are used now not only by one *monetalis*, but by two members of their quattuorvirate; and they are no longer restricted to one reverse, but are coupled with all of them. The combinations of the same obverse and reverse dies between the different varieties struck simultaneously will help greatly in the complete reconstruction in the future. But this opportunity arises only from this point on. The die-engravers are no longer able to solve the technical problems of die-production owing to the multiplication of their task through the ever-changing new devices. This is mirrored by the quickly vanishing artistic level of the new portrait varieties, in spite of the existence of excellent dies with which the series of Buca started. The head on **PLATE IV,2** is, e.g., the best imitation of the prototype (cf. **PLATE IV,1**) we have. But the subsequent dies first reproduce the same type of face in a very summary way (**PLATE IV,3-4**), then the following are done more roughly (**PLATE IV,5-6**), and they deteriorate into a clumsy face which has nothing to do with Caesar. The variety **PLATE IV,11** is re-engraved

with a veil (PLATE VI,15) for Macer (4). Now, this chain of obverse-dies is used with the standing Venus (8) of Buca (PLATE IV,2,6,8), with the seated Venus (9) of the same (PLATE IV,10,11) as well as with the Venus-reverse (4) of Macer with shield (PLATE IV,3,5,7; VI,15) and with the latest variety of the same (5) with *cognomen* written counterclockwise (PLATE IV,4). A ramification of this chain of portrait-punches starts with PLATE IV,9 (9), after the nose has been patched up through piercing its nostril (PLATE IV,12); thus by the same hand later the head-type with veil (PLATE VI,23) (5), employed also by Maridianus (PLATE VI,24).

Other smaller varieties of the same portrait-pattern are a head-die of Macer (4) rather well done (PLATE V,4), a rather distorted version (6) with the name of Buca (PLATE V,3) and another clumsy head (8) of Buca (PLATE V,18). The variety with a big hooked nose can be found as well (3) for Macer (PLATE V,17) as for Buca (PLATE V,18-19; VI,1 (8) and 2 (9)). The caricature PLATE V,23 with the standing Venus (8) of Buca (PLATE V,21-22) is yet worse and is even re-engraved for Maridianus with a veil (PLATE V,24).

The insufficient quantity of obverse-dies compelled the personnel to use the outworn and distorted head-dies. The same is to be seen in a head-punch with straight nose produced as well for Buca (8), PLATE IV,17, as for Macer (3), PLATE IV,18.19. A very successful enlargement of the head-punch PLATE IV,2 is PLATE V,1 (9). The horizontal slit on the nostril is due to the engraver who made the obverse dies VI,12 and 14. The abrupt deterioration of that excellent pattern (PLATE V,1) is illustrated by the head of PLATE V,2.

The transition to the veiled head is also clearly to follow on the more round-headed portrait variety of Macer PLATE VI,4-6 (3). The coarse profile of PLATE VI,10 (3) could have been brought about by the deformation of the nose of the Macer dies represented by PLATE VI,8 (3) and VI,9 (4).

6. The earlier **DICT. PERPETVO** emissions are the key to the chronological determination of the postponed issue of M. Mettius (10b). Though the reverses signed by A-E (10b) were prepared without doubt together with the others (10a) signed by G-L, the heads (PLATE III,12-15, 17-21, 23-24) are a rough continuation of that on the previous **DICT. PERPETVO** issues just described, without any good new dies manufactured especially for them. Their dependence on the previous **DICT. PERPETVO** obverses can be established by the following examples:

- a) PLATE III,12 (with letter A on the reverse) copies PLATE III,11 (3).
- b) PLATE III,15 (with letter C) is an imitation of PLATE III,16 (3).

- c) PLATE III,21 imitates PLATE III,22 (6).
- d) PLATE IV,13 – a hybrid with a reverse of Macer (3) – and PLATE IV,14 (with letter B) are closely akin to PLATE IV,12 (8).
- e) PLATE IV,16 with the deformed nose relies on the head, PLATE IV,15 (8).
- f) The completely worn-out, but re-engraved head PLATE IV,20 (with letter C, altered from B) is based on PLATE IV,19 (8).
- g) The coarse head PLATE V,16 (with letter D) roughly copies PLATE V,15 (6).
- h) The head PLATE V,20 copies the PLATE V,19 (8).
- i) The face of PLATE VI,7 (with letter B) copies the profile PLATE VI,4–5 (3) and is very close to its veiled variety PLATE VI,6 (3).

If anyone unfamiliar with the style should be unable to accept this proof, he would be obliged to do so in view of Macer's reverse (3) struck exclusively with the **DICT. PERPETVO** obverses, but also coupled with the **IMPER** legend.

It can be no surprise that heads of the first half of the Mettius-issue (10a) were also imitated, as a comparison of PLATE V,5 (letter I) with V,6 (letter B) makes certain. But this is only a *terminus post quem*. The dependence on the **DICT. PERPETVO** issues decides the chronology. What Kraay supposed (p. 30), namely, that Macer uses some obverse dies of Mettius A–E (10b), is erroneous. The contrary is right.

7. The first issues with veiled head belong to Macer. There was no attempt to introduce new and better head-dies. Most of the heads (PLATE VI,11–17, 19–20) are coupled with one and the same reverse (4), whereas the other reverses of the previous emissions were used only in a very short interval, as (3), PLATE VI,18 and (5), PLATE VI,23. Several examples illustrate how the nose was damaged and deformed. PLATE VI,20 shows a deformation by the double or treble outline, caused in sinking the head-punch. PLATE VI,16 has the nostrils filled with melted metal; PLATE VI,12 and 14 demonstrate how this was cut away by a horizontal slit. PLATE VI,17 has the nose entirely replaced.

With C. Cossutius Maridianus a last finely engraved head of Caesar appears, PLATE VI,21 (11), modelled on the prototype, but with a somewhat protruding and elongated nose. Degeneration follows instantly on the reproduction of the die, as PLATE VI,22 demonstrates. The head-type, PLATE VI,23, emerging at the end of the supervising activity of Macer (5), passes over to Maridianus, PLATE VI,24 (with name in saltire on the reverse). But I do not intend to deal fully with the veiled head. It has no value for the portrait of Caesar and the chronology is so

firmly established (after the supposed doubling with the *imperator*-issues has been proved to be non-existent) that there is no need to pursue the typological development any further.

Our conclusion for the problem of Caesar's portrait is as follows: there is only one of his portraits on the coins which has the claim to be authentic: our prototype. The IMP and IM.-P.M. issues of Mettius and Buca do not reproduce Caesar's physiognomy, but only their monetary prototype. But they still have a touch of the contemporary general portrait-style and may have influenced the Caesar-portrait in the minor arts.

III

After the chronological issues are stabilized, we can return to the question of the Hague denarius PLATE I,8. This has behind the neck of *dictator quartum* a ribbon hanging on a nail which I identified with the diadem offered to Caesar, but declined by him and dedicated to the "Best and Greatest divine King of the Romans," Jupiter. I have already taken a position²⁷ against the objection that the hanging ribbon was recut from the *lituus*. My argumentation did not convince Kraay who tried with new observations to support the interpretation of this symbol as a *lituus*.

He admits²⁸ that the coin itself is undoubtedly genuine and the "diadem" which stands out sharply from the field is not a product of tooling after striking. He does not exclude completely the possibility that the diadem is due to the deliberate alteration of the die on or after the 15th of February.²⁹ He also does not conceal the fact I stressed that behind the heads of the DICT. QVART coins (PLATE I, 1-7) the *lituus* is curved in the other way and lends no opportunity to be reshaped. But he relies on the second Mettius issue (here PLATE I,9 sq.) on which the curved head of that ritual implement is without exception turned to the right, and he thinks that the workshops producing the types in question were sufficiently near in both time and space to influence each other. But we know now, that it was the one and the same establishment which made both series, and that the type with *lituus* curving clockwise *was not yet in existence* when DICT. QVART. was inscribed on the silver coins. Thus the influence of the later type could not have

²⁷ *Studien*, I, p. 6.

²⁸ Kraay, p. 20.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

been exerted; this would be a *filius ante patrem*. Even if we would forget the accurate planning and the rigid control of the slaves and freedmen who cut the dies, and would admit the irregularity *exempli gratia*, the diameter of the curve of the ribbon is decidedly smaller than that of the *litui*, PLATE I, 1-7, and I do not see any trace of narrowing by later chiselling.

Kraay believes that his "lituus" (i.e., the right streamer of the ribbon) was made by one die-engraver and the straight line which became the other streamer was cut by another: since he assumes, as I do, that all these operations must have been made *before* the striking of the coin, this would make no difference, for the meaning and significance of the ribbon. If he once stresses the "deepcut straight line"³⁰ and then considers again the possibility of chance damage,³¹ one of the arguments must be dropped – they mutually exclude each other.

The corrosion of outworn dies can, indeed, occasionally cause a die flaw, as Carson too thinks.³² The reverse of our PLATE V, 20 is a perfect example of this, with ramified fissures, the opposite of the violently cut straight-forward line of the left streamer of our ribbon. Such deep cuts could be originated by cracks, too: but they never stop just *before* the rim as in our case.³³ The supposed accident must certainly be abandoned as the explanation for a reason my opponents have neglected. I mentioned³⁴ the row of small dots visible on both streamers as well as on the loop:³⁵ they have been driven in the obverse to mark the outline of the symbol to enable the die-cutter to carve it out properly afterwards. No corrosion, no die-flaw could engender this, only the intentional intervention of the die-cutter – an improvisation on or after the 15th of February under the impact of the events known to the general reader from Shakespeare. The hanging ribbon remains the key to the timetable of the emissions. As a written document³⁶ gives the title *dictator quartum* to Caesar on the 9th February, the leap to the Lupercalia a week later is not very large. Also the interlude of the *imperator pontifex maximus* titles supplanting the mention of the abominated dictatorship remains valid. They appear on comprehensively planned reverse and obverse types which were presumably not intended originally for them: perhaps their emission was postponed until the

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 21, 24.

³² *Gnomon*, 28 (1956), p. 182.

³³ Cf. also *Studien*, I, p. 83, fig. 1 and pl. II, 5-6.

³⁴ *Studien*, I, p. 7.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, fig. 1 and pl. II, 5-6.

³⁶ Cf. *Studien*, I, p. 17.

Lupercalia, until it was known whether Caesar would become a *rex* or not. Owing to the perplexity of the political situation created by the emotional rousing of the people on the 15th of February, the timetable of the Venus-reverses of the quattuorvirate was upset. Originally, Mettius A-E (10b) was to be struck along with G-E (10a). And some attribute corresponding to the *lituus* and the ladle of the latter was certainly foreseen – just as in the next planned complementary series of Buca and Macer the star and crescent should be put out together, as complementary symbols of Hellenistic royal eternity. But the attribute on the obverse of the cancelled Mettius issue (10b) was omitted when it later came to be issued. I think it may have had some connection with royalty.

The title *dictator perpetuo* is used only *after* the *imperator* series. It is not an honor granted then, but a new way to use an older one. We know that Caesar was already *dictator perpetuo designatus* for some time, but he still continued to count his power as a chain of one-year offices: just as Augustus did not use the *tribunicia potestas* as a life-long mandate (i.e., *in perpetuo*), but only cautiously as a one-year privilege, renewed legally. Caesar lost his patience around the first of March and stressed the over-all nature of his power in the opposite way.

Around the time of the death of Caesar, apparently his veiled head appeared, the suppressed part of the Mettius issue (10b) was brought out. Instead of IMP and an attribute, the title is prolonged to IMPER to cover the empty space. Concerning the chronology of the subsequent issues, I hope I may confidently refer to my *Studien*.

Finally, a word on the method. A. Momigliano,³⁷ whose sharp mind and scholarly erudition I admire, tried to invalidate my interpretation of numismatic facts in quoting Kraay and Carson³⁸ and in stressing that the divergences of opinion of the experts are diametral and reduce each other to nil.³⁹ I do not believe that the obligation of the historians to exploit coin evidence can be dismissed by stressing the differences between specialists. "Mag der kritisch geschulte Lehrer der Geschichte," my predecessor in the chair of Ancient History at the University of Basel⁴⁰ wrote long ago, "auch nicht auf allen Gebieten selber produktiv mitarbeiten, so kann man doch von ihm verlangen, daß er die Methode, mit der andere auf ihrem Gebiet arbeiten, zu beurteilen imstande sei."

³⁷ *Athenaeum*, 34 (1956), pp. 237 sq.

³⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 241, n. 2.

³⁹ *Loc. cit.*: "le probabilità di accordo tra competenti si riducono in pratica allo zero." By the way: if the specialists *do agree*, must the historian accept their concord as obligatory proof?

⁴⁰ Felix Staehelin, quoted by M. Gelzer in *Gnomon*, 1956, p. 624.

KEY TO THE PLATES

Reverse-types:

(The group-numbers refer to the table of types on pp. 43-44)

1. PLATE II, 17, 20-21, 22(?)
2. PLATES II, 18-19, 23-24; III, 1-10; IV, 21, 24
3. PLATES III, 11, 16; IV, 13, 16, 18-19, 23; V 17; VI, 3-6, 8, 10, 18
4. PLATES II, 14; IV, 3, 5, 7, 22; V, 4; VI, 9, 11-17, 19-20
5. PLATES IV, 4; VI, 23
6. PLATES III, 22; V, 3, 9-15
7. PLATES II, 2, 4-9, 11-13
8. PLATES IV, 2, 6, 8, 12, 15, 18-19, 21-23; VI, 1
9. PLATES IV, 9-11, 17; V, 1-2, 8; VI, 2
- 10a. PLATES I, 9(G), 10(G), 11(G), 12(H), 13(H), 14(H), 15(H), 16(H), 17(I), 18(I), 19(I), 20(K), 21(K), 22(K), 23(L), 24(L); II, 10(K); V, 5(I)
- 10b. PLATES III, 12(A), 13(B), 14(C? altered into O?), 15(C), 17(B), 18(B altered into C), 19(C), 20(D), 21(D), 23(D), 24(E); IV, 14(B), 20 (B altered into C); V, 6(B), 7(B), 16(D), 20 (=PLATE III, 14); VI, 7(B)
11. PLATES II, 15-16; V, 24; VI, 21-22
Not included in the table are: (a) M. Mettius, Sydenham 1057: PLATES I, 1-8; II, 1, 3; IV, 1; (b) C. Cossutius Maridianus, Sydenham 1069: PLATE VI, 24.

Provenance of the coins illustrated:

- E. J. Haeberlin, Auct.-catal.: PLATES IV, 16; VI, 18
Hague, R. Cabinet of Coins: PLATES I, 8; II, 18; V, 21; VI, 23
Italy, Private Coll.: PLATES I, 1; II, 15, 21-23; III, 9, 11, 14; IV, 3, 5, 6, 17-20; V, 3, 17, 20, 22-24; VI, 14, 16
London, British Museum: PLATES IV, 4, 9, 12, 14; V, 4
München, Staatl. Münzsammlung: PLATES I, 12; II, 20
Münzen und Medaillen A.G., Basel: PLATES II, 9, 19; III, 18
New York, Am. Num. Soc.: PLATES I, 2, 4, 14-15; II, 2, 4, 5, 16; III, 6-7, 15; IV, 1-2, 7, 21, 24; V, 2, 11, 15, 18; VI, 4, 13, 19-20
W. Niggeler, Baden bei Zürich: PLATES I, 5, 16; II, 1, 13-14; III, 1, 4-5, 8, 13, 16, 24; IV, 22-23; V, 1, 9, 10, 13
Paris, Cabinet des Médailles: PLATES I, 6, 11, 13, 17, 20, 24; II, 3; III, 12, 19; V, 5-6
Princeton Univ. Coll.: PLATES I, 10; VI, 12
Roma, Museo Nazionale: PLATE II, 7
Vatican, Medagliere: PLATES I, 7, 19; II, 6, 24; III, 3, 22-23; V, 8, 16, 19; VI, 6-9, 11, 22, 24
Vienna, Bundessammlung von Medaillen und Münzen: PLATES I, 3, 9, 22, 23; II, 8, 11; III, 10, 17, 21; IV, 8, 10-11, 15; V, 7, 12, 14; VI, 3, 5, 15
Dr. A. Voirol, Basel: PLATES II, 12; III, 2; VI, 21
Yale Univ. Coll.: PLATE VI, 17
Ap. Zeno (Auct., Vienna, 1956, pt. 2): PLATES I, 18, 21; II, 10, 17; III, 20; VI, 1, 2, 10



THE PORTRAIT OF CAESAR ON THE DENARII OF 44 B. C.



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CAESAR IMP
CAESAR IMP

with wreath only



CAESAR IMP
CAESAR IMP

with wreath only



CAESAR / DICT
PERPETVO

a) with wreath only
b) veiled head



CAESAR / DICT.
PERPETVO

a) with wreath only
b) veiled head



CAESAR / DICT
PERPETVO

a) with wreath only
b) veiled head



CAESAR · DICT /
PERPETVO

with wreath only

THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE VENUS-TYPES

7



CAESAR·IM
P M

with wreath only

8



/CAESAR/DICT
PERPETVO

with wreath only

9



CAESAR/DICT
PERPETVO
CAESAR DICT/
PERPETVO

with wreath only

10a



CAESAR·IMP



with wreath only

10b



CAESAR/IMPER

with wreath only

11



CAESAR/DICT·
IN PERPETVO

veiled head

THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE VENUS-TYPES

A KNOTTY PROBLEM CONNECTED WITH THE COINAGE OF AZES

A. S. ALTEKAR

Among the Scythian and Parthian invaders of the Punjab who ruled in India during the 1st century B.C. and A.D., Azes occupies an important place. Sir John Marshall identified him with King Aya mentioned in the Taxila Silver Scroll inscription of the year 136, and postulated the theory, that he started the Vikrama era of 56 B.C.¹ Though this view is not now usually accepted, there cannot be any doubt that Azes was a powerful ruler whose sway extended over the Western Punjab and some portion of Afghanistan. Our information about Azes is mostly based upon his coins, which were issued in large numbers and in as many as 39 different types.

Azes was followed by another king named Azilises, who is usually taken to be his son. Azilises is known to us only from his coinage, issued in 22 different types. These two rulers usually borrow the main types of their predecessors, the Indo-Bactrian kings. They also follow them in giving the legend on the obverse in Greek script and language and the legend on the reverse in Kharoshṭrī script and Prakrit language, then well established among the Indian population of the Punjab.

On most of the types of Azes, the obverse legend is ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΖΟΥ and the Kharoshṭrī legend is *Maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa*

¹ *Cambridge History of India*, I (Cambridge, 1922), p. 571.

Ayasa. The Prakrit legend in Kharoshṭrī script is a translation of the Greek legend, both meaning, "Of the great king, king of kings, mighty Azes." Azes in Greek is Indianised into Aya.

On most of the coin types of Azilises, the obverse legend in Greek is ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΖΙΛΙΣΟΥ and that on the reverse in Kharoshṭrī script is *Maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Ayilishasa*. The meaning of this legend is, 'Of the great king, king of kings, mighty Azilises.' Here the name Azilises is Indianised into Ayilisha.

There are two coin types, however, which are extremely rare, on which the legends are:

A.

Obv. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΖΟΥ

Rev. *Maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Ayilishasa*

B.

Obv. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΖΙΛΙΣΟΥ

Rev. *Maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Ayasa.*

Specimens of these coins are described in detail and illustrated at the end of this paper.

These two types with their characteristically divergent legends have given rise to a controversy among scholars. Joint rule was a peculiar characteristic of the Indo-Scythian and Indo-Parthian rulers. Gondopharnes issued coins jointly with his nephew Abdagases. In the dynasty of the Śaka Kshatrapas of Western India we have several instances of the king issuing coins with the title Mahā-kshatrapa and his heir apparent simultaneously striking coins with the lower title Kshatrapa. In the case of the joint coinage of the Parthian ruler Vonones also, while he is given the imperial titles on the obverse in the Greek legend, his brother Spalahores or nephew Spalagadama bear no regal or imperial titles but are simply described as the brother or the nephew of the emperor.

It is usually assumed that the legend groups A and B described above demonstrate either that there were two rulers bearing the name Azes or that there were two with the name Azilises. Rapson,² Smith,³ Raychoudhari⁴ and others hold

² *Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 572.

³ Vincent A. Smith, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, I (Oxford, 1906), pp. 45-50.

⁴ H. C. Raychoudhari, *Political History of Ancient India*, 4th ed., pp. 365-67.

that Azes came first; during his old age he was ruling jointly with his son and heir apparent Azilises, who associated with the emperor also on the coinage, being given the place on the reverse. When in the course of time Azes I died, Azilises started issuing coins alone. But he also had a son, named after the grandfather Azes, who later became Azes II. During his old age Azilises associated his crown prince Azes with himself in the coinage and issued coins bearing his own name in Greek script on the obverse as AZOY and that of his crown prince Azilises as Ayilishasa in Kharoshṭrī on the reverse. This situation resulted in legend group B. In the course of time Azilises died and Azes II succeeded him, issuing coins with his own name on both obverse and reverse. This school of scholars maintains that the coins of Azes II are at present confused with those of Azes I. Of the 39 types bearing the name of Azes, some are of Azes I and some are of Azes II. It is difficult to believe that a king could have issued coins of 39 different types, however long might have been his reign or extensive his kingdom. Smith thinks that the artistically inferior types of Azes should be attributed to Azes II, and he has separated them in the *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum Calcutta*, I, pp. 47-50.

Dr. Whitehead, however, disagrees. In editing the catalogue of the coins in the Panjab Museum,⁵ he observes that the coins of Azilises are on the whole artistically superior to those of Azes. Art deterioration would thus indicate that Azilises preceded Azes and issued the usual type with the legends giving his name as AZIAISOY on the obverse and as Ayilishasa on the reverse. During his old age he associated his son Azes with himself, and during this transition period coins with the legend group B were issued, giving the name of Azilises in Greek on the obverse and that of his son Azes as Aya in Kharoshṭrī on the reverse. When Azilises I died, Azes ascended the throne and issued the 39 types of coins referred to earlier. Azes, however, had a son, named Azilises after his grand-father, who was associated with the government as crown prince during the old age of Azes. This period is represented by legend group A, where the name of Azilises appears on the obverse in Greek script, that of Azes as Aya on the reverse in Kharoshṭrī script. Azes died in due course, and Azilises ascended the throne as Azilises II, issuing coins bearing his own name on the obverse in Greek as Azilises and on the reverse in Kharoshṭrī as Ayalisha. According to Dr. Whitehead all the 39 types of Azes belong to one single king, while of the 22 types of Azilises some belong to Azilises I and some to Azilises II.

⁵ *Catalogue of Coins in the Panjab Museum, Lahore*, I (Oxford, 1914), p. 93.

For various reasons this view of Whitehead has not found general acceptance:

1. The argument of art deterioration is highly subjective and it cuts both ways. If we accept this art deterioration theory and the view that there were two kings of the name Azilises separated by Azes, then, there would be some coins of Azes artistically superior to those of Azilises (who is Azilises II of Whitehead), and some coins of Azes also inferior to those of Azilises (who would be Azilises I of Whitehead). We can as well argue that those coins of Azes which are artistically superior to those of Azilises even according to Whitehead belong to Azes I, and those of Azes which are artistically inferior to those of Azilises belong to Azes II.

2. The second objection to Whitehead's theory is the fact that there are 39 types of Azes and only 22 of Azilises. If we have to assume two kings of the same name, it is more reasonable to postulate two kings named Azes, rather than two named Azilises.

3. A third argument is also adduced in favor of the view that these were two kings with the name of Azes. The dynasty of Azes was succeeded by that of Gondapharnes, so well known from the legend of St. Thomas. The coinage of Gondopharnes shows that he was associated in the government with a strategos or general named Aśpavarman, whose name appears on the reverse in the Kharoshṭrī legend: *Indravarmaṇputrasa Aśpavarmasa strategasa jayatasa tratarasa*. We, however, find this general Aśpavarman associated with Azes in his coinage, where also he appears on the reverse with above coin legend, only with the last word *tratarasa* omitted⁶. If we assume that there were two Azilises and only one Azes, we shall have to assume that the career of Aśpavarman extended over part of the reign of Azes, the whole reign of Azilises II and part of the reign of Gondopharnes. This is very improbable, if not impossible. We also cannot easily explain why we should not have some coins where Aśpavarman is associated with Azilises II on his coinage. If, on the other hand, we hold that there were two kings with the name of Azes, we can assume that the king Azes associated with Aśpavarman is Azes II. When his dynasty was overthrown by Gondopharnes, Aśpavarman transferred his allegiance to the new conqueror and was permitted to be associated with him on his coinage.

The view now generally accepted by scholars is that Azes I was succeeded by Azilises, who in his turn was followed by Azes II, Aśpavarman being associated with Azes II and his conqueror, Gondopharnes. Among semi-barbarous tribes subordinates transfer their allegiance to a conqueror without much compunction.

⁶ R. B. Whitehead, *op. cit.*, I, p. 150; p. 130.

This view, though now almost universally accepted, is not without its own drawbacks. Proper weight has not been attached to the very important circumstance that in the case of the joint types both Azes and Azilises bear titles of identical imperial significance, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ on the obverse, and *Maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa* on the reverse. If one was the crown prince or viceroy or general of the other, then his titles should have been those of a subordinate ruler or officer and not identical with those of the emperor. Azes is associated with his general, Aśpavarman, on his coinage; the obverse legend gives the former the imperial title ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ while the reverse legend gives the latter the simple title *jayatasa* or victorious. Vonones is associated with his brother Spalahores and nephew Spalagadames; the Greek legend gives him the imperial titles ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ while the Kharoshṭrī legend simply describes the subordinate either as *maharajabhrata*, the brother of the emperor, or as *Spalahoraṣputra*, son of Spalahora. The usual practice in the Punjab at this time no doubt favoured joint coinage, but it was particular in giving distinctly inferior titles to the crown prince or viceroy associated with the emperor in the administration. Why then should the Azes group of kings depart from this custom and permit the crown prince or the viceroy to have identical imperial titles? That the crown prince or the viceroy should have imperial titles, identical with those of the emperor, is almost unthinkable.

How then are we to explain this riddle of the so-called joint coinage of Azes and Azilises? I would like to suggest a new way out of the difficulty.

We must not forget in this connection that the so-called joint coinage is represented by extremely rare coins; there are only two coins having the name of Azes on the obverse and Ayilisha i. e. Azilises on the reverse, and only one having the names of Azilises on the obverse and Aya i. e. Azes on the reverse⁷. This fact has its own significance when we remember that we have scores of specimens of most of the other types of Azes and Azilises. The joint rule must have extended over at least a few months, if not over a few years, and we should have fairly numerous specimens of both the so-called joint types. The joint type must have been intended to proclaim to the subjects the name of the crown prince, and the best way to do so was to issue it in abundant numbers. This, however, was not done. The joint types are, as observed above, extremely rare.

The best and perhaps the only way to explain these extremely rare types is to assume that they were the result of a mistake in the mint. At the time of the death

⁷ R. B. Whitehead, *op. cit.*, I, p. 132.

of Azes I the mint must have possessed many dies of his 39 different types. They were probably not all of them destroyed immediately after his reign but were allowed to remain in some of the drawers or cabinets of the mint. When Azilises ascended the throne, new dies were cut for him, both for the obverse and reverse. The dies of the old reign of Azes were perhaps lying in lower drawers and those of Azilises in upper drawers. It is not impossible to assume that a mistake might have been committed by a mint official in handing over to an artisan the obverse die of Azes bearing the Greek legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΖΟΥ along with a reverse die of the new king Azilises bearing the Kharoshṭrī legend *Maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Ayilishasa*. The muling of these two dies would result in legends of group A, giving rise to the false impression that Azes was ruling jointly with his son Azilises. Similarly, another mistake of the same nature might have been responsible for the combination of the obverse die of the new reign of Azilises with the reverse die of the old reign of Azes, resulting in the legends of group B and rendering the theory plausible that Azilises ruled for some time as emperor along with his son Azes as his crown prince.

These mistakes, however, would have been detected soon and the output of coinage with these wrong combinations of dies discontinued. This may be the reason why the so-called joint types are so far known in extremely small numbers.

If we accept this theory of a mint error, we can well understand why there is no difference in the status of Azes and Azilises in the legends occurring on their so-called joint coinage. This circumstance can hardly be explained by any other hypothesis.

The joint coinage of Aśpavarman with Azes and Gondopharnes need not compel us to assume an Azes II. Aśpavarman might have become *persona non grata* with Azilises; he might have been expelled from the administration and so could not figure on the coinage of Azilises. Being disgraced by Azilises, Aśpavarman might have bided his time and joined Gondopharnes when he attacked Azilises and conquered his dominion. He might have been rewarded for his service by the new conqueror by being reappointed a strategos and by being permitted to become associated with the emperor on his coinage in a subordinate capacity.

To conclude, we have insufficient evidence to warrant the theories that there were two Indo-Scythian kings named Azes or Azilises. The so-called joint coinage is so far known from two specimens of one variety and only one specimen of the other. Since they give identical imperial titles to the emperor on the obverse and to the subordinate crown-prince or viceroy on the reverse, it is best to assume

that these rare coins were no real independent types, but owe their existence to a mistake in the mint, resulting in the use of the obverse or reverse of the previous reign of Azes with the reverse or obverse of the subsequent reign of Azilises.

We give below a description of the coins under discussion. The figures 1 and 2 are reproduced from NC, 1890, Pl. X, 1-2.



Fig. 1



Fig. 2

TYPE A: (Fig. 1)

Azes on the obverse and Azilises on the reverse.

Silver, circular, 1.1" diameter, 140 grains; stated by Cunningham to be in "the French collection."

Obv. King on the horseback to r., carrying a spear; circular Greek legend: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΖΟΥ.

Rev. A deity standing to l., right hand extended, left hand carrying palm and banner. Legend: *Maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Ayilishasa.*

The illustration of Cunningham is obviously from a drawing. The second coin of this type is in the Punjab Museum, Lahore, no. 319.

TYPE B: (Fig. 2)

Azilises on the obverse and Azes on the reverse.

Silver, circular, 1" diameter, 140 grains; Cunningham's collection.

Obv. As above; circular legend: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΖΙΛΙΣΟΥ.

Rev. Pallas armed to l., shield on left arm, thunderbolt in upraised right hand, ready to hurl. Kharoshṭrī legend: *Maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Ayilishasa.*

LE ROI PYRRHOS

JEAN BABELON

La personnalité de Pyrrhos a été magnifiée jusqu'à devenir légendaire, par les historiographes latins jaloux d'ériger en puissante effigie l'image d'un héros qui avait fait trembler Rome, mais que Rome avait vaincu. Et Plutarque en a raconté la vie exemplaire. Il appartenait à la critique moderne d'examiner de plus près, dans le concret, ce que fut ce chef d'armées, auteur de victoires éclatantes, mais fallacieuses, de déterminer sa situation au début de l'époque hellénistique, au moment où s'éveillaient les convoitises des diadoques, et dans une incessante émulation, leur volonté de puissance, leur *virtù*, à l'italienne. C'est dans des conditions assez bien définies, qui déterminent une attitude politique et une éthique que Pyrrhos prend le titre de *basileus* en se tournant vers l'Occident ouvert à son ambition par ses rivaux qui luttent en Orient.¹ Or, Pyrrhos est l'héritier d'une

¹ Alexandre prend le titre de *basileus* après 330, d'abord à Alexandria ad Issum, puis à Citium, à Arados, à Amathous, à Sidé, à Tarse un an seulement avant sa mort, à Babylone. A Amphipolis le titre royal apparaît pour la première fois sur une monnaie frappée en Macédoine. A Pella, les monnaies portent seulement le nom d'Alexandre.

L'étymologie du mot βασιλεὺς demeure incertaine. Quant à sa portée, d'après Aristote (*Polit.* III, 1285, 6, 9) il confère à celui qui en est revêtu une autorité qui s'exerce en matière de guerre, de religion et de justice. Cette autorité est légale, repose sur la faveur de Zeus, et peut être héréditaire. Le terme apparaît dès l'époque homérique. Il s'applique aussi à des rois barbares, en Thrace, en Illyrie, en Thessalie, comme en Epire. Voy. l'article de Schoeffer, dans *RE*.

A βασιλεὺς s'oppose ἀνάσσειν, suivi d'un génitif (*Od.* IV, 602 – *Il.* X, 33; Pindare, *Olymp.* VI, 34 – XIII, 24; Eur. *Andromaque*, 22) voy. les observations de F. Chamoux, *Fouilles de Delphes. L'Aurige*, 1955, p. 28. Τύραννος désigne le maître absolu, l'usurpateur du pouvoir abusif.

autorité qui lui a été transmise par une dynastie. Cette tradition amalgamée à la conception monarchique suscitée par Alexandre le grand, compose en sa personne un type de souverain dont nous pouvons dessiner le caractère dans le moment historique où se produit son éphémère épiphanie.²

La numismatique, les émissions monétaires, nous instruisent autant que les textes des historiens ou les inscriptions, sur le destin du roi, sur la structure politique ou sociale, qui sont les conditions de son avènement. Dans les limites étroites du présent article, nous concentrerons notre attention sur les tétradrachmes qui ont pour types Zeus dodonéen et Dioné, et pour légende ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΥΡΡΟΥ.

Mais tout d'abord il importe de considérer le milieu d'où jaillit l'impétueuse activité de celui que les Romains appelaient l'Epirote.

Dans le Nord de la Grèce, occupé par des populations montagnardes, par des races dont l'énergie singulière devait se manifester au cours des temps par l'action non seulement d'hommes mais de femmes restés célèbres dans l'histoire, la nature même du pays, son morcellement, et jusqu'au climat rudement contrasté, l'individualisme forcené qui en est la résultante, devaient entretenir un état durable de demi-anarchie. Clans ou bandes, Molosses, Thesprotes, Athamanes, Chaones, Atintanes, Parauéens, Orestes – la liste abondante en est donnée par Hellanikos – facilement excités au pillage et aux raids profitables, mais attachés au terroir natal par un amour qui ne s'élève pas jusqu'à la notion de patriotisme,

On note aussi que la *basileia*, à l'orientale, n'a pas été adoptée sans nuances par les diadoques, les uns, comme les Séleucides s'étant considérés comme les successeurs du Grand Roi, les autres, à Pergame notamment, ayant édulcoré la manifestation du pouvoir suprême, en présence des peuples helléniques qu'ils avaient à gouverner.

Quant au terme de δεσπότης il n'a pas de portée proprement politique, et se réfère souvent au maître des dieux. Δυνάστης au contraire, contient l'idée de souveraineté, mais le dynaste est considéré comme un prince de peu d'importance, un principicule ou un roitelet, parfois subordonné au Grand Roi. Δυνάσται, βασιλεις, c'est ainsi, par exemple, que les auteurs grecs désignent, au milieu du III^e siècle, les chefs libyens que les Romains appellent *reguli*, au moment de la guerre des mercenaires contre Carthage.

Polybe (VII, 4, 5) qualifie Pyrrhos d' ἡγεμὼν καὶ βασιλεὺς. A. Aymard, "Le protocole royal grec et son évolution", *REA*, 1948, pp. 232, 268. Le tétradrachme publié par A. Amoros, *Arch. español de arqueologia*, 1950, nous présente avec la légende ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΥΡΡΟΥ, le portrait du roi non pas diadémé, mais couronné de chêne comme le Zeus de Dodone

² Martin P. Nilsson, *Studien zur Geschichte des alten Epeiros*, *Lunds Universitets Årsskrift*, N.F. 1, VI, 4, 1909. Idem, *Cults, Myths, Oracles and Politics in Ancient Greece* (Lund, 1951): The Epirote Royal House. Epeiros, dans *RE*. Guiseppe Nenci, *Pirro, aspirazioni egemoniche ed equilibrio mediterraneo* (Torino, 1953), p. 71 et ss., pp. 84, 85. Cross, *Epirus* (Cambridge, 1932).

Macédoniens ou Epirotes "les habitants de la terre ferme", devaient suivre leurs rois avec une fidélité fondée sur l'esprit d'aventure comme sur la cupidité, mais avec la fierté arrogante de guerriers qui ne voient dans leur chef qu'un égal à la merci de leur consentement.³

Entre toutes ces peuplades, les Molosses apparaissent comme la plus fortement organisée. On discerne chez eux les fondements d'un pouvoir que l'on peut déjà qualifier de royal, mais limité par les droits que revendique le peuple en armes. Ce pouvoir est donc constitutionnel, si l'on consent à appliquer ce terme anachronique à des populations peu évoluées, mais foncièrement démocratiques. De même qu'en Macédoine, où pourtant la descendance de la famille royale ne souffre aucune contestation – elle est d'origine divine, et la dynastie est héracléenne –, l'autorité du roi n'est pas reconnue sans examen chez les Molosses. A sa mort, c'est l'armée qui procède par acclamation au choix du successeur. Celui-ci n'est pas obligatoirement le fils du défunt. Toutefois l'espoir d'une transmission familiale reste vivace: citons le cas d'Alketas I, qui partage le pouvoir avec son fils, le futur Neoptolème I. Mais le nouveau chef est normalement l'objet d'une désignation délibérée. S'il est trop jeune pour exercer le gouvernement et conduire les troupes à la guerre, on place à ses côtés un régent. C'est le rôle joué par la fameuse et cruelle Olympias, auprès de Néoptolème. Si le roi se montre inférieur à sa tâche, il est toujours loisible aux hommes en armes de le déposer, et l'on n'oserait appliquer le nom de mutinerie à l'explosion de la volonté plurale qui entraîne la déchéance de l'incapable, et d'aventure sa mise à mort.

Ajoutons que le roi en exercice peut adjoindre à son autorité un représentant de la famille adverse qui la lui dispute. En étudiant l'évolution de la monarchie en Epire, sous les rois qui se succèdent: Tharyps, Arybbas, Alketas, Aeacides, Nilsson établit une comparaison avec la dyarchie de règle à Lacédémone,³ à quoi l'on peut opposer que la double magistrature, immuable comme le couple des Dioscures, est introduite officiellement dans la législation de Lycurgue, alors qu'elle n'est chez les Molosses qu'un remède d'occasion. En outre, on constate aux côtés du roi la présence d'un *prostatès*, ministre ou délégué du peuple, dont le rôle important est attesté par son nom inscrit sur les documents officiels immédiatement après celui du basileus.⁴

L'ascendant d'une personnalité douée d'une vigueur exceptionnelle, telle que celle de Philippe de Macédoine, le génie d'Alexandre et l'éclat fulgurant de ses

³ S. Accame, "La diarchia dei Molossi", *Riv. filol. class.*, 1934, pp. 522 ss.

⁴ Voir les inscriptions commentées par Nilsson, *Sammlung der griechischen Dialektinschriften*.

conquêtes devaient modifier cette conception de la royauté, dont l'absolutisme s'inspire désormais de l'exemple offert par la monarchie iranienne subjuguée. Toutefois, si l'on peut dater de cette époque la naissance d'une nation macédonienne, on a pu dire que sous Antigone Doson encore, le nom de roi était un titre vide. Néanmoins une évolution sociale se produisait, dont nul ne mesurait la portée, la monarchie absolue se révélait peu à peu comme le seul principe capable de cristalliser d'abord chacune des parties de l'univers, puis de les rassembler en un immense organisme. Cette gestation fut longue et pénible, elle se heurtait à des institutions confuses, à des traditions invétérées, plus fortes encore que des lois, et même à une philosophie propagée par les penseurs, dont les principes s'étaient répandus chez les "philhellènes".

Sans nous attarder dans ces anticipations, nous constatons en Epire, plus encore qu'en Macédoine, et jusqu'à une époque plus tardive, celle où nous nous plaçons, au moment où Pyrrhos accède au pouvoir, un conflit entre ce que nous appellerions, en des termes trop systématiques, le fédéralisme et la monarchie.

Avant le début du III^e siècle, trois rameaux, les Molosses, les Chaones et les Thesprotes composent, en fait sinon en droit, une alliance fédérale, sous l'autorité du roi des Molosses, autorité sans cesse chancelante, et qui connaît des éclipses comme des retours de lumière. Là encore, les qualités personnelles d'un jeune chef devaient lui permettre d'imposer son autocratie, dans le moment où les circonstances politiques étaient propices à l'essor de son ambition.⁵

Le nom même d'Epire, avec toute sa signification, non seulement son acception géographique, mais son unité sociale et politique, ne se manifeste pas avant le milieu du IV^e siècle. La symmachie des Epirotes, ΑΠΕΙΡΩΤΑΝ, est constituée dès 330, après la mort d'Alexandre le Molosse, et dès lors la frappe de monnaies de bronze en leur nom en atteste l'existence réelle. Dans un ouvrage récent, le Dr. P. R. Franke⁶ a accumulé des arguments qui lui permettent d'affirmer qu'il

⁵ Julius Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*, 1893-1897. Fr. Klotzsch, *Epirotische Geschichte bis zum Jahr 280* (Berlin, 1910). Niese, *Geschichte der griechischen und makedonischen Staaten seit der Schlacht bei Chaeronea*. M. Holleaux, *Rome, la Grèce et les monarchies hellénistiques* (Paris, 1921). Peter Robert Franke, *Alt-Epirus und das Königtum der Molosser*, 1955.

⁶ P. R. Franke, "Geschichte, Politik und Münzprägung im frühen Makedonien", *JNG*, 1952-53, pp. 99 ss. Doris Raymond, *Macedonian Regal Coinage*, *NNM*, No. 126 (New York, 1953). Konrad Kraft, "Der goldene Kranz Caesars", *JNG*, 1952-53, p. 26 (sur Zeus couronné de chêne). Rappelons que de 513 à 480 la Macédoine est une satrapie perse. D'après Hérodote le premier "roi" est Perdikkas, vers 700. L. Breglia, "Nuovi elementi per la circolazione monetaria e la storia dell'Epiro", *R. C. Accad. di Napoli*, 1941, pp. 145, 260.

ne peut être question jusqu'à cette date, d'une confédération des Epirotes sous l'autorité d'un roi d'Epire. C'est à titre d'héritier des rois des Molosses que Pyrrhos aurait acquis l'ascendant qui lui permit d'entreprendre son expédition en Italie puis en Sicile. Il convient donc d'examiner la portée du titre de *basileus* dont il fit précéder son nom. Quelle fut en son essence l'institution de la royauté en Epire, et par quels liens se rattache-t-elle aux monarchies hellénistiques, c'est la question que posent les monnaies que nous avons sous les yeux.

L'événement de 306, la victoire fameuse d'Antigone et de Démétrios Poliorcète sur Ptolémée, à Salamine de Chypre, ouvrit la voie aux ambitions personnelles des diadoques, que l'on voit tour à tour se proclamer *basileis*. Par émulation, le roi d'Epire se voyait autorisé à se parer du même titre, tandis que ses émules en compétition le poussaient habilement vers l'Occident et l'incitaient à s'y tailler un domaine égal à ceux qu'ils se disputaient en Orient. L'orgueil des Epirotes y trouvait son compte tout autant que leur cupidité. C'est ainsi que l'on peut se représenter le climat moral et politique qui régnait en Epire, quand Pyrrhos conçut son grand dessein. Mais son ascension même ne devait pas être durable: il n'en subsista rien après son échec. En 235, les Epirotes se débarrassaient de ses derniers descendants, et revenaient à leur indépendance, à laquelle ils donnaient la forme d'une république fédérale.

Quelques textes sont à relever à cet égard. Sur la plaque de bronze portant une inscription dédicatoire consécutive à la victoire d'Héraclée, on lit ceci:⁷ Βασιλεὺς Πύρρος καὶ Ἀπειρώται καὶ Ταραντῖνοι ἀπὸ Ῥωμαίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων Διὶ Ναίωσι. Il n'est donc pas question ici, apparemment de "roi des Epirotes," mais du *basileus* Pyrrhos, dans l'absolu, qui rend hommage au Zeus de Dodone avec les Epirotes et les Tarentins. Mais peut-être ne faut-il pas pousser trop loin, comme le fait P. R. Franke, cette exégèse d'un formulaire officiel, où l'on trouverait la preuve d'une sorte de dissociation entre le roi et le peuple qu'il avait entraîné à la conquête, et dont le nom ne figurerait ici que pour attester une manière d'alliance. Toujours est-il que le titre de *basileus*, tel qu'il est assumé par Pyrrhos, comme par Antigone, affirme une qualité éminente prise d'emblée par la volonté personnelle du roi, sans qu'apparaisse l'opinion populaire dont elle suppose ou escompte l'acquiescement.

⁷ SIG, n° 392. Cf. P.R. Franke, sur les restitutions et les corrections. Cf. l'inscription d'Antigone *basileus* et des Macédoniens, et Hampl, *Der König der Makedoner* (Leipzig, 1934). Il est à noter que sur les monnaies que nous aurons à examiner, le titre de ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ apparaît seul, sans être accompagné d'un ethnique tel qu'Ἀπειρωτῶν.

On pourrait ici évoquer, par contraste, la “royauté philosophique” d’Antigone Gonatas, conseillé par Ménédème d’Eréttrie, et dont le maître, Euphantos d’Olynthe, avait écrit, à l’usage de son disciple, un traité sur l’art de gouverner un royaume. Antigone se déclarait l’élève de Zénon, et le serviteur de son peuple. Aussi bien se refusait-il à reconnaître le titre de *basileus* à Séleucos ou à Ptolémée, avant, il est vrai, de s’en parer lui-même⁸.

Les légendes monétaires se présentent à l’appui de ces considérations. Dès le VI^e siècle, nous voyons un dynaste thrace prendre le titre de *basileus*, mais sous une forme particulière: ΓΕΤΑΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΗΔΟΝΑΝ, ou ΓΕΤΑΣ ΗΔΟΝΕΟΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ou ΓΕΤΑ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥ ΗΔΟΝΕΩΝ: Gétas, roi des Edoniens,⁹ et il est à supposer que la monarchie prenait cette forme démocratique sous les roitelets dont nous parle Thucydide: Térès, Sitalcès, plus tard Seuthès, l’adversaire redouté de Lysimaque, dont on a des monnaies à son effigie, en 323–311.¹⁰

Au contraire, sous les monarchies hellénistiques, le nom de *basileus*, sans évocation du peuple gouverné atteste un absolutisme tout personnel. On en observe l’introduction progressive dans la titulature des diadoques.

Les monnaies de Ptolémée Sôter se répartissent ainsi:

Première période, 323–305, monnaies au nom des suzerains successifs, aux types d’Alexandre le grand. Vers 316, la tête d’Héraclès se trouve remplacée par celle d’Alexandre coiffé de la peau d’éléphant, avec la légende ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΟΝ.

Une deuxième période s’étend de 305 à 285. Ptolémée prend le titre de *basileus* sur des statères qui portent son effigie, sur des tétradrachmes, aux types de la tête d’Alexandre coiffé de la peau d’éléphant, et d’Athéna Promachos, avec la légende ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ – sur des monnaies de bronze au type d’Alexandre cornu et l’aigle, avec la légende ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ – enfin sur des tétradrachmes à son effigie et l’aigle au revers, avec la légende ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ.¹¹

Les monnaies de Philippe Arrhidée, puis de Cassandre ne sont pas moins éloquentes: Philippe Arrhidée, de 323 à 316, frappe des tétradrachmes aux types alexandrins, avec ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ. Cassandre, de 316 à 297, ne frappe pas

⁸ Tarn, *Antigonos Gonatas*, p. 21.

⁹ Svoronos, *L’Hellénisme primitif de la Macédoine*, 1919, p. 49.

¹⁰ Gerassimov, “Effigie de Seuthès III 323–311 sur les monnaies”, *Bull. de la Soc. arch. bulgare*, XIX (1955, en bulgare). Après 323, quand Seuthès a été proclamé roi indépendant de la Thrace. Cf. Spokès qui prend le titre de *Basileus* à Abdère au IV^e s.: *HN*², p. 283. Remarquer que le titre de *basileus* est seul usité sur les inscriptions: *SIG*, n^{os}. 369, 392, 393, 453.

¹¹ Svoronos, *Τὰ νομίσματα τοῦ κράτους τῶν Πτολεμαίων*, I, p. ρβ’.

d'abord de monnaies d'or ou d'argent à son nom, mais les bronzes portent la légende ΚΑΣΣΑΝΔΡΟΥ, et plus tard ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΚΑΣΣΑΝΔΡΟΥ.

Quels sont les ressorts que pouvait faire jouer Pyrrhos pour imposer à ses tumultueux compatriotes un titre qui heurtait de front leurs tendances égalitaires et l'arrogance de leurs traditions? La religion d'abord, la référence au dieu national, le Zeus de Dodone, et à sa parèdre Dioné. Il est notable qu'après lui, les Epirotes libérés de la royauté, continuèrent à invoquer sur leurs monnaies les divinités dont il avait accaparé naguère pour lui seul la protection.¹²

D'autre part, il ne paraît point que le souvenir d'Alexandre ait gardé en Epire la même vigueur que dans les districts occupés par les Macédoniens. En fait, nous n'avons recueilli aucun témoignage sur la diffusion dans ces contrées des tétradrachmes aux types traditionnels d'Héraclès et de Zeus olympien. Il est vraisemblable pourtant que les secours envoyés à Pyrrhos par Ptolémée Keraunos ou par Antigone, se soldaient par des sommes d'argent comptées en "alexandres." Mais l'orgueil des Epirotes se fondait sur une descendance non moins illustre, et, à leurs yeux, plus prestigieuse encore, pour être plus lointaine et plus mythique, celle d'Achille, le héros de la guerre de Troie. Tout concourt donc à nous faire supposer que Pyrrhos, affirmant sa qualité de *basileus*, procéda de bonne heure à l'émission d'un monnayage personnel, et que d'autre part le répertoire de la propagande destinée à éveiller l'imagination de ses soldats, était emprunté au vieux fond national où se rencontraient le Zeus couronné de chêne, et le héros casqué dont la légende attisait tous les courages. Par un dernier subterfuge, le portrait même de Pyrrhos devait s'insinuer dans la suite iconographique du fils de Pélée et du vainqueur d'Hector.¹³

¹² Jean Gagé, "Pyrrhus et l'influence religieuse de Dodone dans l'Italie primitive", *RHR*, 1954, 1 (Avril-Juin) et 3 (Octobre-Décembre). P. Vuilleumier, *Tarente des origines à la conquête romaine*, 1937. J. Perret, *Les Origines de la légende troyenne de Rome*. Cf. la critique d'A. Momigliano, *JRS*, 35, 1945, pp. 99 ss.

Giannelli, *Culti e miti della Magna Grecia*, pp. 167-169. Dioné, parèdre de Zeus Naios à Dodone, variante ou prototype de Héra Pelasgis, dont Diomède était dévôt. Diomède était censé le fils de la Dioné de Dodone, dont il aurait emporté ou retrouvé l'image au cours de ses migrations en Italie. P. Fraser, "A bronze from Dodona", *JHS*, 1954, p. 56: dédicace à Zeus Naios.

Carapanos, *Dodone et ses ruines*. Bursian, "Die wissenschaftlichen Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen in Dodona", *Sitzber. d. Akad. zu München*, 1878. Cf. Cook, *Zeus*, I, p. 369. II, I, p. 753. La tête de Dioné paraît sur des monnaies de bronze des Athamanes, vers 220-190; Zeus couronné de chêne sur des monnaies d'argent de Cassopé, vers 238-168. Enfin, sur une monnaie de bronze de Dodone, du milieu du IV^e s., on voit l'image de Zeus, la tête ceinte d'une simple taenia, avec la légende ΔΙΑ ΝΑΟΝ: E. Babelon, *Inv. Waddington*, p. 431. Th. Reinach, *Rev. Arch.*, 1905, II, p. 97.

¹³ Pausanias, II, II, 7: "Tandis que les envoyés des Tarentins parlaient ainsi, le souvenir de la prise

Les premières pièces qui se présentent à notre examen dans ce monnayage ostentatoire par lequel le roi d'Épire manifeste sa puissance et revendique sa qualité de *basileus*, sont de beaux tétradrachmes, d'exécution très soignée, frappés sur des flans larges et minces, d'étalon pondéral attique. Leur style est si particulier qu'il les a fait juger avec quelque sévérité par les partisans intransigeants du classicisme, mais par là même ils se signalent à notre attention, selon le penchant plus marqué que nous avons de nos jours pour le goût baroque. D'autre part, on peut relever une certaine opposition entre le développement assez tumultueux de l'effigie de Zeus dodonéen qui paraît au droit, et la rigueur archaïsante de la figure de Dioné qui en forme le revers. Ces monnaies si raffinées marquent donc un jalon dans l'histoire de l'art. Il suffit pour s'en convaincre de les comparer avec celles des diadoques à la même époque.

Les différents exemplaires que nous avons eus entre les mains autorisent un classement dont on trouvera ici l'esquisse, mais les nuances que l'on peut relever de l'un à l'autre ne peuvent être dûment interprétées qu'en se référant à la manière particulière de graveurs employés en un même atelier, et dont l'activité se concentre en un bref laps de temps. Les besoins de la trésorerie du roi, dans les circonstances que nous pouvons imaginer, au début de sa campagne d'Italie, exigeaient l'émission d'un numéraire très abondant, et la production en fut hâtée par tous les moyens.

Dans son *Mémoire sur les médailles siciliennes de Pyrrhus*, en date du 16 Décembre 1831, Raoul-Rochette énumère deux tétradrachmes provenant de Sicile, deux autres au Cabinet des médailles, de provenance inconnue, un dans la collection du duc de Luynes, provenant de Carelli, qui l'avait reçu de Sicile, un au British Museum (*Recueil de Combe*, 1814, p. 117, n. 2), un autre au British Museum, provenant de l'ancienne collection Payne-Knight, trouvé en Sicile, publié par Sestini (*Musée Venuti, Descriptio numorum veterum*, pl. IV, n. 1, p. 163), un autre, inédit, pl. I, n. 7.

Les tétradrachmes en question portent au droit la tête de Zeus dodonéen, et au revers la figure de Dioné assise. Nous décrivons les deux faces successivement, en analysant les variantes.

de Troie s'imposa soudain à Pyrrhus, avec l'assurance de vaincre, lui aussi, et pour les mêmes raisons: n'allait-il pas combattre contre une colonie de Troyens, lui, le descendant d'Achille?" On me permettra de renvoyer à ce sujet à ma communication au Congrès numismatique de 1953, relative aux monnaies de Pyrrhos qui ont pour types la tête d'Achille et au revers Thétis sur l'hippocampe. Cf. E. Ciaceri, *Storia della Magna Graecia*, III (Rome, 1916), p. 78, n. 4. Un vase trouvé à Tarente et actuellement au musée de Bénévent porte l'image de Pyrrhos, avec la légende βασιλεὺς Πύρρο.

DROIT

A. Tête de Zeus dodonéen, à g., couronné de chêne, Sous la tranche du cou, ☉Ξ

Le nez droit, la pupille marquée par un point près de la paupière supérieure. L'oeil est enfoncé sous l'arcade sourcilière, indiquée par un bourrelet qui va de la tempe à la racine du nez, laissant un espace sous les cheveux. Le rameau de chêne qui forme la couronne, s'étend du sommet du crâne jusqu'à la tempe. Boucles de cheveux en S, étagées jusqu'à la nuque. La tranche du cou est ondulée.

Luynes, n°. 1898 (Cabinet des Médailles, 294). 16gr. 61
Am. Num. Soc.

PLANCHE VII,1

Locker Lampson, n°. 187. 16gr. 82.

Naples, Fiorelli, n°. 6831 (☉Α?).

Jameson, n°. 1127. 16gr. 95.

Pozzi, n°. 1287. 16gr. 52

Fitzwilliam Museum, n°. 5164. 17gr. 05.

E. Seltman, *RBN*, 1912, p. 1. Trouvé à Gerace.

Coll. Collignon, n°. 228, 229.

Naville, X, 1925. Hirsch, n°. 533. Trouvé à Cacace. 16gr. 71.

Weber, n°. 3014. 16gr. 82.

Fiorelli, Santangelo, n°. 10340.

Mionnet, n°. 23, 24 (avec le foudre). *Suppl.* n°. 10. Raoul-Rochette, *op. cit.*, pl. 1, n°. 7.

BM. *A Guide to the Principal Coins of the Greeks*, pl. 37, n°. 17. *BMC, Thessaly*, p. 111, n°. 6.
16gr. 70.

Il y a un coin de Becker, avec le foudre au droit, et au revers A. G.F. Hill, *Becker the Counterfeiter*, 1924, pl. IV, n°. 57.

B. Tête de Zeus dodonéen, à g., couronné de chêne. Sous la tranche du cou, A.

Le nez légèrement ondulé. La pupille marquée au centre du globe oculaire. L'oeil enfoncé dans un bourrelet de chair assez accentué. La couronne de chêne enlacée dans les boucles de la chevelure, en un simple rameau qui va de la nuque au-dessus du crâne. La tranche du cou en arc de cercle à peine ondulé.

BM. Lloyd Bequest

Coll. Walcher de Moltheim, n°. 1299. 16gr.

Cabinet des Médailles, n°. 295. 17gr.

PLANCHE VII,3

Coll. de Nanteuil, trouvé à l'emplacement de Locres. 16gr. 28.

Cat. Ad. Hess, Lucerne, 1956, n°. 288; Bement, n°. 972.

Coll. Warren, n°. 735. 16gr. 98.

A. Baldwin Brett, *Museum of Fine Arts. Boston, Catalogue of Greek Coins* (Boston, 1955),
n°. 944. 16gr. 98.

The Pierpont Morgan Collection. Catalogue of the Greek and Roman Coins, Abukir Medallions, Roman Gold Bar, arranged by Wayte Raymond (New York, 1953), no. 154. Ex. Sambon Coll. 415, du Chastel, 104.

C. Tête de Zeus dodonéen, à g. couronné de chêne.

Le nez presque droit. La pupille marquée d'un point au centre du globe de l'oeil. Le bourrelet de chair au-dessus de l'oeil est légèrement accentué. La couronne de chêne se divise en deux rameaux, l'un s'étend jusqu'au sommet du crâne, l'autre jusqu'à la tempe. La tranche du cou presque droite.

BMC, Thessaly, p. 111, no. 7. 16gr. 13.

D. Tête de Zeus dodonéen, à g.

Le relief est relativement peu accentué. Le nez ondulé. Pli marqué entre le nez et la joue. Les boucles de cheveux et de la barbe sont serrées et sommairement indiquées. L'oeil est relativement petit, l'iris et la pupille indiqués. La couronne de chêne est étalée sur le crâne et n'atteint pas la tempe sèchement modelée. La tranche du cou est rectiligne.

Cabinet des Médailles, no. 296. 16gr. 37.

PLANCHE VII,2

REVERS

a. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΥΡΡΟΥ. Dioné drapée, coiffée du calathos, assise à g. sur un trône à dossier, tenant un long sceptre, et soulevant son peplos de sa main g. A l'ex. A.

Le dossier du trône est carré. Aux deux angles, un ornement quadrangulaire. Les pieds sont tournés et forme de balustres, avec deux cercles, les pointes en bas. Le sceptre, posé transversalement et tenu par la main dr. va de la ligne de terre jusqu'au dessus du calathos. La main g. est ouverte, les doigts écartés, sauf le pouce et l'index qui tiennent un pan du peplos à la hauteur de la tête. Les cheveux sont coiffés en chignon au dessus de la nuque. Un rang de perles, terminé par deux ornements allongés, pend le long du cou, sur le haut de l'épaule g.

Cabinet des Médailles, n°. 296. Raoul-Rochette, *op. cit.*, pl. 1, n°. 7.

PLANCHE VII,2

BMC, Thessaly, p. 111, n°. 6.

ANS.

b. Même légende. Dioné drapée, assise à g. sur un trône.

Le sceptre est placé obliquement, et vient toucher l'O de la légende. La tête est relativement grosse, et le calathos petit. Rang de perles tombant du chignon, lon-

geant le cou et le haut de l'épaule g. On distingue le pendant sur l'épaule dr. Les pieds du trône se terminent par deux toupies. Le haut du dossier est surmonté d'ornements en forme de W. Le sceptre se termine par un fleuron.

BM. Lloyd Bequest.

c. Même légende. Dioné drapée, assise à g. sur un trône.

La tête est penchée en avant. Le long du cou, une tresse de cheveux. Le haut du dossier du trône est orné de cônes renversés. Les pieds du trône se terminent par deux toupies.

Cabinet de Médailles, no. 295.

PLANCHE VII,3

d. Même légende. Dioné assise à g. sur un trône.

Le sceptre passe obliquement entre l'O et l'Y de la légende. La tête est petite, sur un très long cou. Le long du cou, un rang de perles. Les pieds du trône se terminent par deux toupies. Le haut du dossier est orné de fleurons.

BMC, *Thessaly*, p. III, no. 7.

e. Même légende. Dioné assise à g. sur un trône.

La tête est relativement grosse. Le sceptre est indiqué par un grènetis. Les montants du trône sont surmontés de petits triangles. Les pieds du trône présentent trois ressauts circulaires. A l'ex. A.

Cabinet des Médailles, no. 294.

PLANCHE VII,1

BRONZE

Tête de Zeus dodonéen, couronné de chêne, à dr. R/ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΥΡΡΟΥ. Foudre. Couronne de chêne.

BMC, *Thessaly*, p. 114, no. 40. Au dessous, A. Autre exemplaire, au rev. B ΠΡ. Fiorelli, Naples.

Imhoof Blumer, *Monnaies grecques*, no. 48.

Coll. Weber, no. 3020, B ΠΡ. No. 3021.

SNG, *Copenhagen, Epirus* no. 100, A-102, B. Coll. Lambros et Argyropoulos.

Eckhel, no. 6. Theupolus.

Fitzwilliam Mus., no. 5174, au rev. ΒΑ ΠΥΡ, cheval au galop. Mionnet, no. 26. Theupolus.

Mionnet, *Suppl.*, no. 29, tête de Zeus lauré, à g. au rev. monogr. couronne de chêne, coll. du marquis de Lagoy – Mionnet, *Suppl.* no. 16, tête de Zeus lauré, à g. Gessner, tab. IV, fig. 20.

Cabinet des Médailles, nos. 317, 318, 319, 320.

L'image de Zeus dodonéen, couronné de chêne, évoque d'une façon précise le plus saisissant des paysages épirotes et le culte qui s'y était établi. C'est à Dodone au pied des sommets escarpés du Tomaros que, dès le temps des Pélasges, Zeus avait reçu le foudre, et s'était manifesté par l'oracle issu du bruissement propagé par les feuilles des chênes séculaires. Zeus Naos de Dodone était essentiellement le dieu des eaux qui ruisselaient entre leurs racines puissantes. Une ancienne tradition, recueillie par Etienne de Byzance, et remontant à l'historien Kineas, se réfère sur ce point, à la ville de Phegon, en Thessalie, d'où l'oracle de Zeus Phegonaios avait émigré en Epire. Après la bataille d'Asculum, en 274, Pyrrhos ayant reporté son quartier général à Tarente, pour l'hivernage, invoque l'appui de Zeus Naios, et envoie son butin au temple de Dodone.¹⁴

Quant au type plastique des tétradrachmes au nom de Pyrrhos *basileus*, on remarque à première vue le style exceptionnel qui les distingue de toutes les représentations analogues, et dans l'alliance de la couronne de chêne et de la chevelure, le goût baroque de la composition. Le lien de la couronne enserre étroitement la tête jusqu'au dessus de la nuque, et contient mal des boucles tumultueuses. Le volume des muscles faciaux est modelé avec soin, l'oeil enfoncé sous un bourrelet de chair, le front ondulé ou convulsé, les pommettes saillantes, le nez bossué. La barbe est disposée en trois rangs de boucles étagées, la moustache dessine une lourde virgule. Nous sommes loin ici du Zeus olympien figé dans une majesté immobile. Un nouveau génie s'est emparé du thème traditionnel purement statique, ou plutôt, il lui a substitué le frémissement même du feuillage qui transmettait les ondes du message divin.

Quelle que soit son originalité, cette effigie, dont nous ne saurions désigner l'auteur, si novateur, n'est pas isolée dans l'art monétaire. Mais si elle se rattache à des types similaires, quand nous la plaçons à côté de ceux-ci, son caractère particulier s'accuse avec netteté. C'est bien à Elis que nous pouvons situer le point de départ. Alexandre le Molosse, en Epire, avant ses campagnes d'Italie, en 334, avait fait copier sur ses monnaies les types des monnaies d'Olympie.¹⁵ Après avoir conquis les colonies éléennes d'Epire, il était resté en étroites relations avec

¹⁴ Pausanias, I, 13, 2. Voyez le buste de Berlin, qui représente Ζεύς ναός (sic), couronné de roseaux, les cheveux et la barbe ruisselants. Welcker, *Griechische Götterlehre*, I, p. 203. Cf. l'inscription publiée par Carapanos, 45, 16, 47, 18: Διὶ Νάου καὶ Δίονα [ὁ δεινὰ] ἐρωτᾷ τὸν Δία καὶ τὰν Διώναν. L'archiprêtre portait le nom de ναίαρχος, et des jeux dits Νάια avaient été institués. Le dieu primitif des sources fut identifié plus tard avec Zeus. Voy. Kern, cité par Kruse, dans *RE*. Comparez la tête barbue trouvée à Chios: *Corolla Ludwig Curtius*, 1937, pp. 104 ss., pl. 25, 26, 27.

¹⁵ M. P. Vlasto, "Alexander Son of Neoptolemos of Epirus", *NC*, 1926, pl. X, 7, 8. Autre type, 9, 10.



LE ROI PYRRHOS

1-3, Tétradrachmes de Pyrrhos. — 4, Statère des Bruttiens. — 5, Statère d'Alexandre le Molosse, —
6, Statère de Locres. — 7-9, Didrachmes de Pyrrhos.

leur métropole, et avait fait figurer en symbole sur son numéraire la tête d'aigle d'Elis. Sur les monnaies frappées probablement en Epire vers 342-334, Zeus apparaît couronné de chêne, la barbe épaisse, le nez droit et long. Vlasto citait à ce sujet un passage de Denys d' Halicarnasse: "Μὴ παρέργως δὲ μηδ' αὐτον τὸν στέφανον παρέλθης ὅστις εἴη· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐν τούτῳ γενόμενος ἀπορήσεις ἐπαίνου· τὴν μὲν δρῶν, ὅτι ἱερὰ Διός, καὶ ὅτι ἡ πρώτη καὶ πρεσβυτάτη τροφή τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ ὅτι οὐκ ἄφρωνος, ἀλλὰ ἐφθέγξατό ποτε ἐν Δωδώνῃ."¹⁶ PLANCHE VII,5

Le foudre était donc un symbole épirote, de même que l'aigle et le fer de lance, insigne aeacide, comme l'a noté Evans, en se référant à une épigramme de Léonidas (CXXIV,4) relative à Pyrrhos: "Αἰχμηταὶ καὶ νῦν καὶ πάρος Αἰακίδαι."¹⁷

Etabli par la suite à Tarente, de 334 à 332, Alexandre le Molosse fait frapper des monnaies d'argent avec pour types Zeus dodonéen, couronné de chêne, la barbe courte et frisée, les cheveux longs, le tout en haut relief. Ernest Babelon écrivait à ce propos: "C'est uniquement par l'appréciation des mérites artistiques qu'on peut admettre que les pièces d'or et d'argent, qui sont du meilleur style, ont été frappées en Italie, peut-être dans l'atelier de Tarente ou celui de Locres, en Bruttium, tandis que les pièces de bronze et celles d'argent d'un style inférieur, sont épirotes."¹⁸ Mais nous savons que les graveurs étaient itinérants qu'on les attirait de ville en ville ou d'Etat en Etat, pour se parer de leur adresse, et qu'une fois en place, ils pouvaient être secondés par des artistes locaux qui s'étaient mis à l'école des maîtres étrangers.¹⁹ D'autre part, nous citons à l'instant les monnaies d'Alexandre le Molosse, frappées vraisemblablement en Epire, et dont le style ne saurait nullement être qualifié d'inférieur. Rien ne s'oppose en fait à ce que les artistes de la Grande Grèce aient traversé la mer Ionienne pour se rendre soit à Dodone même, soit à Ambracie, ou en quelque lieu choisi par Pyrrhos pour y établir son atelier royal.

On a rapproché aussi le type de Zeus dodonéen des monnaies d'Alexandre le Molosse, de la tête voilée dite Perséphone, Gaia, Aphrodite ou Amphitrite, telle

¹⁶ *Ars rhet.* I, 6.

¹⁷ A. J. Evans, "The Horsemen of Tarentum", *NC*, 1889, p. 142, n°. 172. Le fer de lance est le type des monnaies épirotes autonomes. Cf. les monnaies d'or et d'argent frappées à Tarente pendant l'hégémonie de Pyrrhos. On peut comparer la tête de Zeus des monnaies d'Alexandre le Molosse avec la tête barbue du guerrier combattant une Amazone, sur un fragment de bronze de Siris, conservé au BM, où l'on a voulu reconnaître la cuirasse de Pyrrhos, mais qui remonte plutôt à Alexandre le Molosse.

¹⁸ Babelon, *Traité*, II, 4, p. 152.

¹⁹ Macdonald, *JHS*, 1907, p. 149.

qu'elle apparaît sur les monnaies d'or de Tarente, avec la signature KAA. Il faudrait encore en trouver le prototype sur les statères d'argent de la ligue arcaïenne, frappés vers 363-343, où le type léonin de Zeus révèle l'influence de Lysippe.

Une autre relation doit être établie avec les monnaies des Brettians qui ont pour types la tête de Poseidon et au revers Amphitrite, et surtout avec le statère d'or des mêmes Brettians, où la tête de Zeus est proche parente de celle du Zeus dodonéen de Pyrrhos. Toutefois, un examen attentif nous oblige de constater dans le premier cas moins de souplesse dans le maniement du burin, un style plus rigide et plus froid, notamment dans le modelé de la chevelure disposée en trois boucles alignées. **PLANCHE VII,7**

Dernier élément de comparaison, les monnaies frappées par les Mamertins de 278 à 270. Cette fois, l'influence des événements consécutifs à la campagne de Pyrrhos est patente. Les monétaires changent d'étalon pondéral et adoptent pour type la tête de leur dieu national Arès, tournée vers la gauche et non plus vers la droite. Le style en est plus hellénisé que par le passé, et se rapproche du Zeus de Dodone.²⁰

La figure de Dioné, qui forme le type de revers des tétradrachmes de Pyrrhos fait contraste avec le caractère baroque de la tête de Zeus. On notera le caractère archaïsant de la composition si sévère. Peut-être – mais on ne saurait le prouver – s'agit-il de la reproduction libre d'une statue, comme il arrive pour l'Athéna Alkidemos qui paraît sur d'autres monnaies de Pyrrhos. Le motif se présente toutefois sous un aspect assez variable, si nous comparons les coins différents qui sont sous nos yeux, la déesse étant ici plus modelée, dans un métal plus souple et plus gras, penchée en avant, là plus linéaire et dessinée d'un trait plus dur, l'attitude plus raide, le sceptre indiqué par un grénétis séchement gravé.

Où donc ont été frappés les tétradrachmes du roi Pyrrhos? Quand il s'est agi de localiser cet atelier inconnu, on a pu tirer argument de la similitude que ces monnaies présentent avec celles de Locres. Sur ces dernières, l'effigie de Zeus décèle un style antérieur à celui du Zeus dodonéen de Pyrrhos. En tout état de cause, on ne saurait attribuer à un même artiste, contrairement à une opinion qui s'est répandue parmi les numismates, la gravure de ces deux catégories de coins.

Nous sommes amenés par là à passer en revue le monnayage de Locres, pour lui comparer les monnaies de Pyrrhos qui nous occupent présentement. Locres, la cité florissante située au Sud de la presqu'île italienne, sur la mer de Sicile,

²⁰ Margit Särström, *A Study in the Coinage of the Mamertines* (Bâle et Lund, 1940)

émit de bonne heure des monnaies qui attestent son importance commerciale, comparable à celle de Tarente. Les premières remontent au milieu du IV^e siècle. Le prestige en est resté tel que Barclay Head attribuait la haute qualité artistique des monnaies d'Alexandre, fils de Néoptolème, à des graveurs originaires de Locres. Vlasto considérait au contraire que les monnaies de Locres étaient des copies du statère de Tarente. Mais cette dernière opinion ne s'accorde guère avec la chronologie, si nous admettons que les monnaies d'or frappées en Italie par le Molosse, en 332-330, avec pour type la tête de Zeus dodonéen, s'alignent sur celles de Tarente, de Locres et de Syracuse, dont les graveurs devaient appartenir à la même école.

Une des monnaies les plus significatives de Locres est le statère qui porte la tête de Zeus, comparable au Zeus d'Elis, et au revers, avec la légende ΕΙΡΗΝΗ ΑΟΚΡΩΝ, un type inspiré sans doute des monnaies de Terina. Cette pièce se place aussitôt après le milieu du IV^e siècle.²¹

Quant aux statères bien connus de Locres, qui nous présentent au droit la tête de Zeus couronné de laurier, et au revers, avec la légende ΑΟΚΡΩΝ, Rome assise sur un trône, désignée par le nom de ΡΩΜΑ, et une figure qui lui rend hommage, soulignée par la légende ΠΙΣΤΙΣ, ils se rapportent aux événements consécutifs au débarquement de Pyrrhos en Italie. Après la bataille d'Héraclée, Locres tombe aux mains du vainqueur. Le succès incertain du roi d'Épire provoque la réaction du parti romain, suffisamment outragé par le pillage du temple de Perséphone auquel Pyrrhos avait laissé ses troupes s'abandonner. La monnaie fut frappée pour affirmer la fidélité de Rome envers ses alliés parfois défaillants. La tête de Zeus qui en forme l'un des types n'est pas celle du Zeus dodonéen, puisque le laurier ceint les tempes du dieu, mais l'effigie est de très près analogue à celle dont nous avons examiné les traits sur les tétradrachmes de Pyrrhos: l'imitation est flagrante, et il suffit de comparer ces statères à ceux que nous citons ci-dessus pour constater qu'un nouveau style avait été dès lors introduit dans l'atelier locrien. PLANCHE VII,6

C'est sans doute pour des raisons analogues que le revers du statère d'or des Brettians représentant Amphitrite semble une réplique très fidèle du revers du didrachme de Pyrrhos, où l'on voit Thétis assise sur le cheval marin. PLANCHE VII,7-9

Nous avons vu que les statères d'Alexandre le Molosse, avec en symbole la tête

²¹ *BMC, Italy*, p. 364, n^o. 7. *HN²*, p. 102. D'autres dates ont été données: Milani, peu après 400; Regling, vers 388 (*Klio*, VI, p. 514). Le style de ces pièces ne soutient aucunement cette datation. Vers le milieu du IV^e s. les monnaies corinthiennes circulent à Locres, et de même les monnaies syracusaines: Orsi, *Not. Scavi*, 1912, p. 372, et *RIN*, 1908, pp. 339-40, trouvaille de Gerace.

d'aigle, ont du être frappés en Epire plutôt qu'à Locres. D'autres ont pour type la tête de Zeus dodonéen et le foudre, avec en symboles le fer de lance et l'étoile, types spécifiquement épirotes. Giesecke remarque à ce sujet qu'Alexandre se montre ici le précurseur de Pyrrhos, en ceci qu'il tente d'introduire en Italie une monnaie nouvelle, internationale, et qu'il voit par là le moyen d'éterniser son nom en donnant à son numéraire l'attrait de la qualité artistique. Sur d'autres statères du même poids, 7gr. 60, apparaît la tête de Zeus, comparable à celle des tétradrachmes de Pyrrhos, mais laurée, et d'un style nettement différent, avec au revers l'aigle dévorant un lièvre, pareil à celui des décadrachmes d'Agrigente datant de 413.²² Citons enfin les monnaies de bronze frappées à Locres: Tête d'Athéna coiffée d'un casque corinthien à panache, R/ ΛΟΚΡΩΝ Perséphone assise sur un trône tenant un sceptre et une patère.²³ On retrouve dans le type du droit les traits de la tête d'Achille que nous présentent les monnaies de Pyrrhos. Ce monnayage évoque les monnaies de Hiéron et des Bruttians antérieures à l'arrivée de Pyrrhos.²⁴

Les trouvailles ne nous apportent guère d'argument concluant sur le lieu d'émission des monnaies de Pyrrhos. Celle de Gerace, l'antique Locres, qui remonte à 1838, a pu paraître décisive. Raoul-Rochette a rapporté les circonstances de la découverte du trésor, par des femmes, dans le ravin de Milligri. Le tout était contenu dans un vase en terre. Outre vingt tétradrachmes de Pyrrhos, il y avait des monnaies de Syracuse, des monnaies de Palerme à légende phénicienne, et des Pégases. Presque toutes celles de Pyrrhos vinrent aux mains de la nièce du curé, Francesco Mani, avant d'être déposées à Naples. La nouvelle en parvint à Raoul-Rochette par l'intermédiaire de Pasquale Scaïoli.²⁵

Un autre trésor a été trouvé à Gerace, en 1904. D'après Paolo Orsi, qui l'a publié, il aurait été enfoui vers 282. Mais nous savons que Pyrrhos ne débarqua en Italie qu'en 280. Quelques tétradrachmes au type de Zeus dodonéen faisaient partie de ce dépôt.²⁶

²² Giesecke, *Italia numismatica*, p. 90, pl. 11, n^{os}. 16, 17.

²³ Garrucci, *Monete dell'Italia antica*, pl. CXII.

²⁴ Giesecke, *Italia numismatica*, p. 109, pl. 15, n^o. 1.

²⁵ Sydney P. Noe, *A Bibliography of Coin Hoards*², NNM, No. 78, p. 54, cite la trouvaille de Carlentini, en Sicile, en 1909: Une monnaie d'or de Pyrrhos. Voy. P. Orsi, *Not. Scavi*, 1912, p. 372 – Gerace, 1838. Les vingt tétradrachmes de ce dépôt ont été répartis entre plusieurs collections: Santangelo, Durand, Millingen, Stewart.

²⁶ Paolo Orsi, *RIN*, 1908, pp. 339, 340. Les pièces ont été vendues à Hirsch par Virzi, de Palerme. Six exemplaires ont été acquis pour l'Etat italien par Corrado Ricci. SNG, *Lloyd Collection*, n^o. 656.

Enfin E. J. Seltsam signale "une monnaie importante de Pyrrhus, roi d'Épire" L'exemplaire en question a été trouvé à Gerace, dans le lit d'un torrent. Il fut acquis en Janvier 1897, par Chapman, qui faisait des fouilles dans la région, puis il fut vendu à Frank Sherman Benson. Chapman, en 1897, avait découvert l'emplacement du temple dorien du V^e siècle à Locres.²⁷

Rien de tout cela ne nous oblige à croire que les tétradrachmes de Pyrrhos aient été frappés à Locres. Pyrrhos a dû préparer son expédition en frappant de l'argent pour payer ses troupes, ses bataillons d'Épirotes et les mercenaires de différentes origines qu'il avait recrutés. Il lui fallait en même temps assurer sa propagande politique et ses intérêts économiques. Nous pouvons supposer sans forcer la vérité, qu'il aura fait venir au préalable des graveurs de Grande Grèce en Épire. Un dépôt effectué lors de la campagne en Italie méridionale peut bien être le trésor d'un capitaine ou la caisse d'un payeur aux armées, ou simplement le magot, d'un soldat, laissé sur le terrain précisément sur le lieu des opérations.

L'activité de l'atelier monétaire de Locres, attestée par de nombreuses émissions, a fait supposer que Pyrrhos en avait employé l'outillage et le personnel pour faire frapper ses propres monnaies,²⁸ mais des considérations de technique et de style, particulièrement en ce qui concerne les tétradrachmes qui ont pour type Zeus dodonéen, frappés sur un flan large et mince, avec un relief relativement peu ressenti, nous donnent à penser qu'au contraire un matériel nouveau fut alors mis en usage.

Les circonstances historiques n'éclaircissent guère le problème, si même elles ne contribuent pas à en rendre la solution douteuse. Après son débarquement et son premier séjour à Tarente, Pyrrhos se rendit maître, en effet, de Locres qui, durant les guerres samnites, était passée du côté des Romains, inaugurant ainsi les tergiversations, pour ne pas dire les trahisons successives qui marquent son histoire. Ce n'est pas par la violence que l'Épirote s'empara de la ville. Autant que des armes, il avait de l'or et de l'argent dans les mains, et son trésor de guerre regorgeait de métal précieux. Il s'était muni de ressources considérables qu'il répandait à foison. Ainsi s'explique le monnayage d'or des Bruttians ou de Tauromenium, comme celui de Tarente ou de Syracuse, pendant le séjour de Pyrrhos en Italie et en Sicile.²⁹ Ces régions ne disposaient pas, on le sait, de mines

²⁷ RBN, 1912, p. 5.

²⁸ Lenormant, CRAI, 1880, p. 480. HN², p. 104. G. F. Hill, *Historical Greek Coins*, p. 126.

²⁹ Giesecke, *Sicilia numismatica*, p. 113 et ss.

d'or à exploiter.³⁰ Ce n'est qu'en 268 que Crotona, Locres, Thurium reçurent des garnisons romaines munies des premiers *quadrigati* d'argent frappés sous l'autorité de Rome. L'innovation apportée par Pyrrhos consista précisément dans l'émission de pièces d'or et de bronze.

En 281, la flotte romaine se présenta devant Tarente,³¹ et les troupes romaines firent tête à Pyrrhos, mais en 280, la bataille d'Héraclée qui assure tout au moins la gloire du roi d'Épire, sinon le succès définitif de ses armes, provoque bien des défections, notamment celle d'Héraclée. Locres suit le mouvement. Sur la route de Sicile, Pyrrhos s'y arrête pour établir une base, et il y laisse son fils Alexandre. Locres et Tarente sont donc les deux points d'appui dont il s'assure. Or, aussitôt après son départ, en 277, Locres fait retour aux Romains.³² Elle n'aura donc été aux mains du roi que durant un bref laps de temps, deux ans au maximum, ce qui est suffisant pour exploiter un atelier monétaire, mais cette exploitation dut être entravée par le peu de confiance que devaient inspirer les Locriens et les mille préparatifs d'une campagne difficile. Enfin ces observations laissent inactive la question du financement du premier débarquement en Italie.

D'autre part, on songera que la capitale de Pyrrhos était Ambracie, l'actuelle Arta, sur le golfe d'Arta, à l'embouchure de l'Araththos, à quatre-vingt stades de la mer.³³ Au Sud Est s'étendait le territoire des Amphilochiens, à l'Ouest, la lagune de Tserkalia et l'Oropos. C'est d'Ambracie qu'en 342, Alexandre, fils de Néoptolème, était parti pour sa campagne d'Italie. Au milieu du IV^e siècle, Néoptolème étendait sa domination sur une partie tout au moins de la contrée, bien que plusieurs territoires épirotes fussent sous la domination de la Macédoine, ou eussent conservé leur indépendance, tels les Atintanes et les Athamanes, Ambracie ne se rangea sous la domination des Aeacides qu'à l'époque de Pyrrhos. mais celui-ci semble y avoir établi le siège de son pouvoir royal. Il avait exigé et obtenu la cession de la ville par Alexandre, fils de Cassandre, en récompense de l'aide qu'il avait prêtée à ce dernier contre Antipater. Philippe de Macédoine avait installé une garnison à Ambracie, qui avait recouvré son autonomie sous

³⁰ Lippold, dans *RE*, 1337. Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*, III, I, p. 562. Denys d'Halicarnasse, XXII. Appien, IV, 9. Niese, *op. cit.*, II, p. 32.

³¹ Diodore de Sicile, XXII, 7, 5. Beloch, *op. cit.*, I, p. 284.

³² Zonaras, VIII, 6, place la rentrée de Pyrrhos à Locres en 277. Niese donne une date postérieure: 276.

³³ Klotzsch, *Epirotische Geschichte*, p. 176. Polybe, XXII, 13. Tite Live, XXXVIII, 9. Strabon, VII, 325. Oberhummer, *Akarnanien, Ambrakien, Amphilochien, Leukas in Altertum* (Munich, 1887). L. Cesano, "Monetazione e circolazione nel suolo dell' antica Albania", *Atti e memorie Ist. ital. di num.*, 1932, pp. 47ss.

Alexandre le Grand. Dès 295, Pyrrhos y avait à son tour installé une garnison, et il avait pris soin d'orner la ville de monuments et d'oeuvres d'art. Un palais, le Pyrrheion y avait été édifié, et l'acropole avait reçu de puissantes fortifications. Des privilèges s'attachaient à cette dignité qu'avait reçue la cité, et le droit de monnayage lui avait été concédé.

Par le passé, l'activité de l'atelier monétaire d'Ambracie s'était abondamment manifestée. Vers 480, il émettait des statères au type corinthien du Pégase, avec l'initiale de la cité, A,³⁴ et au revers la tête de Pallas Chalinitis. Ces statères continuèrent à être frappés de 480 à 432, puis de 432 à 338, quand l'atelier fut fermé à la suite des conquêtes de Philippe de Macédoine.³⁵ De nouveaux statères portant le monogramme AE (AΠEIPΩTAN), sont placés par Ernest Babelon à l'époque de Pyrrhos, peut-être dès 285. Plus tard, à partir de 238, des drachmes sont émises à Ambracie avec les initiales A M; la tête de Dioné, et au revers un obélisque orné de bandelettes.

Si la lettre et le monogramme OE que l'on relève sur les tétradrachmes de Pyrrhos (Cabinet des Médailles, n°. 294, type A), ne se prêtent à aucune interprétation, toute notre attention se porte sur la lettre A placée en évidence à l'exergue soit du droit (n°. 295), soit du revers (nos. 294, 296). Il est plausible d'y voir l'initiale de la ville d'Ambracie, et ce qui nous confirme dans cette opinion, c'est la présence de la même lettre sur les statères corinthiens frappés précédemment par la capitale de l'Épire.

³⁴ Babelon, *Traité*, IV, p. 125, n°. 267.

³⁵ Babelon, *Traité*, IV, pp. 141, 142. O. Ravel, *The Colts of Ambracia*, NNM, No. 37 (New York, 1928). *BMC, Corinth*, p. 110, n°. 58, pl. XXIX, 12.

A HOARD OF SILVER COINS OF THE EMPIRE OF NICAEA

ALFRED R. BELLINGER

In the collection of the late Thomas Whittemore, now in the Fogg Museum at Cambridge, is a hoard of scyphate silver coins of Theodore I, Lascaris, Emperor of Nicaea from his coronation in 1206 to his death in 1222. There are 99 specimens of one type (*BMC, Vandals*, pp. 193f., nos. 1, 2) and 139 of another unknown until Tomasso Bertelè described and illustrated six specimens from his collection in a note entitled "Monete inedite d'argento di Tesdoro I Lascaris (1204-1222)," *Numismatica*, II (1936), pp. 91-93; there is no mention of their provenance. It has seemed advisable to publish this hoard separately in anticipation of the complete catalogue of the Whittemore Collection with that of Dumbarton Oaks planned in collaboration with Professor Philip Grierson of Caius College, Cambridge. I am indebted to the Director and staff of the Fogg Museum for facilitating this study.

There is nothing in the present records of the collection to show where the hoard was found or when it passed into Mr. Whittemore's hands, but fortunately the main points can be supplied. On April 19th, 1946, the Rev. Iain C. G. Campbell, now an honorary curator in the museum of the University of Nebraska, then a teacher at the English High School in Istanbul, wrote to the late John Kingsley Birge about a hoard of silver coins in the hands of George Zakos, a collector and dealer whose headquarters were in the Grand Bazaar. It had been found at

Torbali, a small town between Izmir (Smyrna) and Aydin (Tralles) in western Anatolia. It is said to have been found by a man ploughing; its container was lost or destroyed but the hoard itself was believed to be complete. Mr. Campbell's note was accompanied by an admirably detailed description of the hoard which at that time consisted of 101 coins of the first type, 146 of the second. Mr. Birge sent the material on to me hoping that I might be able to buy the coins for the Yale collection. Negotiations were still going on on July 29th, 1946, which gives a terminus post quem for Mr. Whittemore's acquisition of the hoard. Mr. Campbell would put it in August or September, 1946, certainly before June, 1947.

Mr. Campbell's original description has been most valuable to me and I have also had the benefit of reading an article by Mr. Roland Gray of Boston which he did not live to finish; for many years he had been Curator of the Whittemore Collection.

In describing coins such as these one is faced with the perplexing problem of varieties. Sometimes, as in the case of inscriptions, they are easy to record, but it must be remembered that they are generally nothing more than differences in dies. Whether ΔΕCΠΟΤΗC be abbreviated ΔΕC, ΔΕCΠΟ or ΔΕCΠΤ depends not on any official decision but on the whim of the engraver, in exactly the same way as do the slight changes in the features of Christ which quite defy description. There is no evidence whatever to suggest that the varieties differ in time of issue or in any other significant way. The historical, economic and iconographic meaning of the hoard would be adequately reported by a description of the types with the bare statement that variations do exist and perhaps illustration of a few of the more interesting. But the collector with an uncertain coin in his hand feels cheated by this summary procedure. Those who have used that indispensable work, Gustave Schlumberger's *Numismatique de l'Orient latin* will remember the disappointment with which, at the end of a list of trivial differences, one comes to the words "quelques autres variétés sans importance" (a scarcely warranted implication that the varieties which the author *did* describe *were* important). One cannot but sympathize with the sheer boredom of the cataloguer, and one's imagination seeks in vain for a really significant end to be served by more complete listing. Still, the dangers of excess are probably less than those of deficiency, and I have elected to record whatever I could, hoping that some individual's interest may ultimately compensate for the ennui of the general reader.

TYPE I

Christ, bearded, seated on throne with back, wearing nimbus cruciger, tunic and mantle and holding in l. hand gospels. Above back of throne to l. and r. $\overline{\text{IC}} \overline{\text{XC}}$.

Rev. Theodore on l. and St. Theodore on r. facing, holding between them long scepter with * at the top. Theodore wears crown, tunic, mantle and sash, all jewelled, and holds in r. hand sheathed sword. St. Theodore wears nimbus, cuirass and military cloak and holds in l. hand sheathed sword. To l. upwards $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\Delta\omega\rho\omicron\varsigma \Delta\epsilon\varsigma\pi\tau$; to r. downwards, $\Theta\iota \Theta\epsilon\omicron\Delta\omega\rho\omicron\varsigma$.

A specimen in Paris with the emperor's name illegible was attributed to Manuel I, Comnenus, and published by Wroth (*BMC, Byz.*, II, p. 571, Pl. LXIX, 9), but the discovery of another specimen in the collection of Professor Oman at Oxford led to the assignment of both these and a third in the British Museum to Theodore of Nicaea (*BMC, Vandals*, p. 206, Pl. XXVIII 1-3). Wroth prefers Theodore I to Theodore II (1254-1258) on grounds of style, iconography and purity of metal. I entirely agree.

The obverse type (I abandon Wroth's convention of so designating the type with the imperial portrait and class as "obverse" the convex side which was actually produced by the anvil die) is an adaptation of a figure of Christ which appears first on gold of Romanus III (1028-1034, *BMC, Byz.*, Pl. LVII, 13); previously the seated Christ had had a lyre-backed throne. Gold nomismata of John II, Comnenus (1118-1143, *ibid.* Pl. LXVI, 6-9) showing Christ on a straight-backed throne are the most immediate predecessors of Theodore's silver.

In one case the ornament on the top of the scepter has the form *, in nine cases it is *, as it is on the Paris coin; all the others are *.

The large majority (87) has curious objects rising from the cushion of the throne like little rods ending in balls (PLATE VIII, 1). These are generally curved or tipped inwards and are often of uneven height. It is impossible for me to give any satisfactory explanation of them and they seem to have no analogy on any other series. It is possible that they represent arms to the throne not much worse malformed than the throne itself, but if so, they perform no function; the arms of Christ never touch them. On two coins the back of the throne has a star on each side (PLATE VIII, 2) and on one there is a stellar ornament on a little staff on the front below the seat (PLATE VIII, 3).¹ Three coins have X on the front of the throne

¹ In the Whittemore trays and Mr. Gray's notes these three specimens are said to be "Not from the Hoard." They were apparently acquired independently in Paris. But they were recorded in Mr. Campbell's notes and must have been separated from the hoard at some time after April 19, 1946.

(PLATE VIII, 4); four have ☩ (PLATE VIII, 5);² two have ☩.³ The nimbus may have five dots in the limbs of the cross (PLATE VIII, 3, 5), one dot (PLATE VIII, 1, 2) or none (PLATE VIII, 4); the cover of the gospels sometimes has five dots (PLATE VIII, 2, 3), sometimes many granulations (PLATE VIII, 5). These features are too often obscure to report in figures.

The reverse inscription, as usual on scyphate coins, is never complete; examples which can be read show the following variations from the norm: inscription on the left ends ΔΕ; ends ΔΕCΠΟ; Π Τ above omitted (PLATE VIII, 6); Π alone above; Π Ο above. On the right sometimes Θ (for Ο ΑΓΙΟC), sometimes Θ Ι (PLATE VIII, 7), the stroke being a mark of abbreviation. The only other variation observable is in the number of jewels, from a minimum of five to a maximum of nine, on the front of the emperor's tunic.

As already remarked, these details really do no more than identify dies for us. The result should be to tell us how many dies were used. But the recognition of identical dies is exceedingly difficult. So many are double struck or weakly struck and the curvature of the flan introduces so many uncertainties that it is frequently impossible to be sure. On the 99 coins of this type I recognize with reasonable confidence 21 common concave dies, 10 common convex dies. While there may well be others that have escaped me so that there may have been less than 78 concave dies used, the variations listed assure us that there were a considerable number and that the original issue must have been much larger than its present scarcity would suggest. One odd phenomenon, revealed by close inspection, is illustrated enlarged on PLATE VIII, 8, 9. Two coins whose reverse dies are identical have obverses on which the upper and left hand parts (e.g., the face of Christ) are identical while the lower and right hand parts (e.g., one cushion and the legs of the throne) are not, no double striking being adequate to account for the difference. There are cases, as in Visigothic and Latin American coinage, where the designs are built up by a combination of different punches. An analogous situation to ours will be produced when some but not all of the punches used on one coin are used again on another. But if different sections of the figure of Christ were produced by different punches the joins must frequently appear. Otherwise it would be a much more laborious process than the carving and stamping of a single die no matter how complicated. Unlikely as it seems, there is apparently no way of explaining this case except by supposing that the die was injured and recut, a process very little to be expected at this period.

² Five in 1946.

³ Three in 1946.

TYPE II

Bust of youthful Christ facing, raising r. hand in benediction, in l. holding *volumen*, wearing tunic, mantle and nimbus cruciger. To l. and r. $\overline{\text{IC}} \overline{\text{XC}}$ and $\text{O} \text{EMMA} \text{N}\text{YHA}$

Rev. Theodore on l. and St. Theodore on r. facing, holding between them patriarchal cross on three steps. Theodore wears crown, tunic and jewelled mantle and holds sheathed sword in his r. hand. St. Theodore wears nimbus, cuirass and cloak and holds sheathed sword in his l. hand. To l. upwards $\Theta\epsilon\text{O}\Delta\omega\text{POC} \Delta\epsilon\text{C}$; to r. downwards $\text{OI} \Theta\epsilon\text{O}\Delta\omega\text{POC}$.

The obverse type is copied from the gold and electrum nomismata of Manuel I, Comnenus (1143–1180; *BMC, Byz.*, pp. 568f., Nos. 14–16, Pl. LXIX, 1, 2, 4); it was he who first introduced it to the coinage. (It was then copied on a bronze scyphate type of Isaac II, *ibid.* pp. 594f., Nos. 33–36). In spite of the reproduction of all the details, Theodore's coin is sketchier and more careless. Particularly noticeable is the inscription which is no longer neatly aligned but so dispersed as to fill all the available space. It assumes 36 forms which, for convenience, are illustrated on Fig. 1. No. 1 (PLATE IX, 3) is found on 76 specimens and is normal, except that A has the form of Δ , as in all varieties except on Nos. 13, 14, 15, 26, 35, 36. Next commonest is No. 2, on 13 specimens. The others occur once each, with the following exceptions: Nos. 3 (2 specimens), 6 (3), 9 (2), 12 (3), 14 (3), 22 (2), 26 (3), 27 (2), 35 (5, PLATE IX, 4). The easiest and commonest departure from the norm is the omission of the article, as in No. 2. Unusual forms for M or ligatures of the two M's (Nos. 16, 17, 22–27, 29, 31–34, PLATE IX, 5, 6, 7) cause no surprise;⁴ errors like N for M (No. 18) or Λ for A (Nos. 13–15, 26) are ordinary instances of carelessness. But ϵO for $\text{O}\epsilon$ (Nos. 20–34, PLATE IX, 5, 7) and YNH for NYH (Nos. 8–17, 19–21, 23, 28–34, PLATE IX, 6, 7) are much more serious for they make nonsense of the name Emmanuel. The die-sinkers were not entirely indifferent for twice (Nos. 11, 17 PLATE IX, 6) a mistaken N has been corrected to H, but such an aberration as No. 27, $\epsilon\text{OMMA}\text{YNAH}$, forces the conviction that some of them at least were illiterate. For the most part they copied their model correctly but no understanding of what they were doing restrained them from absurd transpositions. The authors of Nos. 35 and 36 must have achieved a correct A instead of Δ by accident; their total product is no better than that of

⁴ **M** is used on coins of Isaac II (e.g. *BMC, Byz.*, pp. 594f., Nos. 33–35) and **Ɫ** is an easy modification. It occurs continually on the aspers of Trebizond.

$\begin{array}{cc} \circ & \\ \epsilon M & N\delta \\ M\Delta & H\delta \\ & \wedge \end{array}$ 1	$\begin{array}{cc} \epsilon M & N \\ M\Delta & \delta H \\ & \delta \end{array}$ 7	$\begin{array}{cc} \circ & \delta \\ \epsilon M & N\Delta \\ M\Delta & H \end{array}$ 13	$\begin{array}{cc} \circ & \delta \\ \epsilon N & N \\ M & H \end{array}$ 19	$\begin{array}{cc} \epsilon \circ & N\delta \\ H\Delta & H\Delta \\ \Delta & \end{array}$ 25	$\begin{array}{cc} \epsilon \circ & \delta \\ M\Delta & N\delta \\ \Delta & H\Delta \end{array}$ 31
$\begin{array}{cc} \epsilon M & N\delta \\ M\Delta & H\Delta \\ & \end{array}$ 2	$\begin{array}{cc}]M & \delta \\ \Delta & N\delta \\ & \wedge \end{array}$ 8	$\begin{array}{cc} \circ & \delta \\ \epsilon M & N\delta \\ M\Delta & \wedge \end{array}$ 14	$\begin{array}{cc} \epsilon \circ & \delta \\ MM & N \\ \Delta & H \end{array}$ 20	$\begin{array}{cc} \epsilon \circ & N\delta \\ H\Delta & H\delta \\ \wedge & \wedge \end{array}$ 26	$\begin{array}{cc} \epsilon \circ & \delta \\ MM & N\delta \\ & \wedge \end{array}$ 32
$\begin{array}{cc} \epsilon M & H\delta \\ M\Delta & H\Delta \\ & \end{array}$ 3	$\begin{array}{cc} \circ & \delta \\ \epsilon M & N\Delta \\ M\Delta & H \end{array}$ 9	$\begin{array}{cc} \circ & \delta \\ \epsilon M & N\delta \\ M\Delta & H \end{array}$ 15	$\begin{array}{cc} \epsilon \circ & \delta \\ MH & N \\ \Delta & H\Delta \end{array}$ 21	$\begin{array}{cc} \epsilon \circ & \delta \\ MM & N\Delta \\ \Delta & H \end{array}$ 27	$\begin{array}{cc} \epsilon \circ & \delta \\ H\Delta & N\delta \\ \Delta & \wedge \end{array}$ 33
$\begin{array}{cc} \epsilon M & H\delta \\ M\Delta & \wedge \\ & \end{array}$ 4	$\begin{array}{cc} \circ & \delta \\ \epsilon M & N\Delta \\ M\Delta & H \end{array}$ 10	$\begin{array}{cc} \circ & \delta \\ \epsilon & N \\ H\Delta & H\delta \\ \Delta & \end{array}$ 16	$\begin{array}{cc} \epsilon \circ & N\delta \\ MM & H\delta \\ \Delta & \wedge \end{array}$ 22	$\begin{array}{cc} \epsilon \circ & \delta \\ MM & N \\ H\Delta & \wedge \end{array}$ 28	$\begin{array}{cc} \epsilon \circ & \delta \\ H\Delta & N\delta \\ & H \end{array}$ 34
$\begin{array}{cc} \epsilon M & N\delta \\ M\Delta & H \\ & \end{array}$ 5	$\begin{array}{cc} \circ & \delta \\ \epsilon M & N\delta \\ M\Delta & \wedge \end{array}$ 11	$\begin{array}{cc} \circ \epsilon & \delta \\ H & N\delta \\ & \wedge \end{array}$ 17	$\begin{array}{cc} \epsilon \circ & \delta \\ MM & N\delta \\ \Delta & \wedge \end{array}$ 23	$\begin{array}{cc} \epsilon \circ & \delta \\ H\Delta & N\delta \\ \Delta & \wedge \end{array}$ 29	$\begin{array}{cc} \circ & \delta \\ \epsilon M & N\delta \\ AM & H\Delta \end{array}$ 35
$\begin{array}{cc} \epsilon M & \delta \\ M\Delta & N\delta \\ & \wedge \end{array}$ 6	$\begin{array}{cc} \circ & \delta \\ \epsilon M & N\delta \\ M\Delta & \wedge \end{array}$ 12	$\begin{array}{cc} \circ & \delta \\ \epsilon N & N\delta \\ M & H\Delta \end{array}$ 18	$\begin{array}{cc} \epsilon \circ & N\delta \\ MH & H\delta \\ & \wedge \end{array}$ 24	$\begin{array}{cc} \epsilon \circ & \delta \\ MH & N\delta \\ & \wedge \end{array}$ 30	$\begin{array}{cc} \circ M & N\delta \\ \epsilon AM & H\Delta \end{array}$ 36

Fig. 1.

their fellows. One wonders if the regular Δ for A is not perhaps proof of the ignorance of the original designer himself instead of the conscious use of a different form.

The nimbus of Christ also shows variation. In the great majority of cases (110 specimens) there are five dots in each limb of the cross (PLATE IX, 4-7); in 9 cases there is a single dot; in 8 a single dot to the left and above, five dots to the right; 3 have five dots to the left and above, a single dot to the right. In one case there is a star in each limb (PLATE IX, 3). But a more interesting form, found on 7 pieces, is that which has five dots above but B to left and right (PLATE IX, 1); there is also one coin on which the B is replaced by Δ (PLATE IX, 2). Mr. Gray rightly called attention to the frequency with which two Betas, or four appear on later coinage, chiefly that of the Palaeologi. Svoronos has an article on Byzantine numismatics (*JIAN*, II, 1899, pp. 341-401) in which he discusses the letters and their significance. Since they are generally associated with an emperor the meaning Βοήθει Βασιλεῖ is a common suggestion. But this is the first appearance of them on Christ's nimbus and the meaning can hardly be other than Βασιλεὺς Βασιλέων. On this analogy two Deltas would presumably stand for Δεσπότες Δεσποτῶν, a regular designation of Christ in the liturgy, as Mr. Gray pointed out. But remembering the Alpha with the form of Delta in the obverse inscription, he suggested that these also may have been intended for Alpha, the pair standing for Ἀρχων Ἀρχόντων or Ἅγιος Ἁγίων. The former meaning had been suggested by Svoronos (*op. cit.* p. 387, Fig. 26) for a coin of Theodore II⁵ with AA to left and right of Christ seated.⁶ These ideas are plausible enough and whatever the exact intent of the designer, the user might be expected to understand a familiar pious formula. But what are we to do with the two Gammas that appear to left and right of Christ on a gold piece of Theodore I (*RN*, 1841, pp. 172f., PL. VIII, 1; cf. *BMC, Vandals*, pp. 204f.)? So far as I know, no suggestion has been made except the half-hearted one of Wroth, which he does not believe, that all these letters are moneyers' marks (*ibid.* p. 221). This is hardly the place for a general discussion of the question, but an interesting problem does present itself: on whose initiative are these apparently significant letters introduced into the design? The emperor, the master of the mint, the die-sinker himself? We have seen vagaries in the

⁵ Attributed to Theodore I by Sabatier (*Description générale des monnaies byzantines*, II (Paris, 1862) pp. 289f., Pl. LXIV, 6), to Theodore II by Warwick Wroth (*BMC, Vandals*, p. 205). The reading ΔΥΚΑ which he doubted is confirmed by Bellinger, *Catalogue of the Coins Found at Corinth*, 1925, p. 74, n. 2.

⁶ In this case the letter is certainly A and not Δ . Rollin, who first published it (*RN*, 1841, pp. 174f., Pl. IX, 1) attributed it to Theodore II (whom he called Theodore III).

obverse inscription which could have been neither intended nor approved, and we cannot exclude the possibility that B B is the pious whim of some engraver whose more ignorant colleague, feeling that one letter was as good as another, replaced by Δ Δ.⁷ If, on the other hand, it was a choice of higher authority, B B, which is rare, would presumably have come toward the end of the issue and Δ Δ, which is unique, at its very close – unless, indeed, the letters were early experiments, quickly suppressed. No other indication of the order of varieties is to be found.

On the reverse the only recordable differences are to be found on the bottom of the emperor's robe below the mantle. Generally this is plain (PLATE IX,9) but on 4 specimens there is a single jewel (PLATE IX,11); on 5 a jewel in a single lozenge (PLATE IX,8); on 24 a more complicated pattern (PLATE II,10).

With this type also the search for identical dies has been unproductive. I find one case of 4 coins struck from the same concave die, two cases of 3 coins, six cases of 2 coins; one case of 3 coins struck from the same convex die, two cases of 2 coins.

The weights show a maximum concentration at 4.20–4.29 grams. The first type shows a variation from 3.82 to 4.46 grams with an average of 4.25; the second varies from 2.46 to 4.94 with an average of 4.17. In spite of a larger number of abnormally high and low pieces, however, there are 80 between 4.20 and 4.29 against 27 in type I. The standard was evidently the same for both with less attention to accuracy in type II.

The chief interest of the hoard is that it shows an unsuspected economic activity on the part of Theodore I. His career, of which convenient accounts can be found in George Finlay, *A History of Greece* (Oxford, 1877), pp. 281–298, and Alice Gardner, *The Lascarids of Nicaea* (London, 1912), pp. 52–115, was full of fighting against Greek rivals, against Latins and against Turks. But there is an interesting treaty between him and the Venetian Podesta of Constantinople in 1219⁸ regarding the treatment of one another's merchants and ships. Among other matters is a provision of particular importance for us: "Conventum est inter hos, quod nec Imperium meum, neque tuus dispotatus habeat licentiam formare yperperos, vel Manuelatos, aut stamena equalis forme alterius partis."

⁷ The letters have the form Δ Δ. The second is very much like the Α over the throne on BMC, *Vandals*, p. 220, Nos. 1, 2. This had earlier been interpreted as a monogram for Λασκάρις, but such a meaning is certainly impossible here.

⁸ G. L. F. Tafel and G. M. Thomas, *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig*, II (*Fontes Rerum Austriacarum*, XIII), Vienna, 1856; cited by Gustave Schlumberger, *Numismatique de l'Orient latin* (Paris, 1878), pp. 274–6; mentioned also by Alice Gardner, *op. cit.* p. 95.



1



2



3



4



5



8



6



7



9

COINS OF THE EMPIRE OF NICAEA



1



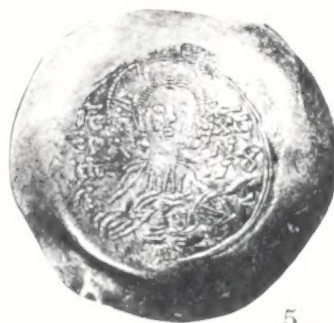
2



3



4



5



6



7



8



9



10



11

Throughout the document there is no mention of the Latin empress Yolande, and Schlumberger is certainly justified in concluding that this proves that the coinage of the Latin empire was in fact Venetian money. But he does not discuss the wording of this peculiar pact. Theodore, though he speaks Latin, is made to speak in the first person; what he says purports to be an agreement that neither party will strike coins in imitation of the other, but it amounts merely to prohibition of the Venetians striking imitations of Theodore. There is no mention of the Venetian grosso or matapan;⁹ there was as yet no Venetian gold to be imitated. But "hyperperus" is the regular name for Byzantine gold pieces, to which the synonym "Manuelatus" is added as proof of the fame and abundance of the scyphate gold of Manuel I, Comnenus.¹⁰ "Stamena" (a word of uncertain origin) may perhaps mean these very silver pieces of the hoard. Though used variously,¹¹ there is an occurrence somewhat earlier than this which may show what the term meant in 1219. In a small though characteristically erudite work of Ducange, *De Imperatorum Constantinopolitanorum Numismatibus* (Rome, 1755, separately reprinted from the first edition of the *Glossarium ad Scriptores mediae et infimae Latinitatis*) in a discussion of Στάμενα (p. 142) he quotes from Odo de Deuil, who accompanied Louis VII to the crusades in 1147, who noted that in Greece for the first time they encountered bronze coins and "Stammae", complaining that for the latter they had to give five denarii. Later when they got a proper exchange the stamma cost less than two denarii. The denarii must have been Paris deniers which Louis VII had made standard. In 1147 the bronze that one would meet in Greece would be the little pieces of Manuel I (*BMC, Byz.*, pp. 577-581) whose abundance is still the excavator's despair. The stammae would then presumably be scyphate nomismata other than gold. Can the term possibly have included all the other metals? Odo might consider himself very fortunate if he bought an electrum piece for five deniers, let alone two. On the other hand, he might properly have resented giving two pieces of French silver for a bronze nomisma, let alone five. The prices would fit silver nomismata nicely, but unfortunately silver nomismata of the twelfth century are rare and most of them are base. The dilemma can hardly be solved here, but we do know that Theodore was prepared to issue stamena as well as gold. He did in fact issue both silver and bronze scyphate nomismata. Whether the term applies to one or the other or both we cannot say.

⁹ Both names were in use by 1198: Ducange *Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis*, s. v. Matapanus.

¹⁰ Ducange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae Graecatis*, s. v. Μανολάτον.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, s. v. Στάμενο. Philip Grierson believes that it is a general term for scyphate coins, "Nomisma, tetartèron et dinar: un plaidoyer pour Nicéphore Phocas," *RBN*, 1954, pp. 83f., n. 4.

INTRODUCCION DEL "MANCUSO" EN LA ECONOMIA CAROLINGIA

PIO BELTRAN

Durante los reinados de los emperadores Carolingios, circularon en sus estados los sólidos bizantinos de un séxtulo de onza romana en oro fino y otras monedas aureas de menores pesos, o de leyes deficientes, o, rebajadas, a la vez, en sus pesos y en sus leyes. También circularon por ellos dinares de oro fino que fueron fabricados al principio por los Omeyas de Damasco desde el año 77 de la Hégira (696 de Jesucristo) y después por los Abasies de Baghdad.

En este lugar he de limitarme a dar algunas noticias en relación con los citados dinares prescindiendo de la mayoría de los pesos y monedas árabes.¹

La unidad "principal", pequeña, de peso, que utilizaron los árabes tuvo el nombre genérico de "Mitcal" ("peso") y correspondía al peso de 72 "granos de cebada" medios o tomados al azar. Su talla en una libra romana de 327 gramos, fué 80 y su peso, muy aproximadamente 4,0875 gramos.

Otro peso usado en Oriente fué el "Mitcal de Siria" al que los autores llaman "Mayala" ("fuerte"), muy nombrado por los tratadistas, que lo dividieron en 24 quirates de Siria, cada uno de los cuales pesaba 3,5 granos de cebada, resultando un peso de 84 granos de cebada que era los $\frac{7}{6}$ de la unidad principal o mitcal.

Es distinto de éste el "Mitcal de la Meca" que los pacientes tradicionalistas

¹ Muchas de las noticias metrológicas contenidas en el texto están razonadas en otros trabajos que tiene el autor en publicación o en preparación.

pesaron comparando las doblas granadinas, del peso de las almohades, con granos efectivos de cebada tomados al azar con las aristas cortadas y sin descascarillar; después de muchas pesadas encontraron que pesaba 82 á 83 granos. De acuerdo con esta solución Abd-al Haq nacido en Granada, cadí en Almeria y muerto en el año 541 (1147 de J.C.)², dijo lo siguiente:

“Yo mismo he hecho todas las investigaciones entre las personas de discernimiento y de toda mi confianza, y todas me han informado unánimemente que el dinar de oro de la Mecca tenia el peso de 82 habbah y $\frac{3}{10}$ de habbah en granos (habbah) de cebada tomados en general.”

Otras noticias y equivalencias (cuya exposición no es de este lugar) demuestran que en realidad pesaba $82\frac{2}{7} = 82,285$ granos de cebada pues el “Mitcal de la Meca” fué los $\frac{8}{7}$ de la unidad principal y por tanto tenia la talla de 70 piezas en libra romana.

Son, por tanto, distintos los dos citados mitcales cuyos pesos teóricos son:

Mitcal de Siria = 4,7687 gramos.

Mitcal de la Meca = 4,671 gramos.

El primer dinar con tipos árabes es el acuñado por Abd-al-Malic en el año 77 de la Hégira, fabricado con oro fino y con peso de 75 granos de cebada o $21\frac{3}{7}$ quirates de Siria (según los autores) correspondiéndole una talla de $\frac{80 \cdot 72}{75} = 76,8$ en libra romana y un peso teórico de $\frac{327}{76,8} = 4,257$ gramos. Las piezas conservadas dan pesos muy acordes con este peso teórico.

* * *

Hay documentos de la Italia carolingia fechados en el último cuarto del siglo VIII que nombran ciertas monedas, a las que llaman “mancusos” y que eran de oro. Los autores, por lo general, han supuesto que la moneda y su nombre fueron de origen árabe, y un grupo de ellos encabezado por Dozy al que siguieron Vives y otros, tradujo la palabra mancuso como equivalente á acuñado.

Más caprichosa parece su derivación de “manu cusi” o “acuñado a mano” que propugnaron algunos eruditos.

Otros dieron la interpretación de que la palabra procedía de un simbolo que aparece en sólidos y tremissis anónimos de Benevento, supuestos del tiempo de Gisulfo (742 a 751) que tienen en sus reversos unas “manoplas” en las cuales

² Sauvaire, *Matériaux*, II, 64 y II, 44 nota.

creyeron ver unas manos cortadas.³ Todavía quedan catálogos de ventas de monedas, donde a las piezas aureas con la manopla se les llama “mancusos”, y a las restantes se les dá el nombre de “sólidos”.

Después de todo lo expuesto, me convence más la explicación de Ducange en su *Glossarium* al traducir *mancusa* como equivalente a la voz latina *Mancus* cuyo equivalente castellano es “manco”, “falto”, “defectuoso”, etc. que es el mismo significado que tiene en los escritos de Cicerón y de Horacio. En los diccionarios árabes está la voz “manqusu” con las mismas acepciones de la palabra latina y no como equivalente a “dinar”, lo cual parece indicar que se trata de un préstamo latino a la lengua árabe.

Según todo lo dicho si hubiera de redactar un “Glosario Monetario” uno de sus artículos podría ser presentado de la siguiente manera:

MANCUSOS. *Monedas de oro, fino o ligado, de pesos análogos a los que tienen los sólidos constantinianos o séxtulos de onza romana y de menores valores que éstos, los cuales circularon en Europa Occidental y Meridional desde el último cuarto del siglo VIII o posiblemente desde antes.*

Queda solamente averiguar cuales pudieron ser tales monedas efectivas, determinando sus cualidades de acuerdo con las referencias y equivalencias contenidas en los documentos de la época.

Philip Grierson en su obra “*The myth of the Mancus*” hizo observar que los documentos de la época diferencian a los “solidi” propiamente tales, a los que dan los calificativos de “buoni, obrizi, adpreciati”, de los “solidi mancusi”, y que, además, los sólidos acuñados en Italia desde el principio del siglo VIII, son de menos valor que los “obrizios”.^{3a} Además, dijo, que los solidos fabricados en Siracusa conservaron la ley con disminución en el peso, mientras que las piezas acuñadas en Roma disminuyeron en su peso y en su ley, hasta que el papa Adriano I (775-795) dejó de fabricar moneda de oro para acuñar dineros de plata. Estas piezas de oro llegaron en su debilitación a pesar 3,5 gramos y a tener una ley de 8 quilates o sea $\frac{1}{3}$.

* * *

Por razones, que he de exponer en otro trabajo, los dineros de la segunda época de Carlomagno y los de Ludovico Pio, fueron de 16 sueldos o 192 dineros en libra romana, de acuerdo con la teoría de Guerard y con las piezas conservadas, cuyo

³ BMC, *Vandals*, pag. 191, núms. 5. 6. Lám. XV, 11 y 12.

^{3a} *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, XXXII (1954), pags. 1059-74.

peso teórico es 1,703 gramos. En la famosísima “*Memoria*” de Guerard fué utilizado el valor 12 para el cambio del oro fino en plata mera y admitiendolo provisionalmente resulta la fórmula:

$$\frac{12}{M} = \frac{n}{192}$$

donde M es la talla del mancuso en la libra romana y n el número de dineros circulantes que valió dicha moneda de oro.

Hemos de suponer que se refiere a dineros de la talla 192, un famoso diploma del reinado de Carlomagno, que no es conocido en su original, pero si por la confirmación hecha por Ludovico Pio y fechada en 19 de noviembre del año 815.⁴ En dicho documento el abad del monasterio de San Zenón de Verona se comprometió a pagar al obispo de dicha ciudad y a su clerecía cada año en el día de la festividad del santo titular “*aut mancusos viginti aut quinquaginta solidos*” lo cual equivale a decir que veinte mancusos valian seiscientos dineros o que cada mancuso valia 30 dineros de los corrientes en aquel tiempo .

Este documento fué renovado muchas veces, llegando hasta el año 1014 en que fué confirmado por el emperador Enrique II,⁵ sin que estas renovaciones presupongan la constancia del valor de los dineros corrientes a través del tiempo ni la coexistencia de estos con un mancuso de oro que sea el mismo que figura en el pago la primera vez que fué acordado. Es cosa, de todos sabida, que con el tiempo se llamó “mancuso” a la reunión de 30 dineros corrientes independientemente de valor intrínseco que estos tuvieran.

Introducido el valor $n = 30$ en la fórmula general, sale $M = 76,8$ que coincide exactamente con la talla que tuvieron los citados dinares de oro fino de los califas Omeyas y Abasies.

* * *

En todos los cálculos anteriores el único número que no parece demostrado es el valor 12 del cambio preconizado por Guerard. Partiendo de otro dato y suponiendo conocidos la talla de un “Mancuso” su valor de 30 dineros y la talla 192 de los dineros se puede comprobar dicho valor del cambio.

La talla de ese mancuso es la de una famosa moneda de oro de Offa rey de Mercia que reinó desde el año 757.

⁴ Guilliemoz, *Note* 59, pág. 217, nota 1. Tomado de Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, 29 Ed., T. V., col. 706. – Monneret de Villard, *La monetazione nell' Italia barbarica*, pag. 81.3. Grierson, *op. cit.*

⁵ *Mon. Germ. Dipl. regum.*, T. III., pags. 388–389.

Los datos que interesan en relación con ella son los siguientes:

En el año 772 comenzó el pontificado de Adriano I que murió al final del año 795, sucediéndole León III.

En el año 786, el rey Offa prometió al pontífice pagarle “un mancuso de oro diario” o sea “*per unumquemque annum mancusas CCCLXV*”. Así resulta de una carta de León III fechada en septiembre del año 797 a Coenwulf de Mercia (que sucedió a Offa en el 796) recordándole el ofrecimiento que Offa había hecho a su predecesor Adriano I.

Este hecho, tan fundamental, aparece estudiado en todas las obras de Numismática y de Metrología, desde el año 1841 en que Adrien de Longperier publicó la citada “famosa moneda de oro”, que será estudiada en lo que sigue.⁶

En 18 de enero del año 802, León III dió las gracias a Coenwulf por 120 mancusos que le había enviado.⁷

No creo que se conozca otro ejemplar de la expresada moneda que el estudiado por Adrien de Longpérier, que fué hallado en Roma; perteneció al Duque de Blacas, pasó luego a otras colecciones y actualmente está en el Museo Británico. Es copia, muy poco modificada, de los dinares del califa Abasi Almansur acuñados en la Hégira 157 (773-774 de J.C.).



El peso de esta moneda es 4,276 gramos, conforme al teórico del dinar oriental.

El nombre de la moneda, en relación con sus tipos y su peso, no dejan dudas sobre el hecho de que en los años 786 y siguientes el “Mancuso de Mercia” era

⁶ A. de Longpérier, “Remarkable Gold Coin of Offa” en la *NC*, 1841-1842, y en la *RN*, 1844, pag. 291 y 292; Engel et Serrure, *Traité*, T.I, pag. 302, fig. 567; Jaffe, *Regesta*, 2ª edición de 1885, núm. 2494; Monneret de Villard, *op. cit.*

⁷ Jaffe, *op. cit.*, núm. 2510. Tomado de la *Patrologia Latina* de Migne, T. 102, pag. 1026.

imitación del “dinar oriental”, y equivalente a él. Es lógico y justo admitir que los mancusos citados en las escrituras coetáneas y valorados en treinta dineros corrientes, eran equivalentes a este dinar de Offa y a los dinares orientales, con la talla de 76,8 en libra romana.

Los tres números 76,8 o talla del mancuso, 192 o talla del dinero segundo de Carlomagno y 30 valor del mancuso en dichos dineros, sustituidos en la proporción fundamental dan el valor 12 al final del siglo VIII y también durante los reinados de Carlos I y de Luis I y quizá en algún periodo posterior (Edicto de Pitres).

* * *

En documentos aragoneses y catalanes medievales, aparecen citadas otras monedas con el nombre de “mancusos”. Desde hace años sentí gran extrañeza al ver que en los libros clásicos sobre estas materias eran confundidos los mancusos que circulaban en tiempo de Carlomagno con los dinares cordobeses que no existieron hasta el año 928 en que los creó Abd-al-Rahman III. También Grierson en su mencionada obra hizo observar este despropósito. Añadiré, además, que si los dinares orientales y la imitación de Offa fueron de 76,8 en libra romana, en cambio, los dinares cordobeses de Abd-al-Rahman III tuvieron la talla de 7 en onza romana, o de 84 en la libra romana, por lo cual no es posible asimilar estos a los orientales como si fueran de los mismos valores intrínsecos.

Solamente a título de información, porque su estudio será objeto de otros artículos, terminaremos este trabajo haciendo constar que hasta la fecha se sabe de varias clases de *mancusos* acuñados por los condes de Barcelona. Se conocen en efectivo algunos de ellos y además están documentados, y también se conocen, los *mancusos* de oro de Sancho Ramirez, rey de Aragón. Ninguno de ellos es del peso o valor de los dinares orientales sino de siete en onza romana los más antiguos, y de menores pesos y valores los subsiguientes.

DER MÜNZENFUND VON WERL (WESTFALEN) 1955, VERGRABEN UM 1240

PETER BERGHAUS

Ende Juni 1955 wurde in Werl (Kreis Soest, Reg. Bez. Arnsberg, Nordrhein-Westfalen) ein bedeutsamer Schatz mittelalterlicher Silbermünzen ans Tageslicht gefördert, dem aber leider, wie so oft, ein schlimmes Schicksal widerfuhr. Beim Ausbaggern für den Geschäftsneubau Ecke Bäckerstraße und Liebfrauenstraße, gegenüber der Kapelle "Maria in der Not", kamen in der Nähe eines alten Brunnens auch zahlreiche Münzen heraus. Sie sollen angeblich eine "größere" Menge gebildet haben, auch seien Topfscherben beobachtet worden. An weiteren Fundstücken konnte Herr Museumsleiter Spiegel, Ruhrtalmuseum Schwerte, eine "Hanseschüssel" (graviertes Bronzebecken des 12. Jahrhunderts) und einen spätmittelalterlichen Zinnkrug sicherstellen. Die Münzen wurden von den Arbeitern, wie gewöhnlich, nicht als mittelalterliche Silbermünzen erkannt und wanderten mit dem Schutt größtenteils auf die Schutthalde. Einige der unansehnlichen kleinen Plättchen wurden jedoch von den beteiligten Arbeitern aufgehoben, und so gelangten 64 Stücke in das Städtische Gustav-Lübcke-Museum zu Hamm¹. Weitere Fundstücke gelangten in den Besitz von Herrn Franz Krümmel, Münzensammler in Werl, der dem Landesmuseum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte in Münster Nachricht gab und somit weitere Nachforschungen einleitete, an denen

¹ Herrn Museumsdirektor Dr. H. Zink habe ich für die Bereitstellung dieses Fundanteiles zu danken.

sich besonders Herr Museumsleiter J. Spiegel, Schwerte, beteiligte, der auch seinerseits von den beteiligten Arbeitern, die inzwischen hellhörig geworden waren und die Fundstelle und die Schutthalde abgesucht hatten, eine größere Zahl von Fundmünzen erwerben konnte. Weitere kleinere Teile des Fundes gelangten in den Besitz der Herren Dr. K. H. Georg (Werl), H. Krusy (Witten) und H. Schließ (Soest). Diese Anteile, die zusammen 381½ Münzen ausmachen, wurden von den Besitzern in großzügiger Weise für die Veröffentlichung zur Verfügung gestellt, wofür auch an dieser Stelle nochmals gedankt sei. Sicherlich ist der so wichtige Fund nicht vollständig erfaßt worden, zumal auch sein ursprünglicher Umfang gar nicht bekannt ist. Der Charakter des Fundes kommt jedoch auch in diesem Ausschnitt zur Geltung. Belegexemplare folgender Münzen befinden sich bisher in öffentlichen Sammlungen:

Landesmuseum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte, Münster 6, 12, 15, 21, 22, 24, 31, 32, 34, 38, 39, 44, 46, 47, 49, 51, 52, 53, 54, 56, 57, 58.

Städt. Gustav-Lübcke-Museum, Hamm 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 12, 14, 15, 16, 19, 20, 23, 28, 32, 34, 35, 37, 40, 44, 45, 49, 50, 51, 53, 54.

Werl zählt zu den ältesten Siedlungen Westfalens. Bis zum Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts war die Salzgewinnung, die durch das Erbsälzerkollegium kontrolliert wurde, die Hauptindustrie des Ortes, der sonst ganz den Charakter einer Ackerbürgerstadt aufweist. Seine Entstehung und Entwicklung verdankt Werl ferner der Lage am Hellweg, der großen Heer- und Handelsstraße vom Rhein zur Weser. Werl war eine nicht unbedeutende Hansestadt; sie unterstand dem Vorort Soest.² Bis 1102 war Werl der Hauptort des mächtigen Geschlechtes der Grafen von Werl; durch die folgeschwere Teilung von 1102 kam Werl dann an das Erzbistum Köln, zu dem es bis 1802 gehörte.³

Die Fundstelle liegt am Rande der Altstadt, jedoch noch innerhalb der Stadtmauer, in der Nähe des Büdericher Tores. Auf dem Grundstück hatten Fachwerkhäuser gestanden, die nichts zur Deutung des Fundes beitragen können⁴. Ende Februar 1898 ist schon einmal ein bedeutsamer Münzschatzfund in Werl entdeckt worden. Beim Abbruch eines alten Backofens im Gasthof Köchling,

² Vgl. L. von Winterfeld, "Das westfälische Hansequartier", in: *Der Raum Westfalen*, Bd. II, 1 (Münster, 1955), S. 257-352.

³ Zur Geschichte Werls vgl. F. J. Mehler, *Geschichte der Stadt Werl* (Werl, 1891); für die Frühzeit besonders A. K. Hömberg, "Geschichte der Comitatus des Werler Grafenhauses", *Westfälische Zeitschrift*, Bd. 100 (Münster, 1950), S. 9-133.

⁴ Am 25. März 1633 und am 4. März 1657 war der ganze Straßenzug abgebrannt: Mehler, *a.a.O.*, S. 287 u. 304.

im Zentrum der Stadt, wurde einer der wertvollsten Schätze Westfalens entdeckt. Er enthielt 269 Gold- und 295 Silbermünzen, dazu Schmuck und Gebrauchsgerät. Seine jüngste Münze ist von 1628; er dürfte mit der Belagerung von 1633 und der anschließenden schwedisch-hessischen Besatzung zusammenhängen⁵. Der neue mittelalterliche Fund läßt sich historisch leider nicht so überzeugend erklären. Seine Zusammensetzung ergibt sich aus der folgenden Tabelle.

<i>Münzstätte</i>	<i>Pfennige</i>	<i>Hälblinge</i>	<i>Sterlinge</i>	<i>Zusammen</i>	<i>Fundanteil</i>
Köln	53	1	—	54	14,1%
Anonyme Nachahmungen des Kölner Typs	17	2	—	19	5,0%
Andernach (?)	1	—	—	1	0,3%
Arnsberg	2	—	7	9	2,4%
Attendorn	2	—	—	2	0,5%
Korbach	1	—	—	1	0,3%
Schmallenberg	6	—	—	6	1,6%
Soest	18	—	—	18	4,7%
Paderborn	3	—	—	3	0,8%
Lemgo	2	—	—	2	0,5%
Lippstadt	3	—	1	4	1,0%
Büren	1	—	—	1	0,3%
Canterbury	—	—	1	1	0,3%
London	—	—	4	4	1,0%
Schwalenberg	—	—	2	2	0,5%
Dortmund	—	—	73 ¹ / ₂	73 ¹ / ₂	19,4%
Bentheim	—	—	1	1	0,3%
Hamm	—	—	106	106	27,6%
Iserlohn	— ⁶	—	70 ⁶	70	18,3%
Herford	—	—	3	3	0,8%
Wiedenbrück (?)	—	—	1	1	0,3%
	109	3	269 ¹ / ₂	381 ¹ / ₂	100,0%

⁵ Fundnotizen in *Numismatisch-sphragistischer Anzeiger*, 1898, S. 18, 35 und 36. Eine handschriftliche Aufstellung, verfaßt von Landesrat J. Kayser, verzeichnet die Münzen genauer; sie wird z. Zt. vom Verfasser umgearbeitet.

⁶ Das Iserlohner Gepräge mit Sterlingskreuz und Gebäude unter den Sterlingen!



MÜNZENFUND VON WERL 1955, VERGRABEN UM 1240

	50 - 110	15 - 50	3 - 7	1 - 2
PFENNIGE DES KÖLNER TYPs				
STERLINGE		—		

FUNDKATALOG

*1. *Erzbistum Köln*, Engelbert I., 1216–1225Münzstätte *Köln*, Pfennig (1218–1225)

XNG/// – XRTV9

Thronender Erzbischof mit Stab und Buch

Hävernich⁷ 634

1 Exemplar: 1.38 g.

XO – L/ – // – /

Dreitürmiges Gebäude mit 2 Fahnen

PLATE X, 1

2. *Erzbistum Köln*, Heinrich I., 1225–1238Münzstätte *Köln*, Pfennig (1226–1238)

///// – ////

Thronender Erzbischof mit Stab und Buch

Hävernich 642.

1 Exemplar: 1.30 g (mäßig erhalten)

//////////

Turm zwischen Fahnen auf Mauer mit
Tor*3. *Erzbistum Köln*, Konrad, 1238–1261Münzstätte *Köln*, Pfennig (1238–1239)

✠ XO//// – ///XT

Thronender barhäuptiger Elekt mit zwei
Fahnen

Hävernich 653.

2 Exemplare: 1.40 g, 1.44 g.

✠ SANXT/XOLON//

Dreitürmiges Gebäude

PLATE X, 3

*4. *Erzbistum Köln*, Konrad, 1238–1261Münzstätte *Köln*, Pfennig (1239–1244)

XONRÆDVS · UNIZTÆR

Thronender Erzbischof als Minister (ohne
Pallium) mit Buch und Stab

Hävernich 659a.

✠ SANXTAXOLONIA

Arkadengebäude mit Turm zwischen
zwei Fahnen

49 Exemplare: 1.07 g, 1.08 g, 1.12 g, 1.13 g, 1.14 g, 1.18 g, 1.20 g, 1.21 g, 1.21 g, 1.22 g,
1.23 g, 1.23 g, 1.24 g, 1.24 g, 1.25 g, 1.25 g, 1.26 g, 1.27 g, 1.27 g, 1.28 g,
1.28 g, 1.28 g, 1.28 g, 1.28 g, 1.29 g, 1.29 g, 1.30 g, 1.31 g, 1.31 g, 1.32 g,
1.33 g, 1.33 g, 1.35 g, 1.37 g, 1.37 g, 1.37 g, 1.38 g, 1.38 g, 1.39 g, 1.39 g,
1.40 g, 1.41 g, 1.42 g, 1.43 g, 1.43 g, 1.45 g, 1.52 g, 1.52 g, ein Gewicht
unbekannt.

PLATE X, 4

⁷ W. Hävernich, *Die Münzen von Köln vom Beginn der Prägung bis 1304* (Köln, 1935).

*5. *Erzbistum Köln*, Konrad, 1238–1261Münzstätte *Köln*, Hälbling (1239–1244)

//ONRΛ/// – //NIST//

Thronender Erzbischof als Minister (ohne
Pallium) mit Buch und Stab

Hävernicks 664.

1 Exemplar: 0.52 g.

✠ SAN////////NIA

Arkadengebäude mit Turm zwischen
zwei Fahnen

PLATE X,5

*6. *Erzbistum Köln*, Konrad, 1238–1261

Unbestimmte Münzstätte, Nachahmung des Pfennigs (1239–1244)

IONRΛV – ///ISTΘO

✠ SANCTACOLONIA

Darstellung wie auf dem Pfennig Nr. 4, auf dem Dach der Rückseite ein Kreuz
Hävernicks 659e.15 Exemplare: 0.67 g, 1.24 g, 1.26 g, 1.27 g, 1.28 g, 1.30 g, 1.30 g, 1.34 g, 1.35 g, 1.35 g,
1.37 g, 1.39 g, 1.42 g, 1.43 g, 1.48 g.

PLATE X,6

*7. Nachahmung wie Nr. 6

ONRΛV – //////////

///NOATCOL///

Darstellung wie auf Nr. 6 mit dem Kreuz auf dem Dach der Rückseitendarstellung
Vgl. Hävernicks 659e.

1 Exemplar: 1.36 g.

PLATE X,7

Wenn Nr. 6 auch bei Hävernicks zusammen mit dem echten Ministergeprägung Konrads aufgeführt wird, so möchten wir diesen Typ doch zusammen mit unserer Nr. 7 als eine Nachahmung ansprechen, die außerhalb von Köln entstanden sein dürfte. Dafür spricht die verworrene Legende der Vorderseite wie auch der derbe Stempelschnitt. Als deutliches Unterscheidungszeichen liegt auf dem mittleren Dach ein Kreuz auf, das auf dem Kölner Vorbild fehlt. Leider begegnet die nähere örtliche Bestimmung einigen Schwierigkeiten. Die Legenden IONRAV-MINISTEO und SANCTACOLONIA sind dem Vorbild entlehnt und geben keinerlei Hinweise. Das auf dem Dach aufliegende Kreuz findet sich auf keiner anderen Nachahmung des Kölner Typs, die dadurch zur Bestimmung beitragen könnte. So mag nur das zahlenmäßig so ungewöhnlich reiche Vorkommen im Werler Fund den Gedanken nahe legen, die Herkunft des Typs im westfälischen Raum, wenn nicht gar in Werl selbst zu suchen. Das so auffällige Kreuz auf dem Dach läßt an eine offizielle Münzstätte denken und dürfte die Möglichkeit einer privaten Fälschung aus-

schließen. Erwähnenswert sind endlich die Gewichte, von denen nur eines mit 0.67 g weit nach unten ausschlägt, und die im übrigen den Gewichten der Kölner Vorbilder entsprechen. Die Zusammengehörigkeit der Pfennige 6 und 7 mit den Hälblingen 8 und 9 ist höchst zweifelhaft. Diese können sowohl im Rheinland wie in Westfalen entstanden sein. Das Kreuz auf dem Dach fehlt, die Legenden sind verworren:

*8. *Erzbistum Köln*, Konrad, 1238–1261

Unbestimmte Münzstätte, Nachahmung des Hälblings (1239–1244)

ONRÄ – VCSOLDO

✠ SANOXTAOL///A

Thronender Erzbischof wie auf Nr. 5

Arkadengebäude wie auf Nr. 5

Hävernich – (vgl. Nr. 664).

1 Exemplar: 0.55 g.

PLATE X,8

*9. *Erzbistum Köln*, Konrad, 1238–1261

Unbestimmte Münzstätte, Nachahmung des Hälblings (1239–1244)

//// – ADVS

///NVTÆ//O//

Thronender Erzbischof wie auf Nr. 5

Arkadengebäude wie auf Nr. 5

Hävernich – (vgl. Nr. 664).

1 Exemplar: 0.47 g.

PLATE X,9

*10. *Unbestimmte königliche Münzstätte*

Nachahmung eines Kölner Pfennigs Erzbischof Heinrichs (1225–1238)

HÆ// – ////

//////XOLO//

Thronender Gekrönter mit Stab und Buch

Turm zwischen zwei Fahnen

Hävernich 645.

1 Exemplar: 1.33 g.

PLATE X,10

*11. *Erzbistum Köln*, Konrad, 1238–1261

Münzstätte *Andernach*, Pfennig (1239–1244)

////// – //

✠ AN/////h

Thronender Erzbischof als Minister (ohne Pallium) mit zwei Fahnen (?)

Dreitürmiges Gebäude auf Arkade

Hävernich 838.

1 Exemplar: 1.11 g.

PLATE X,11

Sehr zu recht, wie es schien, hatte Hävernicks⁸ diesen Typ auf Grund des Leningrader Unikums, das nur eine arg verstümmelte Legende aufweist, nach Schmallenberg gelegt. Leider hat das Exemplar des Werler Fundes diese Vermutung nicht bestätigt, sondern zeigt als Rückseitenlegende deutlich +AN/////HC, was doch wohl nur zu +ANDERNACHC(ivitas) oder ähnlich ergänzt werden kann. In Westfalen, wohin der Stil der leider nur gering erhaltenen Münze weist, läßt sich keine Münzstätte mit den Anfangsbuchstaben AN nachweisen. Andernach ist sonst bisher nur als Münzstätte des leichten mittelrheinischen Fusses bekannt geworden,⁹ aber diese Münzen reichen nur bis in die Regierungszeit Engelberts I. (1216–1225). Zwischen 1225 und 1238 kann aber durchaus eine Umstellung auf den kölnisch-westfälischen Fuß erfolgt sein. Ganz abgesehen davon liegt Andernach an der Grenze zwischen schwerem kölnischen und leichtem mittelrheinischen Pfennig; im Andernacher Rotulus werden in gleicher Zahl kölnische wie leichte Pfennige genannt,¹⁰ außerdem scheinen in Andernach vorwiegend schwere Kölner Pfennige umgelaufen zu sein.¹¹ So wäre es gar nicht verwunderlich, wenn auch an diesem Währungsgrenzort beide Münzarten nebeneinander ausgeprägt worden wären. Was endlich den mehr nach Westfalenweisenden Stil des Pfennigs anbelangt, so bietet sich als Parallele Deutz an, wo man am Ende des 13. Jahrhunderts westfälische Pfennige münsterischen Schlages geprägt hat.¹²

*12. *Kölnisches Herzogtum Westfalen*, Konrad, 1238–1261

Münzstätte *Arnsberg*, Pfennig (1239–1244)

✚ ⱮONRÆ – D9ΘPΘ

————— - / / / ———

Thronender Erzbischof als Minister (ohne Pallium) mit Stab und Buch

Hävernicks 1034, Lückger 425.

2 Exemplare: 1.25 g, 1.21 g.

✚ ARNBΘRG // ⱮIVIT9

/ / / / BΘRΘH· ⱮIVI / /

Arkadengebäude mit Turm zwischen zwei Fahnen

PLATE X, 12

Der Kölner Erzbischof auf einer um 1240 deutlich in Arnsberg geprägten Münze (ARNBERCH-CIVIT) überrascht zunächst, ist doch die Grafschaft Arnsberg erst 1368 dem kölnischen Herzogtum Westfalen einverleibt worden. Wie D.

⁸ *A.a.O.*, S. 207.

⁹ Hävernicks, *a.a.O.*, S. 171–172.

¹⁰ W. Hävernicks, *Der Kölner Pfennig im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart, 1930), S. 158–159.

¹¹ *Ebd.*, S. 159.

¹² H. J. Lückger, *Die Münzen von Köln* (München, 1939), S. 69, Nr. 304.





Menadier gezeigt hat¹³, geht das Recht Erzbischof Konrads, in Arnsberg zu prägen, auf seine Stellung als Herzog von Westfalen zurück. Als Herzog von Westfalen fiel ihm jeweils die Hälfte an allen Rechten jener Städte zu, die in seinem Bereich von ihren Besitzern befestigt wurden.¹⁴ 1238 nun hat Graf Gottfried III. von Arnsberg seine *civitas* Arnsberg befestigt, wie eine in diesem Jahre von ihm für das Kloster Wedinghausen ausgestellte Urkunde besagt, das dadurch *infra nostre civitatis munitiones* lag.¹⁵ Als Herzog von Westfalen kam Erzbischof Konrad somit also 1238 in den Besitz der Hälfte aller Rechte in Arnsberg, darunter auch des Münzrechtes, das er umgehend wahrgenommen hat. Lange kann er jedoch kaum die Möglichkeit gehabt haben, seine Hälfte am Münzrecht in Arnsberg auszunutzen, denn spätere Arnsberger Prägungen mit den Namen Kölner Erzbischöfe sind aus dem 13. Jahrhundert nicht bekannt geworden. Gräfliche Prägungen aus Arnsberg lassen sich dagegen für eine längere Zeit nachweisen.

*13. *Kölnisches Herzogtum Westfalen*, Konrad, 1238–1261

Münzstätte *Attendorn*, Pfennig (1239–1244)

//ONRÆ – IIII

Nach links thronender Erzbischof als
Minister (ohne Pallium) mit Buch und Stab
Hävernack 797.

2 Exemplare: 1.12 g, 1.33 g.

⊕ ATTÆND//ÆÆ

Mauer mit Turm zwischen zwei Fahnen,
im Tor Kugelkreuz

PLATE X,13

*14. *Kölnisches Herzogtum Westfalen*, Konrad, 1238–1261

Münzstätte *Korbach*, Pfennig (1239–1244)

⊕ ÆONR/ – DV9ÆPOÆ

Thronender Erzbischof als Minister (ohne
Pallium) mit Stab und Buch
Hävernack 1071.

1 Exemplar: 1.25 g.

⊕ Æ/////ÆÆIVIT9

Turm zwischen zwei Fahnen über
Bogen, darin Perlkranz

PLATE X,14

Wie der Vergleich mit anderen Exemplaren¹⁶ lehrt, ist die Rückseitenlegende zu CORBEKECIVIT zu ergänzen. Die Münze gehört also sicherlich nach Korbach, wohin sie auch der Perlkranz, das Symbol der Münzstätte Korbach¹⁷ verweist.

¹³ D. Menadier, *Die Münzen und das Münzwesen der deutschen Reichsäbtissinnen im Mittelalter*, (Dissertation Berlin, 1915), S. 93–94.

¹⁴ Vgl. auch G. Wrede, "Herzogsgewalt und kölnische Territorialpolitik in Westfalen", *Westfalen*, Bd. 16 (1931), S. 139–151.

¹⁵ *Westfälisches Urkundenbuch*, Bd. VII (Münster, 1908), S. 208, Nr. 470.

¹⁶ Hävernack 1071.

¹⁷ Vgl. H. Krusy, *Schwalenberger, Waldecker und Pyrmonter Münzen auf Soester Schlag, Festschrift zur Feier des 25jährigen Bestehens des Vereins der Münzforscher und Münzfreunde für Westfalen und Nachbargebiete* (Münster, 1938), S. 29.

Das Münzrecht Erzbischof Konrads in Korbach, einer den Grafen von Waldeck gehörigen Münzstätte, erinnert noch einmal an die Stellung des Herzogs von Westfalen, wie sie oben bei dem Arnsberger Pfennig Konrads behandelt worden war. Freilich liegen die Verhältnisse bei Korbach nicht so eindeutig wie bei Arnsberg. Ein Beleg für eine Befestigung der Stadt Korbach in der Zeit um 1227 bis 1250 liegt nicht vor, vielmehr verpflichten sich die Brüder Volkwin und Adolf von Schwalenberg-Waldeck in der 1227 April 14 ausgestellten Urkunde,¹⁸ die von D. Menadier irrig als Beleg der Neubefestigung herangezogen wird,¹⁹ dem Bischof von Paderborn gegenüber ausdrücklich dahin, daß sie in Korbach keine neue Befestigung anlegen wollten: *nec sepe dicti fratres infra opidum vel extra novam munitionem, que nobis et ecclesie nocere possit, edificabunt*. Bald nach dem Beginn der Regierung Konrads von Köln im Jahre 1238 scheint Korbach jedoch, ganz im Sinne der Politik Konrads von Hochstaden, aus dem Paderborner Bereich in die Machtsphäre des kölnischen Herzogtums Westfalen übergewechselt zu sein, denn schon 1249 September 6 überträgt Graf Adolf von Waldeck dem Erzbischof Konrad von Köln, den er ausdrücklich als *venerabilis dominus meus* bezeichnet, die Vogtei über das 8 km nördlich von Korbach gelegene Kloster Flechtdorf²⁰. In dieser Zeit scheint sich Adolf, der aus dem Paderborner in das Kölner Lager übergewechselt war, über seine Verpflichtung von 1227 hinweggesetzt und die Stadt befestigt zu haben. Ein urkundlicher Beleg, daß damit die Hälfte der Münze zu Korbach Erzbischof Konrad von Köln in seiner Eigenschaft als Herzog von Westfalen zugefallen sei, läßt sich nicht beibringen, doch dürfte die vorliegende Münze, neben der es noch zwei weitere frühe Typen Konrads aus Korbach sowie Parallelgepräge Graf Adolfs gibt, Beweis genug sein. Die jüngste ortsgeschichtliche Forschung deutet das Problem nur entfernt an²¹.

*15. *Kölnisches Herzogtum Westfalen*, Konrad, 1238–1261

Münzstätte *Schmallenberg*, Pfennig (1239–1244)

a) +XONR/ – DVSXPI/

/ /MÆL///BVROX · XI9

b) /XO/// – DV'XPI/

✚ SMÆL///BVROXh

Thronender Erzbischof als Minister (ohne Pallium) mit Stab und Buch

Turm zwischen zwei Fahnen über Bogen

Hävernich 835.

5 Exemplare: a 1.20 g, b 0.95 g, 1.12 g, 1.30 g, 1.49 g.

PLATE X,15

¹⁸ *Westfälisches Urkundenbuch* (unten *WUB*), Bd. IV (Münster, 1877–1894), S. 102, Nr. 152.

¹⁹ *A.a.O.*, S. 97.

²⁰ *WUB*, IV, S. 262, Nr. 404.

²¹ W. Medding, *Korbach, Die Geschichte einer deutschen Stadt* (Korbach, 1955), S. 23–24.

*16. *Kölnisches Herzogtum Westfalen*, Konrad, 1238–1261

Münzstätte *Schmallenberg*, Pfennig

////////VROH

Rund im Dreieck, an den Seiten

OO – RÆ – DV

Vgl. Hävernicks 839.

1 Exemplar: 1.25 g.

////////LΘ///

Dreitürmiges Arkadengebäude

PLATE X,16

Dieser Typ weicht nicht unwesentlich von dem bei Hävernicks angeführten Typ ab und dürfte bisher unbekannt gewesen sein. Beide Legenden dürften in irgendeiner Form zu dem Ortsnamen SMALLENBVRCH zu ergänzen sein, wie er sich auch auf unserer Nr. 15. findet. Das Münzbild (Dreieck und Arkadengebäude) ist Lippstadt²² entlehnt.

*17. *Kölnisches Herzogtum Westfalen*, Heinrich, 1225–1238

Münzstätte *Soest*, Pfennig (1226–1238)

✚ HΘNRIO – AROH|ΘPO

Nach links thronender Erzbischof, segnend, mit Krummstab

Hävernicks 993.

9 Exemplare: 1.01 g, 1.18 g, 1.25 g, 1.29 g, 1.34 g, 1.35 g, 1.35 g, 1.35 g, 1.38 g.

✚ SVSÆOIAOIVITÆ

Turm zwischen zwei Fahnen auf Mauer, im Tor Soester Zeichen

PLATE X,17

*18. *Kölnisches Herzogtum Westfalen*, Konrad, 1238–1261

Münzstätte *Soest* (?), Pfennig (1239–1244)

///// – D9Θ/

Thronender Erzbischof als Minister (ohne Pallium) mit Lilie und Buch

Hävernicks 1009, Lückger 401.

2 Exemplare: 1.12 g, 1.17 g.

////OT////////

Dreitürmiges Gebäude

PLATE X,18

Mit Hävernicks²³ legen wir diesen Typ nach Soest, schließen uns aber gleichzeitig auch Lückgers Auffassung²⁴ an, daß es sich um einen selbständigen Typ mit der Legende CONRA-D'EP handelt. Der Gebrauch des ungewöhnlichen Titels, über den weiter unten zu sprechen sein wird, und der Stil verweisen die Münze trotz des SANCTACOLONIA der Rückseite nach Westfalen, wo Soest wohl den ersten Anspruch haben dürfte.

²² Vgl. Nr. 24 dieses Fundes.

²³ Hävernicks, *a.a.O.*, S. 244.

²⁴ Lückger, *a.a.O.*, S. 87.

*19. *Kölnisches Herzogtum Westfalen*, Konrad, 1238–1261Münzstätte *Soest*, Pfennig (1239–1244)

CONRÆ – //9ΘPOX

✚ SVSÆOXIÆOXIVIT

Nach rechts thronender Erzbischof als
Minister (ohne Pallium) mit Stab und
Buch

Turm zwischen zwei Fahnen über
Arkadenmauer, im Tor das Soester
Zeichen

Hävernicks 1011 (Nachahmung zu Hävernicks 659!).

7 Exemplare: 1.24 g, 1.28 g, 1.30 g, 1.34 g, 1.44 g, 1.56 g, 1.58 g.

PLATE X, 19

Auf den Pfennigen Konrads von Köln Nr. 12 (Arnsberg), 13 (Attendorn), 14 (Korbach), 15 (Schmallenberg), 18 und 19 (Soest) fällt die seltsame Vorderseitenlegende CONRAD'EPC (oder ähnlich) auf. Auf allen diesen im Bereich des Herzogtums Westfalen entstandenen Geprägen bezeichnet sich der Erzbischof also als EPISCOPVS, er ist aber als Minister (ohne Pallium) dargestellt. Parallelgepräge mit dem seltsamen Titel EPISCOPVS und dem fehlenden Pallium finden sich ferner in Medebach²⁵ und Berleburg.²⁶ Hävernicks setzt diese Gepräge jeweils nach 1244 (Verleihung des Palliums und des damit verbundenen Titels ARCHIEPISCOPVS) an und sieht im Fehlen des Palliums in der Gewandung kein Argument für eine Datierung in die vorhergehende Zeit. Gegen diese Auffassung wendet sich Lückger in seiner bekannten polemischen Art²⁷, scheint aber dabei doch wohl die richtige Deutung gefunden zu haben. Er zeigt ganz richtig, daß sich die Kölner Erzbischöfe vor ihrer Bestätigung durch den Papst auf den Münzen ihrer Münzstätten im Herzogtum Westfalen stets etwas anachronistisch EPISCOPVS nennen. Aber auch in der Urkundensprache des kölnischen Herzogtums Westfalen finden sich Parallelen. Seit 1239²⁸ nennt sich Konrad wohl gewöhnlich *Cunradus Dei gratia sancte Coloniensis ecclesie minister*, um sich seit 1244²⁹ als *Conradus Dei gratia sancte Coloniensis ecclesie archiepiscopus* zu bezeichnen, aber es gibt doch Ausnahmen. 1240³⁰ fordert Konrad die Ministerialen in Westfalen als *Coloniensis ecclesie archiepiscopus* auf, gegen den Angriff des Herzogs von Brabant gerüstet zu sein. Bei einer 1241 April 4 in Soest für das Kloster Bredelar

²⁵ Hävernicks, 819/820.²⁶ Hävernicks, 1038.²⁷ *A.a.O.*, S. 73.²⁸ *WUB*, VII, 485.²⁹ *WUB*, VII, 565.³⁰ *WUB*, VII, 491.

ausgestellten Privilegienbestätigung³¹ nennt sich Konrad ebenfalls *Sancte Coloniensis ecclesie archiepiscopus*; auf der Rückseite hat eine Hand des 13. Jahrhunderts *Confirmatio domini Conradi episcopi Coloniensis* vermerkt und damit gerade jenen Titel verwandt, der auf den hier besprochenen Pfennigen begegnet. Wir möchten somit doch alle Gepräge Konrads aus seinen westfälischen Münzstätten, die ihn in der Umschrift als CONRADVSEPC bezeichnen und im Bild als Minister (im geistlichen Gewand ohne Pallium) zeigen, in die Zeit vor der Übernahme des Palliums und des erzbischöflichen Titels (1244 Mai 22) legen. Die Siegel können leider nur wenig zu der Lösung dieses Problems beitragen; als Minister (1239 Oktober 28 bis 1244 Mai 22) ist Konrad auf seinem Siegel im geistlichen Gewand ohne Pallium dargestellt, als Erzbischof (1244 Mai 22 bis 1261) im erzbischöflichen Ornat mit Pallium.³² Entscheidend ist endlich die Vergrabungszeit des Werler Fundes, der, wie weiter unten zu zeigen sein wird, um 1240, also lange vor der Erlangung des Palliums und des erzbischöflichen Titels durch Konrad, vergraben worden sein dürfte.

*20. *Bistum Paderborn*, Bernhard IV., 1227–1247

Münzstätte *Paderborn*, Pfennig

✠ BERNARD – RDVSI

Thronender Bischof mit Stab und Buch

Weingärtner³³ 23a.

2 Exemplare: 1.28 g, 1.28 g.

✠ LIBORIVSOP

Mitriertes Brustbild mit Stab und Buch
unter drei Bögen mit drei Türmen

PLATE X,20

*21. *Bistum Paderborn*, Bernhard IV., 1227–1247

Münzstätte *Paderborn*, Pfennig

✠ BERNARD – RDVSI

Thronender Bischof mit Stab und Buch,
worüber ein kleines Kreuz

Vgl. Weingärtner 26b. Katalog Kassel³⁴ 488.

1 Exemplar: 1.29 g.

✠ PADBORNONIVS

Dreitürmiges Mauergebäude, im Tor
ein Kugelkreuz

PLATE X,21

³¹ WUB, VII, 508.

³² W. Ewald, *Rheinische Siegel*, Bd. I (Bonn, 1906), Tf. 17–18.

³³ J. Weingärtner, *Die Gold- und Silbermünzen des Bisthums Paderborn* (Münster, 1882).

³⁴ Auktions-Katalog 29, 25. II. 1924, der Fa. A. Riechmann & Co., Halle.

*22. *Herrschaft Lippe*, Bernhard III., 1229–1265Münzstätte *Lemgo*, Pfennig

✠ BORNÆ – RDVΣΘ

Thronender Bischof mit Stab und Buch

✠ LEMGOXIVITAS

Auf gegittertem Feld Schild, darin drei
fünfblättrige Rosen 2:1Grote³⁵ 30a var., Berghaus³⁶ 16b var., Fd. Hildesheim³⁷ 104a var.

2 Exemplare: 1.05 g, 1.21 g.

PLATE X, 22

Diese seltsame Münze, die auf der Vorderseite den Bischof von Paderborn, auf der Rückseite das lippische Wappen zeigt, wird gewöhnlich auf die Währungsverhältnisse des Lemgoer Raumes zurückgeführt, in dem zu dieser Zeit die *gravis moneta Patherbrunnensis* in den Urkunden als Zahlungsmittel ausbedungen wurde.³⁸ Auf der anderen Seite ist aber auch die Möglichkeit nicht ganz von der Hand zu weisen, daß sich der Bischof Bernhard von Paderborn auf Grund einer Befestigung der jungen Stadt Lemgo, ähnlich wie der Erzbischof von Köln als Herzog von Westfalen in Arnsberg, Herford, Korbach und Marsberg, die Hälfte an den Rechten in Lemgo, darunter am Münzrecht, abtreten ließ. Lange kann ein solcher Anspruch kaum gedauert haben, und er läßt sich urkundlich für Lemgo auch nicht belegen³⁹. Daß der Bischof von Paderborn sich nach der Neubefestigung von Städten innerhalb seiner Diözese Rechte in diesen Orten abtreten ließ, zeigt das Beispiel Büren, wo Bischof Bernhard II. von Paderborn 1195 den Gebrüdern Berthold und Thetmar von Büren, die ihre Stadt Büren befestigt und dem Bischof übergeben haben, die Stadt zu Lehen überträgt: *Idem fratres civitatem nostra auctoritate et consensu aedificaverunt, quam cum moneta sua et theloneo ipsis in feudum concessimus*.⁴⁰ So erscheint der Bischof von Paderborn im 13. Jahrhundert denn auch tatsächlich gelegentlich auf den Bürener Münzen.⁴¹ Die Probleme der hier zur Diskussion stehenden Lemgoer Münze dürften somit noch nicht als endgültig gelöst angesehen werden. Der Typ muß übrigens in größerer Menge geprägt worden sein, denn er begegnete bisher auch in den Funden von

³⁵ H. Grote, "Lippische Geld- und Münzgeschichte", *Münzstudien*, Bd. V (1866), S. 129–507.

³⁶ P. Berghaus, "Die Anfänge der Münzprägung in Lippstadt und Lemgo", *Mitteilungen aus der lippischen Geschichte und Landeskunde*, Bd. 21 (1952), S. 110–128.

³⁷ W. Jesse, "Der Münzfund von Hildesheim", *Hamburger Beiträge zur Numismatik*, Heft 2 (1948), S. 16–48.

³⁸ Berghaus, *a.a.O.*, S. 125.

³⁹ Zur umfangreichen Diskussion über Lemgos älteste Geschichte vgl. die Diskussionsbeiträge in *Mitteilungen zur lippischen Geschichte und Landeskunde*, Bd. 21 (1952), S. 82–141.

⁴⁰ N. Schaten, *Annales Paderbornenses*, Bd. I (Neuhaus 1693), S. 904; Regest: *WUB*, II, 2353.

⁴¹ Vgl. Weingärtner, *a.a.O.*, S. 177–178.

Brümmerloh, Kr. Diepholz⁴² (um 1240) mit 2 und dem von Hildesheim (nach 1252)⁴³ mit 9 Exemplaren.

*23. *Herrschaft Lippe*, Bernhard III., 1229–1265

Münzsättte *Lippstadt*, Pfennig

o + oLIPPΘXIII//AS BΘ

Fünflättrige Rose im Rund auf Zinnenturm zwischen zwei spitzen Türmen

Berghaus 15, Fd. Hildesheim 106.

1 Exemplar: 1.35 g.

///NOXTAOLONI/

Undeutliche Darstellung (Kreuz mit Kugeln in den Winkeln?)

PLATE X,23

Dieser interessante Typ, der auf der Vorderseite die Legende LIPPECIVITASBE (rnhardi) aufweist, auf der Rückseite mit der Legende SANCTACOLONIA nochmals die Bedeutung des Kölner Pfennigs für den westfälischen Raum belegt, war bisher nur in einem minder erhaltenen Exemplar in dem nach 1252 vergrabenen Fund von Hildesheim vorgekommen. Das Werler Exemplar ergänzt nicht unwesentlich, doch ist auch sein Rückseitenbild nicht zu erkennen. Man möchte allenfalls an ein Kreuz mit je einer Kugel in den Winkeln denken, wenn die recht gut lesbare Legende nicht überhaupt von Anfang an um ein leeres Feld gesetzt war.

*24. *Herrschaft Lippe*, Bernhard III., 1229–1265

Münzstätte *Lippstadt*, Pfennig

□ MONΘ//////

□ M / / / / OMN

Rose im Dreieck, an den Kanten

LI – PP – I A

Hävernack 840 var., Grote 5 var., Berghaus 14 var.

2 Exemplare: 1.29 g, 1.18 g.

/SANTACOLONIA/

//// / ////

Dreitürmiges Arkadengebäude

PLATE X,24

Neue Variante des bekannten Typs, der in Schmallenberg⁴⁴ nachgeahmt wurde. Aber auch die Münzstätte Büren hat diesen Typ übernommen:

*25. *Herrschaft Büren*, Berthold⁴⁵

Münzstätte *Büren*, Pfennig (auf Lippstädter Schlag)

⊕ MONΘT////OLT

Dreitürmiges Arkadengebäude

1 Exemplar: 1.26 g.

///RΘNOIVIT//

Im Dreieck Kreis mit dem Bürener Wappen, an den Seiten LI – PP – I A

PLATE X,25

⁴² H. Buchenau, "Zum Brümmerloher Fund", *Blätter für Münzfreunde*, 1922, S. 217ff.

⁴³ Jesse, *a.a.O.*, S. 36.

⁴⁴ Nr. 16 des Werler Fundes.

⁴⁵ Es ist der landesgeschichtlichen Forschung bisher noch nicht möglich gewesen, die verschiedenen Bertholde von Büren zu trennen und ihre Regierungsdaten festzulegen.

Diese bisher völlig unbekannte Münze belegt die Unsitte der Münzbildnachahmung besonders deutlich. Der Herr von Büren hat das Bild von Vorder- und Rückseite einschließlich des LIPPJA (=Lippstadt) fast genau übernommen, nur hat er verschämt aus der lippischen Rose einen Kreis mit dem Bürener Wappen, dem Rautensparren, gemacht. Die Legenden lassen sich zwanglos zu MONE-TABERTOLT und BVRENCIVITAS ergänzen. Mit diesem wichtigen Stück ist ein wesentlicher Festpunkt für die Bürener Münzgeschichte gewonnen, waren Bürener Gepräge doch bisher erst seit der Zeit um 1250 bekannt,⁴⁶ wenn sich die *moneta* in Büren auch schon um 1195 nachweisen läßt.⁴⁷ Sehr wichtig ist aber auch die Aussage des Werler Exemplares, daß die Münzstätte Lippstadt um 1240 bereits eine bedeutsame Stellung innehatte.

STERLINGE (SHORT-CROSS-TYP)

26. *Königreich England*, John, 1199–1216Münzstätte *Canterbury*, Penny (Sterling), Class Vb (1205–1218)

HÆNRIOVSR – ÆX

⦿ IOH////NOÆ

Barhäuptiger Königskopf v. vorn mit
ZepterKurzes Doppelfadenkreuz, in den Win-
keln SchrägkreuzchenLawrence⁴⁸ Class Vb, Fd. Ribe⁴⁹ 47.

1 Exemplar: 1.36 g.

*27. *Königreich England*, John, 1199–1216Münzstätte *London*, Penny (Sterling), Class Vc (1210–1218)

HÆNRIOVSR – ÆX

⦿ ABÆL · ON//VNDÆ

Wie vorher

Wie vorher

Lawrence Class Vc, zu Fd. Ribe 129.

1 Exemplar: 1.11 g.

PLATE X,27

28. *Königreich England*, Heinrich II., 1216–1272Münzstätte *London*, Penny (Sterling), Class VII (1223–1242)

HÆNRIOVSR – ÆX

⦿ LÆDVLFONLVND

Wie vorher

Wie vorher

Lawrence Class VII, Fd. Ribe 350.

1 Exemplar: 1.41 g.

⁴⁶ P. Berghaus, "Münzprägung und Geldumlauf im Gebiet des Kreises Büren", in: *100 Jahre Kreissparkasse Büren i. W.* (Büren, 1956).

⁴⁷ Vgl. oben den Excurs zu Nr. 22.

⁴⁸ L. A. Lawrence, "The Short-cross Coinage, 1180–1247", *BNJ*, Bd. XI (1916), S. 59–100.

⁴⁹ G. Galster, "A Find of English Coins at Ribe, Denmark", *NC¹*, Bd. 16 (1917), S. 378–398.

*29. *Königreich England*, Heinrich II., 1216–1272

Münzstätte *London*, Penny (Sterling), Class VII (1223–1242)

ḤΘNRIOVSR – ΘX

⊕ NIOḤOLΘONLVN

Wie vorher

Wie vorher

Lawrence Class VII, Fd. Ribe 361.

1 Exemplar: 1.22 g.

PLATE X,29

30. *Königreich England*, Heinrich II., 1216–1272

Münzstätte *London*, Penny (Sterling), Class VII (1223–1242)

ḤΘNRIOVSR – ΘX

⊕ RIOḤARDONLVN

Wie vorher

Wie vorher

Lawrence Class VII, Fd. Ribe 379.

1 Exemplar: 1.45 g.

*31. *Grafschaft Schwalenberg*, Volkwin III., 1214–1249

Münzstätte *Schwalenberg*, Pfennig (Sterling)

VOLOVVNIOI – OII

* SVÆLOXNBΘROXH

Gekrönter Kopf von vorn mit Kreuzzepter

Sterlingskreuz

Weweler⁵⁰ 59.

2 Exemplare: 1.13 g, 1.24 g.

PLATEL X,31

Das gleich doppelte Vorkommen dieses bisher nur in einem Unikum bekannten Schwalenberger Sterlings im Werler Fund legt seine Entstehung sehr erwünscht in die Zeit um 1240 fest. Für das bisher bekannte Unikum läßt sich keine Fundprovenienz beibringen.

*32. *Reichsstadt Dortmund*, Kaiser Friedrich II., 1220–1250

Pfennig (Sterling)

a) ⊕ FRΘDI – ΘINPÆ

⊕ TRΘMÆNIA

b) ⊕ FRΘD – IIIIΘ9

c) ⊕ FRΘD/ – III/PÆ

⊕ TRΘOVÆNIA

Thronender Kaiser mit Zepter und Reichsapfel

Sterlingskreuz

Meyer⁵¹ 26.

PLATE XI,32

17 Exemplare: a) 1.43 g, 1.43 g; b) 1.31 g, 1.46 g; undeutlich a oder b) 1.12 g, 1.16 g, 1.26 g, 1.36 g, 1.40 g, 1.40 g, 1.47 g; c) 1.42 g; undeutlich a–c) 1.10 g, 1.26 g, 1.39 g, 1.40 g, 1.42 g.

⁵⁰ P. Weweler, *Lippische Sterlinge, Festschrift zur Feier des 25jährigen Bestehens des Vereins der Münzforscher und Münzfreunde für Westfalen und Nachbargebiete* (Münster, 1938), S. 41–53.

⁵¹ A. Meyer, *Die Münzen der Stadt Dortmund* (Wien, o. J.).

*33. *Reichsstadt Dortmund*, Kaiser Friedrich II., 1220–1250

Pfennig (Sterling)

a) ✚ FRØDI – IIIII

b) Legende zerstört

Wie vorher

a–b) ✚ TRØMĀNIA9

Wie vorher

5½ Exemplare: a) 1.34 g, 1.39 g; b) 1.31 g, 1.35 g, 1.47 g, Fragment (0.625 g).

PLATE XI,33

*34. *Reichsstadt Dortmund*, Kaiser Friedrich II., 1220–1250

Pfennig (Sterling)

a) ✚ FRØD I – Ø'INP'

b) ✚ FRØD'I – Ø'INPÆ

c) ————— – —————

Wie vorher

Meyer 26.

✚ TRØMĀNIAØ

✚ TRØOLĀNIAØ

✚ TRØOLĀNIAÇ

Wie vorher

28 Exemplare: a) 1.18 g, 1.30 g, 1.32 g, 1.36 g, 1.39 g, 1.41 g; b) 1.08 g, 1.17 g, 1.28 g, 1.28 g, 1.31 g, 1.34 g, 1.35 g, 1.36 g, 1.37 g, 1.42 g, 1.43 g, 1.48 g, c) 1.28 g, 1.42 g; unbestimmt a–b) 1.16 g, 1.17 g, 1.19 g, 1.24 g, 1.24 g, 1.28 g, 1.34 g, 1.34 g.

PLATE XI,34

*35. *Reichsstadt Dortmund*, Kaiser Friedrich II., 1220–1250

Pfennig (Sterling)

✚ FRØD'I – Ø'INPÆ

Wie vorher

Meyer 26.

✚ TRØMĀNĀIOI

Wie vorher

23 Exemplare: 0.90 g, 1.15 g, 1.20 g, 1.23 g, 1.26 g, 1.26 g, 1.26 g, 1.28 g, 1.28 g, 1.29 g, 1.29 g, 1.29 g, 1.33 g, 1.33 g, 1.33 g, 1.35 g, 1.35 g, 1.35 g, 1.36 g, 1.39 g, 1.39 g, 1.43 g, 1.44 g.

PLATE XI,35

Bisher ist kein Fund bekannt geworden, der Dortmunder Sterlinge in dieser Menge enthalten hätte. Der Werler Fund bot somit erstmals die Möglichkeit, die Varianten der Typen zu scheiden. Als besonderes Merkmal sei noch hervorgehoben, daß auf den Varianten 32, 34b, 34c und 35 das P am Ende der Vorderseitenlegende in der unteren Hasta durchstrichen ist, womit sicherlich die Abkürzung für IMPERATOR angedeutet werden soll.

*36. *Grafschaft Bentheim*, Balduin 1209–1247Münzstätte *Bentheim*, Pfennig (Sterling) auf Dortmunder Schlag✚ b Θ NTH – IIII α (?)✚ MON Θ T Δ Θ α B

Thronender König mit Zepter und

Sterlingskreuz

Reichsapfel

Vgl. Kennepohl⁵² 2.

1 Exemplar: 1.22 g.

PLATE XI,36

Dieser Sterling, durch die Legende eindeutig für Bentheim gesichert, gibt unter den Werler Fundstücken die meisten Probleme auf. Er scheint dem bei Kennepohl unter Nr. 2 verzeichneten Typ zu entsprechen, der im zweiten Teil der Vorderseitenlegende mit VALD offensichtlich den Namen des Grafen Balduin andeutet. Die Rückseite des Werler Fundstückes läßt so deutlich +MONETAECB erkennen, daß kein Zweifel möglich ist. Wahrscheinlich ist auch die Rückseitenlegende des bei Kennepohl unter Nr. 2 verzeichneten Exemplares dahin zu ergänzen.⁵³ Wie aber ist das ECB zu erklären? Es ist von keinem anderen Typ sinnlos übernommen wie etwa das MONEMANIAS auf anderen Bentheimer Sterlingen⁵⁴, sondern es scheint eine Bedeutung, ein Ort oder ein Eigenname, dahinter zu stehen. Als Ort käme allenfalls Eibergen (20 km südwestlich Enschede, Prov. Overijssel, Niederlande) in Betracht, der 1299 einmal in der Namensform Ecberghe begegnet⁵⁵. Er muß wegen seiner geringen Bedeutung aber doch ausscheiden, zumal ja Bentheim deutlich in der Vorderseitenlegende vorkommt. So bleibt nur die Ergänzung zu einem Eigennamen übrig: MONETAECBERTI.⁵⁶ Sogleich ergibt sich die Schwierigkeit, einen Träger dieses Namens mit der Münzlegende in Verbindung zu bringen. Von 1209–1247 war Baldewin Graf von Bentheim, auf ihn folgte sein Sohn Otto IV. (1248–1274).⁵⁷ Im 13. Jahrhundert erscheinen

⁵² K. Kennepohl, *Die Münzen der Grafschaften Bentheim und Tecklenburg sowie der Herrschaft Rheda* (Frankfurt, 1927).

⁵³ Das Exemplar liegt heute im Münzkabinett der Stadt Frankfurt a. M. Wie mir der Leiter des Münzkabinetts, Herr F. Friedmann, dankenswerterweise mitteilt, dürfte der Buchstabe nach MONETA eher ein D als ein B sein.

⁵⁴ Die Deutung auf Mannsbrügge, Kennepohl, *a.a.O.*, S. 11, läßt sich m. E. landesgeschichtlich nicht belegen.

⁵⁵ *WUB*, III, 1656.

⁵⁶ Ähnliche Abkürzungen von Eigennamen begegnen wir auf mittelalterlichen Münzen; vgl. das MONETAADOL u. ä. auf den Typen Fd. Werl 52–54.

⁵⁷ Alle auf Bentheim bezüglichen Daten hier nach K. Döhmman, "Stammfolge der in den Grafschaften Bentheim und Tecklenburg regierenden Grafen ca. 1100–1806", *Deutsche Münzblätter*, 1936, S. 61–64.

jedoch zwei Grafen von Bentheim mit dem Namen Egbert. Der ältere, ein älterer Bruder Baldewins, wird in einer 1211 Juli 13 in Osnabrück ausgestellten Urkunde als *Ecbertus nequiter in Frisia interfectus* bezeichnet⁵⁸; somit liegt sein Tod mit 1211 oder früher fest, und er kommt als Münzherr dieses Sterlings keinesfalls in Frage, denn das Dortmunder Vorbild mit dem thronenden Kaiser, dem der Bentheimer Sterling nachgeahmt ist, ist sicherlich nicht vor 1235 entstanden. Der zweite Egbert, ein Enkel Baldewins, läßt sich erst seit 1272 als Graf von Bentheim nachweisen, also rund 30 Jahre zu spät, um als Münzherr des Sterlings in Frage zu kommen. Der Name Egbert kommt auch unter den benachbarten Dynasten der Zeit um 1240 nicht vor, wenn man nicht den Osnabrücker Bischof Engelbert in dem ECB suchen will, eine zumindest gewagte, wenn nicht falsche Lösung. So bleibt nur noch die Möglichkeit offen, daß sich hinter dem ECB ein Münzmeister oder ein anderer gräflicher Beamter verbirgt. Er läßt sich 1243 urkundlich belegen; 1243 Juni 15 bezeichnet Graf Baldewin von Bentheim in einer Urkunde einen der Zeugen als *Hebertus dapifer noster*, es ist der Schlossdroste von Bentheim.⁵⁹ So müssen wir offensichtlich damit rechnen, daß der Droste in Abwesenheit des Grafen, der sich häufig auswärts, besonders in den Niederlanden, aufhielt, wie zahlreiche Urkunden belegen, den Bentheimer Münzmeister beaufsichtigt hat. Es ist nicht einmal ausgeschlossen, daß der Graf irgendwo in der Zeit um 1240 in Haft gefangen saß⁶⁰, wenn auch keine urkundliche Bestätigung dafür beigebracht werden kann, und daß ihn sein Droste während dieser Zeit in verschiedenen Dingen vertreten hat. Beamtennamen auf mittelalterlichen Münzen sind durchaus möglich, wenn auch für westfälische Prägungen bisher nicht belegt.

*37. *Grafschaft Arnsberg*, Gottfried III., 1235–1287

Münzstätte *Arnsberg*, Pfennig (Sterling) auf Dortmunder Schlag

+ GOTFR – IIIIIII

✠ ARNØSBØRG

Thronender Gekrönter mit Zepter und

Sterlingskreuz

Reichsapfel

Grote⁶¹ 1, Fd. Lechtingen⁶² 46.

3 Exemplare: 1.20 g, 1.28 g, 1.44 g.

PLATE XI,37

⁵⁸ F. Philippi, *Osnabrücker Urkundenbuch*, Bd. II (Osnabrück, 1896), S. 37, Nr. 48.

⁵⁹ *Osnabrücker Urkundenbuch*, II, 434.

⁶⁰ Für 1227 ist eine solche Haft für Baldewin überliefert, vgl. J. C. Möller, *Geschichte der vormaligen Grafschaft Bentheim* (Lingen, 1879), S. 158.

⁶¹ H. Grote, "Die Münzen der Grafen von Arnsberg", *Münzstudien*, Bd. 7 (1871), S. 75–89.

⁶² H. Buchenau, "Westfälischer Sterlingsfund", *MBNG*, Bd. 42 (1924), S. 52–69.

*38. *Grafschaft Arnsberg*, Gottfried III., 1235–1287

Münzstätte *Arnsberg*, Pfennig (Sterling) auf Dortmunder Schlag

✚ GOTFR – IDVSÖ

✚ MONETÆ ARNS

Wie vorher

Wie vorher

4 Exemplare: 1.22 g, 1.32 g, 1.36 g, 1.38 g.

PLATE XI,38

Nr. 37 war bisher auch in je einem Exemplar aus den Funden von Lechtingen, Kr. Osnabrück (um 1238)⁶³ und Brümmerloh, Kr. Diepholz (um 1240)⁶³ bekannt, Nr. 38 ist dagegen mit seiner Rückseitenlegende neu. Es handelt sich um täuschend ähnliche Nachahmungen des Dortmunder Vorbildes.

39. *Grafschaft Mark*, Adolf I., 1199–1249⁶⁴

Münzstätte *Hamm*, Pfennig (Sterling) auf Dortmunder Schlag

*a) A – III – · FV – II

✚ h – A M – (OÖ) – ÖIV

*b) A – III – III – II

✚ h/ – OÖ – II – III

An den Seiten eines Rhombus, darin gekrönter bärtiger Kopf, herausragt eine Hand mit Zepter

an den Seiten eines Rhombus, darin Sterlingskreuz

2 Exemplare: a) 1.29 g, b) 1.03 g.

PLATE XI,39a, b

Dieser Typ fehlt in der Monographie von J. Menadier⁶⁵ und war auch sonst nicht bekannt. Auch er ahmt einen Dortmunder Sterlingstyp nach,⁶⁶ der im Funde nicht vertreten war. Die beiden Dortmunder Sterlinge dieses Typs in der Sammlung des Landesmuseums für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte zu Münster entstammen dem um 1235 vergrabenen Fund von Hesseln, Kr. Halle/Westfalen.⁶⁷

⁶³ Vgl. oben Anmerkung 42.

⁶⁴ Herrn Museumsleiter J. Spiegel, Schwerte, der seit langer Zeit das Material für eine zusammenfassende Arbeit über die Münzen der Grafen von der Mark sammelt, habe ich für freundliche Hinweise zu diesem Teil des Werler Fundes zu danken.

⁶⁵ J. Menadier, "Die Münzen der Grafschaft Mark", in: *Festschrift der Grafschaft Mark* (Dortmund, 1909).

⁶⁶ Meyer, *Die Münzen der Stadt Dortmund*, 25.

⁶⁷ W. A. Wippo, "Neuere Münzfunde, I. Der Hesseler Fund", *Zeitschrift für vaterländische Geschichte und Alterthumskunde*, Bd. 29 (1871), 2. Abt., S. 236–248.

*40. *Grafschaft Mark*, Adolf I., 1199–1249Münzstätte *Hamm*, Pfennig (Sterling) auf Dortmunder Schlaga–b) ∴ $\overline{\text{ADOL}} - \text{FVS}\overline{\text{X}}$ a) $\overline{\text{H}} \overline{\text{AMOL}} \overline{\text{AC}} \text{IV}$ b) $\overline{\text{H}} \overline{\text{AMOL}} \overline{\text{AO}} \text{IV}$ Thronender Gekrönter mit Zepter und
Reichsapfel

Sterlingskreuz

Menadier 6, Kennepohl⁶⁸ 3.11 Exemplare: a) 1.20 g, 1.24 g, 1.32 g, 1.32 g, 1.34 g, 1.37 g, 1.52 g; b) 1.27 g, 1.35 g,
1.37 g; unbestimmt a–b) 1.40 g.

PLATE XI,40

*41. Wie vorher

∴ $\text{MON}\overline{\text{X}}\text{T} - \overline{\text{ADOLF}}$ $\overline{\text{H}} \overline{\text{AO}} \overline{\text{OX}} \text{IVIT}$

Wie vorher

Wie vorher

Menadier –, Kennepohl 2b.

2 Exemplare: 1.38 g, 1.47 g.

PLATE XI,41

42. Wie vorher

∴ $\text{MON}\overline{\text{X}}/ - ///\text{OL}$ $\overline{\text{H}} ///\overline{\text{OL}} \overline{\text{M}} \overline{\text{OX}} \text{IVI}$

Wie vorher

Wie vorher

Menadier –, Kennepohl 2c/a.

1 Exemplar: 1.34 g.

43. Wie vorher

∴ $\text{MON}\overline{\text{X}}\text{T} - \overline{\text{ADOL}}$ $\overline{\text{H}} \overline{\text{AO}} \overline{\text{LM}} \overline{\text{AO}} \text{IVI}$

Wie vorher

Wie vorher

Menadier –, Kennepohl 2c.

2 Exemplare: 1.17 g, 1.33 g.

*44. Wie vorher

a) ∴ $\text{MON}\overline{\text{X}} - \overline{\text{TA}} \overline{\text{ADO}}$ $\overline{\text{H}} \overline{\text{AMOL}} \overline{\text{AO}} \text{IVI}$ b) ∴ $\text{MON}\overline{\text{X}} - \overline{\text{TA}} \overline{\text{ADOL}}$ $\overline{\text{H}} \overline{\text{AMOL}} \overline{\text{AO}} \text{IVI}$

Wie vorher

Wie vorher

Menadier –, Kennepohl 2.

30 Exemplare: a) 1.16 g, 1.18 g, 1.18 g, 1.20 g, 1.20 g, 1.21 g, 1.26 g, 1.26 g, 1.27 g,
1.30 g, 1.30 g, 1.34 g, 1.34 g, 1.34 g, 1.35 g, 1.35 g, 1.36 g, 1.37 g, 1.38 g,
1.40 g, 1.47 g; b) 1.00 g, 1.22 g, 1.30 g, 1.30 g, 1.31 g, 1.40 g, 1.52 g;
unbestimmt a–b) 1.08 g, 1.26 g.

PLATE XI,44a

⁶⁸ K. Kennepohl, "Die Hammer Münzen", in: *700 Jahre Stadt Hamm, Festschrift* (Hamm, 1927), S. 1–26.

*45. Wie vorher

∴ MONΘ – /////

⊕ HÆM/ÆΘIVI9

Wie vorher

Wie vorher

Menadier –, Kennepohl 2e.

6 Exemplare: 1.11 g, 1.23 g, 1.25 g, 1.25 g, 1.40 g, 1.45 g.

PLATE XI,45

*46. Wie vorher

∴ MONΘ – TÆD

⊕ HÆMΘLOΘIVI

Wie vorher

Wie vorher

2 Exemplare: 1.29 g, 1.34 g.

PLATE XI,46

Unter den Sterlingen Nr. 40–46, bei denen es sich ebenfalls um gut gelungene Nachahmungen des Dortmunder Vorbildes handelt, fällt Nr. 46 mit der seltsamen Rückseitenlegende +HAMCLOCIVI auf. Hier ist dem Stempelschneider das altvertraute SANCTACOLONIA in das HAMMACIVITAS geraten. Es dürfte sich trotzdem wohl um eine in Hamm selbst entstandene Abart handeln, wenn auch die Möglichkeit der Nachahmung offen bleibt.

*47. Wie vorher

a) ∴ MONΘ – TÆD

⊕ MONÆSTÆRIO

b) ∴ MONΘ – TÆÆD

c) ∴ MONΘ – TÆÆD'

Wie vorher

Wie vorher

Menadier 5.

32 Exemplare: a) 1.18 g, 1.25 g, 1.26 g, 1.28 g, 1.30 g, 1.35 g, 1.39 g, 1.43 g, 1.45 g;
b) 1.20 g, 1.25 g, 1.27 g, 1.28 g, 1.28 g, 1.28 g, 1.32 g, 1.34 g, 1.42 g,
1.57 g; c) 1.23 g; unbestimmt a–b) 1.19 g, 1.20 g, 1.22 g, 1.22 g, 1.23 g,
1.23 g, 1.23 g, 1.24 g, 1.26 g, 1.30 g, 1.32 g, 1.36 g, 1.41 g.

PLATE XI,47 a

Auch dieser Typ dürfte gewiß in Hamm entstanden sein. Wenn auch das +MONASTERIO der Rückseite auf Münster weist, so wird damit nur die Grenzlage Hamms zwischen den Münzbezirken von Dortmund, dessen Vorderseite nachgeahmt wird, und von Münster, dessen Rückseitenlegende MONASTERIVM⁶⁹ abgewandelt erscheint, deutlich. Die Lippe, an deren Ufer Hamm liegt, war die Grenze zwischen diesen beiden Sterlingsbezirken.⁷⁰

⁶⁹ Auf münsterischen Münzen, die im Werler Fund fehlen, sehr geläufig.

⁷⁰ Vgl. den Excurs am Ende dieses Aufsatzes.

*48. Wie vorher (Nachahmung?)

∴ MONΘ – OVNAD.

Wie vorher

4 Exemplare: 1.26 g, 1.28 g, 1.33 g, 1.34 g.

⚡ MONASTORIO

Wie vorher

PLATE XI,48

Diese Variante zu dem Sterling Nr. 47 weicht in Einzelheiten in der Darstellung des thronenden Gekrönten (Gestalt höher, anderer Thron und Faltenwurf), besonders aber in der Vorderseitenlegende ab, die hier MONE-OVNAD lautet. Sollte hierin der Name des Erzbischofs Konrad von Köln (1238-1261) CVNRAD stecken? Dann wäre es gut möglich, daß es sich um eine Nachprägung der Hammer Sterlinge aus der Münzstätte Herford oder gar Werl handelt!

*49. *Grafschaft Mark*, Adolf I., 1199-1249

Münzstätte *Hamm*, Pfennig (Sterling) auf Dortmunder Schlag

⚡ ADOLFVSOM

Gekrönter Kopf von vorn

⚡ MONASTORIO

Kurzes Doppelfadenkreuz, im zweiten Winkel etwas verdrückte Rosette, in den übrigen Winkeln Schrägkreuzchen

Menadier 7.

14 Exemplare: 1.09 g, 1.13 g, 1.20 g, 1.21 g, 1.24 g, 1.25 g, 1.25 g, 1.28 g, 1.29 g, 1.31 g, 1.32 g, 1.35 g, 1.37 g, 1.52 g.

PLATE XI,49

Dieser Sterling, der auf der Vorderseite deutlich den Grafen Adolf von der Mark als Münzherren bezeichnet, auf der Rückseite wieder nur die Legende MONASTORIO trägt, ahmt einen weiteren Sterlingstyp der Stadt Dortmund nach, der auf der Vorderseite einen gekrönten Kopf aufweist. Er kommt mit den Titeln OTTOIMPRATOR⁷¹ und REXFRIDERICVS⁷² vor, war jedoch im Werler Fund nicht vertreten, wie bisher überhaupt ein Fundvorkommen nicht nachzuweisen ist. Der gleiche Typ kehrt unter Ottos Namen auch in Duisburg wieder.⁷³ Auf dem

⁷¹ Meyer, *op. cit.*, 23. Dieser Typ dürfte kurz vor Ottos Tod († 1218) geprägt worden sein, dessen Partei Dortmund bis dahin offensichtlich ergriffen hatte. Friedrich II. urkundet erst nach Ottos Tod (1218, Mai 19) 1218, Juni 20 für Dortmund, vgl. J. F. Böhmer, *Regesta Imperii V*, hrsg. v. J. Ficker (Innsbruck, 1881), S. 223, Nr. 937.

⁷² Meyer, *op. cit.*, 27. Die Titulatur legt als Beginn der Prägezeit die Jahre bis zur Kaiserkrönung Friedrichs II. (1220, November 22) nahe.

⁷³ J. Chautard, *Imitations des monnaies au type esterlin* (Nancy, 1871), S. 188 u. 391, ferner *Blätter für Münzfreunde*, 1915, Sp. 5606.

vorliegenden märkischen Sterling steht im zweiten Kreuzeswinkel statt des Schrägkreuzchens eine, freilich etwas verdrückte Rosette. H. Buchenau sieht darin eine Beziehung zu den münsterischen Rosenkreuzsterlingen.⁷⁴ Diese Adolfssterlinge (Vorderseite Gekrönter Kopf, Rückseite Sterlingskreuz) kommen mit folgenden Rückseitenlegenden vor: MONASTERIO (Rosette im zweiten Winkel, Fd. Werl 49), ISERENLON (Rosette im ersten Winkel, Fd. Werl 50), MONETAISER (Rosette im ersten Winkel, Fd. Werl 51), MONETAADOL (Rosette im ersten Winkel, Fd. Werl 52), MONETAAD (Rosette im ersten Winkel, Fd. Werl 53) und MONETAAL (Rosette im ersten Winkel, Fd. Werl 54). Die Frage, wo dieser Typ entstanden ist, läßt sich nicht so einfach beantworten. Nach Iserlohn gehören mit Gewißheit nur die Stücke mit dem Ortsnamen (Nr. 50 und 51); es liegt jedoch nahe, auch den Ursprung der Stücke mit dem Grafennamen auf der Rückseite (Nr. 52–54) in Iserlohn zu suchen, ist doch auch bei Ihnen die Rose in den ersten Kreuzeswinkel gesetzt. Noch überzeugender ist die Verwendung des gleichen, durch einen Stempelriss auffallenden Vorderseitenstempels mit der Legende +ADOLF'COME' mit verschiedenen Rückseiten, von denen 51a mit +MONETAISER deutlich nach Iserlohn gehört, 54 dagegen ohne Ortsangabe nur den Grafennamen in der Form +MONETAAL' nennt. Beide Rückseitenstempel sind nach diesem Befund also in der gleichen Münzstätte, in Iserlohn, verwandt worden. Dagegen dürften die Stücke mit MONASTERIO und der verdrückten Rose im zweiten Winkel (Nr. 49) eher nach Hamm gehören. An diesem Ort, der unmittelbar an der Grenze des münsterischen Währungsbezirkes lag, hat das MONASTERIO eine viel aktuellere Bedeutung als in dem entfernteren Iserlohn. Als Argument sei in diesem Zusammenhang noch einmal die Rosette angeführt, die auf dem MONASTERIO-Sterling in etwas gedrückter Form im zweiten Kreuzeswinkel, auf allen anderen, in Iserlohn geprägten märkischen Sterlingen dieses Typs aber in sauberer Ausführung im ersten Winkel angebracht ist.

*50. *Grafschaft Mark*, Adolf I., 1199–1249

Münzstätte *Iserlohn*, Pfennig (Sterling) auf Dortmunder Schlag

✚ ADOLFIO MÆS

Gekrönter Kopf von vorn

✚ ISERENLON

Sterlingskreuz, im ersten Winkel

Rosette

Menadier 9.

5 Exemplare: 1.25 g, 1.27 g, 1.28 g, 1.28 g, 1.30 g.

PLATE XI, 50

⁷⁴ *MBNG*, Bd. 42 (1924), S. 56.

*51. Wie vorher

a) ✚ ADOLF9XOMΘ9

✚ MONΘTÆISΘR

b) ✚ ADOLFVSOXOM

✚ M / / / / AISΘR

Wie vorher

Wie vorher

12 Exemplare: a) 0.89 g, 1.16 g, 1.20 g, 1.21 g, 1.23 g, 1.26 g, 1.30 g, 1.30 g, 1.33 g, 1.33 g, 1.35 g; b) 1.31 g; unbestimmt a-b) 1.12 g, 1.27 g, 1.28 g.

PLATE XI,51a

52. Wie vorher

*a) ✚ ADOLFIOXOMΘS

✚ MONΘTÆADOL

*b) _____

✚ MOMΘTÆADOL

c) ✚ / / / / / XOMΘ9

✚ MO / / / / ADOL

Wie vorher

Wie vorher

Menadier 8, Fd. Lechtingen 4.

7 Exemplare: a) 1.28 g, 1.29 g, 1.34 g; b) 1.35 g, 1.36 g, 1.40 g; c) 1.34 g.

PLATE XI,52, a,b

*53. Wie vorher

a) ✚ A / / / / / X / / ΘS

✚ MONΘTÆD9

b) ✚ ADOLFI XOMΘ9

c) ✚ ADOLFV'XOMΘ9

d) / / D / / F I X / / / /

✚ MONΘTÆAD

Wie vorher

Wie vorher

23 Exemplare: a) 1.18 g, 1.22 g, 1.24 g; b) 1.16 g, 1.18 g, 1.24 g, 1.28 g, 1.32 g, 1.33 g, 1.35 g, 1.36 g; c) 1.15 g, 1.27 g, 1.27 g; d) 1.29 g; unbestimmt a-c) 1.18 g, 1.21 g, 1.22 g, 1.25 g, 1.29 g, 1.29 g, 1.38 g, 1.39 g.

PLATE XI,53c

*54. Wie vorher

✚ ADOLF9XOMΘ9

✚ MONΘTÆAL'

Wie vorher

Wie vorher

Vorderseitenstempel (langer Stempelriß links vom Kopf) identisch mit Vorderseitenstempel 51a.

13 Exemplare: 0.83 g, 1.10 g, 1.17 g, 1.20 g, 1.22 g, 1.24 g, 1.24 g, 1.26 g, 1.28 g, 1.33 g, 1.34 g, 1.34 g, 1.34 g.

Unbestimmte zu 53 und 54: 8 Exemplare: 1.02 g, 1.10 g, 1.13 g, 1.15 g, 1.20 g, 1.32 g, 1.32 g, 1.43 g.

PLATE XI,54

Der letzte der märkischen Sterlinge vereint, typisch für die Münzstätte Iserlohn, das Sterlingskreuz mit einem Soester Münzbild, daß auch sonst in unserem Fund als Nr. 17 ähnlich vorkommt, ein Beleg dafür, daß in der Grafschaft Mark Sterlinge und Soester Pfennige des Kölner Typs nebeneinander umliefen:

*55. *Grafschaft Mark*, Adolf I., 1199–1249

Münzstätte *Iserlohn*, Pfennig (Sterling) auf Soester Schlag

✚ MONETADOL²

Sterlingskreuz

Menadier 14.

2 Exemplare: 1.24 g, 1.28 g.

✚ MONETÆISRÆNL

Dreitürmiges Gebäude

PLATE XI,55

Für die beiden bisher bekannten Exemplare dieses Typs lagen keine Fundprovenienzen vor.

*56. *Abtei Herford*

Anonymer Pfennig (Sterling) auf Hammer Schlag

∴ ADOL – FVSX

Thronender Gekrönter mit Zepter und Reichsapfel

Fd. Lechtingen 42.

2 Exemplare: 1.27, 1.38 g.

✚ HÆRVORDEXX

Sterlingskreuz

PLATE XI,56

*57. *Abtei Herford*

Anonymer Pfennig (Sterling) auf Hammer Schlag

∴ MO// – //ADO

Wie vorher

1 Exemplar: 1.40 g.

✚ //RVORDEXX

Wie vorher

PLATE XI,57

Bei diesen drei Münzen handelt es sich ganz offensichtlich um in Herford geprägte Nachahmungen der Hammer Sterlinge mit Grafennamen, die ihrerseits wiederum Dortmunder Vorbilder nachahmen (Nr. 40–47 des Werler Fundes). Die Möglichkeit, daß diese Sterlinge mit HERVORDEC(ivitas) in gleicher Art wie die MONASTERIO-Sterlinge in Hamm entstanden seien, scheidet bei näherer Betrachtung aus. Wenn um den westfälischen Handels- und Hansevorort Münster eine große, durch diesen Ort bestimmte Währungsregion entstehen konnte, die zur Nachahmung des münsterischen Typs in zahlreichen kleineren westfälischen Münzstätten führte⁷⁵, so liegen die Verhältnisse in Herford fast entgegengesetzt. An der Grenze des mittelalterlichen westfälischen Münzraumes gelegen hat die Münzstätte Herford bis um 1300 stets fremde Bilder, vorwiegend von Soest, Münster

⁷⁵ 1246, September 18 läßt sich Bischof Ludolf von Münster in der Folge dieser Entwicklung gar von Papst Innocenz IV. die Befugnis erteilen, die *falsatores et immutatores* seiner Münze zu exkommunizieren! (WUB, V, 464).

und Osnabrück nachgeahmt und erst bei der Absplitterung des Oberwesergebietes von Westfalen um 1300 zu eigenen Münzbildern gefunden.⁷⁶ Der Herforder Münztyp ist im Mittelalter von keiner anderen Münzstätte übernommen worden, erst recht nicht der für den Geldumlauf zumindest sehr unbedeutende Name der Stadt.

*58. *Herrschaft Lippe*, Bernhard III., 1229–1265

Münzstätte *Lippstadt*, Pfennig (Sterling)

✚ BAPVTDΘL////A'

Bärtiger Kopf von vorn, darauf fünfblättrige Rose

zu Grote 8, Weweler 4 und Berghaus 18c.

1 Exemplar: 1.23 g.

//ONΘTAINLIP///

Kreuz, in den Winkeln spiegelverkehrt

L-I-P-E

PLATE XI,58

Die Vorderseitenlegende ist ein Gemisch der bisher bekannten Arten dieses Typs: BERNARDVSDELI und CAPVTDELIPPIA, die Rückseite ist zu MONE-TAINLIPPE zu ergänzen. Fundprovenienzen lagen bisher nicht vor.

*59. *Bistum Osnabrück*, Konrad I., 1227–1239

Münzstätte *Wiedenbrück*, Pfennig (Sterling)

SANOT9PΘ/-R

Bärtiger Kopf von vorn, Hand mit Schlüssel

Kennepohl⁷⁷ 51.

1 Exemplar: 1.29 g.

✚ ΘONR///SΘPOX

Sterlingskreuz

PLATE XI,59

Dieser Sterling fällt in seiner Art so sehr aus der Osnabrücker Reihe heraus, daß man fast auf den Gedanken kommen möchte, es läge hier eine Prägung Erzbischof Konrads von Köln, der sich ja oft genug EPISCOPVS nennt,⁷⁸ aus einer seiner westfälischen Münzstätten (Herford?) vor. Das Vorkommen im Fund von Lechtingen, Kr. Osnabrück (um 1238) mit 8 Exemplaren⁷⁹ und im Fund von Brümmerloh, Kr. Diepholz (um 1240)⁸⁰ lassen auch weiterhin an den Osnabrücker Raum denken, wobei freilich Wiedenbrück noch eher als Ursprungsort anzusehen wäre.

⁷⁶ Vgl. die Übersicht bei P. Berghaus, "Währungsgrenzen des westfälischen Oberwesergebietes im Spätmittelalter", *Numismatische Studien*, I (Hamburg, 1951), S. 23. Eine Münzgeschichte Herfords wird nach einem Manuskript von (†) E. Stange durch den Verfasser vorbereitet.

⁷⁷ K. Kennepohl, *Die Münzen von Osnabrück* (München, 1938).

⁷⁸ Vgl. oben den Excurs nach Nr. 19.

⁷⁹ Vgl. oben Anmerkung 62.

⁸⁰ Vgl. oben Anmerkung 42.

DIE VERGRABUNGSZEIT DES FUNDES

Die 49 Kölner Pfennige der Katalognummer 4 und der Hälbling Nr. 5 lassen deutlich den Ministertitel Erzbischof Konrads von Köln erkennen, den dieser von 1239 Oktober 28 bis 1244 Mai 22 geführt hat. In die gleiche Zeit weisen auch die 16 Nachahmungen dazu, die im Fundkatalog unter Nr. 6 und 7 verzeichnet sind. Der Schatz ist also sicherlich nach 1239 vergraben worden. Daß er nicht in die Zeit nach 1244 fällt, dürfte durch das Fehlen der Münzen Konrads mit dem Titel eines Erzbischofs belegt sein.⁸¹ Das Vergrabungsdatum ist somit in dem Zeitraum 1239–1244 zu suchen. Für diese Zeit spricht die Zusammensetzung des Fundes auch in anderer Hinsicht. 45,9% des Fundes besteht aus in märkischen Münzstätten geprägten Sterlingen, deren 176 Stücke nicht weniger als 65,2% der Sterlinge des Fundes ausmachen. Unter den märkischen Sterlingen hat sich aber gerade bald nach 1240, als alle anderen westfälischen Münzstätten wieder zu eigenen westfälischen Typen zurückgekehrt waren, ein neuer Sterlingstyp herausgebildet, der ähnlicher als je zuvor das englische Vorbild des short-cross-penny's nachahmte; Königskopf und Sterlingskreuz sind fast wörtlich übernommen.⁸² Der 1247 vergrabene Schatzfund von Ribe (Dänemark) enthielt bei 1257 Münzen, darunter 1248 Sterlingen, nicht weniger als 9 Sterlinge dieses neuen märkischen Sterlingstyps, aus Westfalen sonst noch einen lippischen, einen Dortmunder (Fd. Werl 35) und einen Osnabrücker Sterling (Fd. Werl 59).⁸³ In dem nach 1252 vergrabenen Fund von Hildesheim kam der neue, nach 1240 geprägte märkische Sterlingstyp noch mit 6 Exemplaren vor.⁸⁴ Dieser Sterlingstyp, der nur in den märkischen und in den lippischen und Lippe benachbarten Münzstätten⁸⁵ im Zeitraum 1240–1248 aufgegriffen wurde, fehlt in den bekannten, bis 1240 vergrabenen westfälischen Sterlingsfunden, so auch in dem hier besprochenen Fund von Werl. Der Werler Fund, so reich mit märkischen Sterlingen besetzt, hätte gewiß auch schon diesen neuen Sterlingstyp enthalten, wenn er erst um 1245 in die Erde gekommen wäre. Wahrscheinlich ist er noch um einige Jahre hinaufzurücken, so daß das Datum "um 1240" den Termin der Verbergung recht genau treffen dürfte. Es wäre müßig, dieses Datum mit einem historischen Ereignis

⁸¹ Daß auch die westfälischen Pfennige Conrads mit dem Titel EPISCOPVS in die Zeit vor 1244 fallen, ist oben im Anschluß an die Nr. 19 des Fundkataloges dargelegt worden.

⁸² Menadier, 11–14.

⁸³ Vgl. oben Anmerkung 49.

⁸⁴ Jesse, *a.a.O.*, S. 40.

⁸⁵ Lügde und Vlotho.

jener Zeit in Einklang bringen zu wollen. Das Fehlen von Parallelfunden aus jener Gegend, in denen erfahrungsgemäß eine unruhige Periode ihren Niederschlag gefunden hätte, erlaubt keinerlei Rückschlüsse, zumal auch keine sonstigen Überlieferungen vorliegen. Die Existenz des Werler Schatzfundes ist wahrscheinlich dem höchst persönlichen Schicksal seines Eigentümers, das uns unbekannt bleibt, zu verdanken.

Das Fehlen von Parallelfunden, die in früheren Jahren zu Tage getreten wären, verleiht dem Werler Fund seine besondere Bedeutung. Er enthält eine Anzahl von bisher unbekannten oder hochseltenen Geprägen (Bisher unbekannt 8, 9, 16, 25, 38, 39, 46, 48 und 57 des Fundkataloges, äußerst selten bisher 10–15, 21, 23, 24, 31, 36, 37, 49–55 und 56 des Fundkataloges). Es zeigt sich wieder einmal, wie ein einzelner Fund unser Wissen um die mittelalterliche Münzgeschichte bereichern und gewisse Vorstellungen umstoßen kann. So hat der Werler Fund gezeigt, daß, entgegen der bisherigen Auffassung, die märkischen Münzstätten Hamm und Iserlohn bereits um 1235/1240 eine rege Prägetätigkeit entfaltet haben. Ferner kommt die Bedeutung der Münzstätten Arnsberg und Schmallenberg in der Zeit um 1240 heraus; ein Fund dieser Zeit aus dem Sauerland würde diese beiden Münzstätten wahrscheinlich in ein noch helleres Licht rücken. Es kann gerade in der deutschen mittelalterlichen Münzkunde nicht genug vor der Auffassung gewarnt werden, es müsse eine Beziehung zwischen Fundvorkommen und Prägestärke bestehen.⁸⁶ Gewiß lassen die bisher vorliegenden Funde den historischen Ablauf des mittelalterlichen Geldumlaufes erkennen, doch können selbst noch Funde des 15. Jahrhunderts bei ihrer Entdeckung bisher vorliegende Auffassungen von der scheinbar geringen Bedeutung einzelner Münzstätten völlig umstoßen.⁸⁷ Auf der anderen Seite kann die vermeintliche Häufigkeit eines einzelnen mittelalterlichen Münztyps auf das reiche Vorkommen in einem einzigen Fund zurückgehen.

⁸⁶ Diese Auffassung in *Diskussionsvorbereitungen für die Numismatische Arbeitstagung Hamburg, 1954*, S. 5.

⁸⁷ Der 1932 entdeckte Fund von Sendenhorst legte überraschend die große Bedeutung der märkischen Münzstätten zu Beginn des 15. Jahrhunderts dar, die bis dahin als völlig unbedeutend für diese Zeit angesehen wurden.

DER WESTFÄLISCHE GELDUMLAUF UM 1240

Es gibt kaum eine deutsche Landschaft, in der im Mittelalter das Münzwesen einen derart konservativen, ja nahezu starren Ausdruck gefunden hätte wie Westfalen. Bald nach 1180, als mit der Ächtung Heinrichs des Löwen auf dem Reichstag zu Gelnhausen das Herzogtum Westfalen an das Erzbistum Köln gekommen war, maßen sich in dieser Landschaft zahlreiche kleinere Landesherren mit anderen Rechten auch das Münzrecht an. Um 1200 kennen wir bereits Prägungen der Grafen von Schwalenberg und der Herren zur Lippe und der Herren von Pyrmont, die vorher als Münzherren nicht nachzuweisen sind. Andere kleine Münzherren, wie etwa die Grafen von der Mark und die Herren von Büren, verstecken sich gewiß hinter den anonymen Nachahmungen der Soester Münzen. Soest ist in dieser frühen Zeit um 1180–1220 der Hauptort der westfälischen Münzprägung; das Bild seiner Münzen wird in fast allen anderen Münzstätten mit Ausnahme von Dortmund, Münster und Osnabrück nachgeahmt. Dieses Bild ist der beredte Ausdruck des konservativen westfälischen Münzwesens; es ahmt immer noch getreu den SANCTA-COLONIA-Typ nach, der in Köln selbst nur bis etwa 1010 geprägt worden war. Westfälische Münzen mit der Aufschrift S-COLONII-A, dem Soester Typ nachgeahmt, lassen sich noch um 1230/1240 nachweisen. Daneben setzen sich dann allmählich auch andere der Münzstätte Köln entlehnte Münzbilder durch. Nur im nördlichen Westfalen vermochten die Münzstätten Münster und Osnabrück, im mittleren Westfalen Dortmund eigene Münzbilder zu behaupten. Die Münzfunde der Zeit 1190–1220 sind ein getreues Spiegelbild dieser Währungsverhältnisse:

Arnsberg I (vergraben um 1200).⁸⁸ Inhalt: Wenigstens 95% Pfennige Köln-Soester Schlages, einige Pfennige von Münster.

Arnsberg II (vergr. um 1200).⁸⁹ Inhalt: Wenigstens 95% Pfennige Köln-Soester Schlages, auch aus den Münzstätten Korbach, Lippstadt und Lügde, einige Pfennige von Münster und Osnabrück.

Münster/Salzstraße (vergr. um 1205).⁹⁰ Inhalt: 70% Pfennige von Münster, 25% Pfennige von Soest (und Nachahmungen von Paderborn und Lippstadt), 4,4% Pfennige von Dortmund, einzelne Münzen von Osnabrück und Köln, ein englischer short-cross-penny von Winchester.

⁸⁸ J. Weingärtner, "Der Arnsberger Münzfund", *Numismatisch-sphragistischer Anzeiger*, 1886, S. 35 ff.

⁸⁹ J. Weingärtner, "Der zweite Arnsberger Münzfund", *ebd.*, 1886, S. 85 ff.

⁹⁰ Noch unveröffentlicht.

Soest (vergr. um 1208).⁹¹ Inhalt: Pfennige von Soest.

Grafschaft Diepholz (vergr. um 1210).⁹² Inhalt: Pfennige von Münster und Osnabrück.

Barnstorf, Kr. Diepholz (vergr. um 1210).⁹³ Inhalt: wie vorher.

Walsen, Kr. Diepholz (vergr. um 1210).⁹⁴ Inhalt: wie vorher.

Herford (vergr. nach 1212).⁹⁵ Inhalt: Etwa 50% Pfennige auf Soester Schlag, etwa 45% Pfennige von Münster und Osnabrück, Pfennige von Köln, zwei Pfennige von Dortmund, ein Hamburger Brakteat, 1½ englische short-cross-pennies (ein Stück von Lincoln).

Gleesen, Kr. Lingen (vergr. nach 1218).⁹⁶ Inhalt: Münsterische Pfennige Kölner Schlages.

Die Zusammensetzung der Funde läßt erkennen, wie im Norden wohl die Münzen von Münster und Osnabrück vorwiegen, wie aber im mittleren Westfalen die Soester Währung eindeutig das Feld beherrscht. Als nicht unbedeutende Fundgenossen lassen sich dann auch immer wieder Pfennige der Münzstätte Köln nachweisen; nach Aussage der Urkunden hat der Kölner Pfennig ja auch eine recht bedeutende Rolle in Westfalen gespielt.⁹⁷

Seit 1205 kommt allmählich auch der englische Sterling in Gestalt des short-cross-pennys vor. Um 1230 hatte er sich in Westfalen derart durchgesetzt, daß zahlreiche westfälische Münzstätten diesen Typ aufgriffen. Die Nachprägung vollzieht sich in mehreren aufeinanderfolgenden Perioden.⁹⁸ Nach anfänglichem, z. T. recht unsicheren Tasten⁹⁹ gehen mehrere westfälische Hauptmünzstätten um 1230 zum Sterling über. Nördlich der Lippe wird Münster zum Sterlingsvorort, wo der Kopf des englischen Königs durch den Kopf des Hl. Paulus, die Kreuzchen in den Winkeln des Sterlingskreuzes durch Rosetten ersetzt werden. Dieser münsterische Sterlingstyp findet sich fast unverändert in den Münzstätten Wiedenbrück, Herford, Vechta, Wildeshausen und Schwalenberg wieder. In den Funden, so in

⁹¹ *Zeitschrift des Vereins für die Geschichte von Soest und der Börde*, 1934, S. 13.

⁹² *Blätter für Münzkunde*, I, 1834, S. 18.

⁹³ *Numismatisch-sphragistischer Anzeiger*, 1872, S. 106.

⁹⁴ *Blätter für Münzfreunde*, 1875, S. 327.

⁹⁵ J. Weingärtner, "Der Herforder Münzfund", *Blätter für Münzfreunde*, 1881, S. 794ff.

⁹⁶ Unveröffentlicht, Reste im Landesmuseum Münster.

⁹⁷ W. Hävernich, *Der Kölner Pfennig*, S. 202–210.

⁹⁸ P. Berghaus, "Die Perioden des Sterlings in Westfalen, dem Rheinland und in den Niederlanden", *Hamburger Beiträge zur Numismatik*, Heft 1 (1947), S. 34–53.

⁹⁹ Münster und Dortmund, vgl. B. Peus, "Das Münzwesen der Bischöfe von Münster bis zum beginnenden 13. Jahrhundert", *Westfalia Sacra*, Bd. II (Münster, 1950), S. 212ff.

dem um 1234 vergrabenen Sterlingsfund von Friesoythe, Kr. Cloppenburg,¹⁰⁰ findet sich in seiner Gesellschaft gewöhnlich in bedeutend geringerer Zahl der Osnabrücker Sterlingstyp, der den irischen Penny dieser Zeit nicht ungeschickt nachahmt. Südlich der Lippe hat sich in Dortmund als Hauptsterlingsmünzstätte ein Sterlingstyp eingebürgert, der die Schrägkreuzchen in den Winkeln des Sterlingskreuzes der Rückseite im Gegensatz zu Münster beibehält, auf der Vorderseite den barhäuptigen Kopf des englischen Königs durch das gekrönte Haupt des deutschen Kaisers ersetzt. Dieses Bild wird von den Münzstätten Hamm, Iserlohn und Corvey entlehnt und scheint der Haupttyp südlich der Lippe gewesen zu sein. Weitere Sterlingstypen finden sich in dieser ersten Sterlingsperiode 1230/1235 in Arnsberg, wo an die Stelle des Königskopfes ein Adler tritt, und in Lügde, wo das Pyrmonter Ankerkreuz auf dem Königskopf und in einem der Kreuzeswinkel zu sehen ist. Um 1235 setzt dann ein Wandel in dem Sterlingsbild der Hauptmünzstätten Münster und Dortmund ein, dem sich auch die kleineren, von ihnen abhängigen Münzstätten anschließen. Der Kopf der Vorderseite, der bisher mehr oder weniger dem Kopf des englischen Königs angeglichen war, wird durch das Bild eines Thronenden ersetzt, das in seiner Art an Kölner Vorbilder erinnert. In Münster, dessen neues Sterlingsbild sich in Wiedenbrück, Herford, Vlotho, Vechta und Wildeshausen wiederfindet, ist es der thronende Bischof mit Stab und Buch, in Dortmund, nachgeahmt von Bentheim, Schüttorf, Hamm (nachgeahmt wiederum von Herford) und Arnsberg, ist es entsprechend der thronende Kaiser mit Zepter und Reichsapfel. Nebenher laufen, so besonders in den lippischen Münzstätten Lemgo und Lippstadt, weitere Sterlingsnachahmungen, die sich aber näher an das englische Vorbild anlehnen, ohne Rücksicht auf die Entwicklung in Münster und Dortmund zu nehmen, oder Zwittergepräge wie der auch im Werler Fund vertretene Iserlohner Typ, der auf der Vorderseite ein Soester Münzbild, auf der Rückseite das Sterlingskreuz zeigt. Die westfälischen Münzfunde sind ein getreues Spiegelbild dieser Zeit und zeigen, daß der Werler Fund in seiner ganzen Zusammensetzung in die Zeit um 1240 gehört:

Friesoythe, Kr. Cloppenburg (vergr. um 1234).¹⁰¹ Inhalt: 308 Münzen, 4 Kölner Art, 304 Sterlinge (1 Canterbury, der Rest Sterlinge mit Pauluskopf oder ähnlich von Münster, Wiedenbrück, Vechta, Wildeshausen, Herford, Corvey, Schwalenberg, Pyrmont und Arnsberg, Osnabrücker Sterlinge).

¹⁰⁰ K. Kennepohl, "Der Münzfund von Friesoythe", *Oldenburger Jahrbuch für Landesgeschichte und Altertumskunde*, Bd. 41 (1937), S. 129-144.

¹⁰¹ Vgl. oben Anmerkung 67.

Hesseln, Kr. Halle (vergr. um 1235).¹⁰¹ Inhalt: Über 536 Münzen, etwa 67% auf Kölner Schlag (Köln, Münster, Osnabrück, Soest), der Rest Sterlinge mit Kopf (Münster, Wiedenbrück, Herford, Dortmund, Arnsberg, Lemgo, Schwalenberg, 6 von England).

Lechtingen, Kr. Osnabrück (vergr. um 1238).¹⁰² Inhalt: Etwa 400 Münzen, vorwiegend Sterlinge der Typen vor und nach 1235 (Kopf, bzw. Thronender) von Münster, Wiedenbrück, Herford, Dortmund, Iserlohn, Hamm, Arnsberg, Lippstadt, Bentheim, Schüttorf, Schwalenberg, Vlotho, Vechta, Wildeshausen, Osnabrück.

Brümmerloh, Kr. Diepholz (vergr. um 1240).¹⁰³ Inhalt: Vorwiegend niederdeutsche Brakteaten, dazu Sterlinge: 1 von England, etliche von Westfalen, vorwiegend des späteren Typs mit Thronendem (Münster, Herford, Vechta, Wildeshausen, Dortmund, Mark, Arnsberg, Lemgo).

Coesfeld (vergr. um 1240).¹⁰⁴ Inhalt: 24 Sterlinge von Münster (älterer und jüngerer Typ) und Osnabrück.

Werl, Kr. Soest (vergr. um 1240). Inhalt: Von 382 Exemplaren 70,7% Sterlinge, 29,3% Pfennige auf Kölner oder verwandten Schlag.

Von wesentlicher Bedeutung dürfte die Aussage der Funde für den Unterschied zwischen den Gebieten nördlich und südlich der Lippe bezüglich ihres Geldumlaufes sein. Abgesehen vom Fund von Hesseln (um 1235) mit seinem unverhältnismäßig hohen Anteil an Kölner Pfennigen läßt sich im nördlichen Westfalen der Einfluß aus dem Gebiet südlich der Lippe nur geringfügig nachweisen. Erst seit 1238 (Fund von Lechtingen!) kommen auch südwestfälische Sterlinge häufiger vor. Der Werler Fund zeigt dazu das genaue Spiegelbild für das Gebiet südlich der Lippe: Bis auf die versprengten Stücke von Bentheim, Herford und Osnabrück/Wiedenbrück sind keine nordwestfälischen Sterlinge in diesen Fund gelangt, nicht ein einziges Stück von Münster! Dazu ist noch zu bemerken, daß ja auch die Bentheimer und Herforder Sterlinge den südwestfälischen Sterlingstyp nachahmen. In Südwestfalen laufen diese eigenen Sterlingstypen um 1240 gemeinsam mit den Kölner Pfennigen, z. T. aus westfälischen Münzstätten um. Die Bedeutung der Lippe als einer Währungsgrenzlinie sollte auch weiterhin im Auge behalten werden.

¹⁰² Vgl. oben Anmerkung 62.

¹⁰³ Vgl. oben Anmerkung 42.

¹⁰⁴ P. Berghaus, "Sterlingsfund von Coesfeld", *Hamburger Beiträge zur Numismatik*, Heft 5 (1951), S. 84.

Abschließend sei noch darauf hingewiesen, daß zur gleichen Zeit westfälische Sterlinge durchaus auch in Funden im Ausland begegnen. So können aus England die Funde von *Eccles* (vor 1242)¹⁰⁵ mit Sterlingen von Dortmund (3) und Münster (1) und *Colchester* (vor 1242)¹⁰⁶ mit Sterlingen von Arnsberg (1), Corvey (1), Dortmund (5), Lippstadt (1), Lemgo (1) und Münster (1) unter zahlreichen einheimischen Sterlingen genannt werden. Diese weite Streuung der westfälischen Sterlinge, dazu auch das Vorkommen englischer Sterlinge in westfälischen Funden bezeugen, daß das einzigartige Phänomen der westfälischen Sterlingsprägung um 1230/1240 in erster Linie auf ein praktisches Bedürfnis des Handels zurückging; die engen Hansebeziehungen zwischen England und Westfalen waren der Ausgangspunkt.

Die Zeit nach 1240, da die meisten westfälischen Münzstätten, so besonders Münster, Osnabrück und Dortmund vom Sterlingsbild wieder zu eigenen westfälischen Münzbildern übergingen und nur die märkischen Münzstätten bis etwa 1250, die lippischen Münzstätten noch für etliche Jahrzehnte den englischen Sterling sklavischer als je zuvor nachahmten, liegt nach der Vergrabung des Werler Fundes und kann hier unberücksichtigt bleiben.

¹⁰⁵ J. D. A. Thompson, *Inventory of British Coin Hoards A.D. 600–1500* (London, 1956), S. 57, Nr. 152 (dort die weitere Literatur).

¹⁰⁶ Thompson, *a.a.O.*, S. 33, Nr. 94.

XVII-XIX CENTURY

MANUSCRIPT MATERIAL ON ANGLO-SAXON COINS

C. E. BLUNT

A revival of interest in the Anglo-Saxon coinage that has taken place in England since the war has drawn attention to the amount of work there is to be done on this series and how much work, largely unpublished, was in fact done on it in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The purpose of the present paper is to bring to notice one or two manuscripts that have been made available for study, to assess their value for modern research and to prompt, it is hoped, the disclosure of other manuscript work of this kind which may well be lying in libraries public or private in the United States or in England. There must have been, for instance, a considerable volume of manuscript material written by the Rev. Daniel Henry Haigh, who in 1844 announced his intention of publishing a comprehensive work in eight quarterly parts on the Anglo-Saxon coinage. Haigh's original project was dropped for lack of support but an essay appeared a year later on the coinage of East Anglia.¹ After an interval of twenty five years he published an article on the coins of Alfred² and six years later in 1876, one on the coins of the Danish Kings of Northumberland.³ This is all that was printed, but it can be confidently assumed that, before announcing his

¹ *An Essay on the Numismatic History of the Ancient Kingdom of the East Angles* (Leeds, 1845).

² *NC*, 1870, p. 19.

³ *Archaeologia Aeliana*, VII (1876), p. 21.

original project to complete the work in two years, Haigh must have collected a great deal of the material for it. He was a scholar of a high order and the loss of this material is to be deplored. The Rev. Rogers Ruding (1751–1820) the author of that remarkable work, the *Annals of the Coinage of Great Britain* must also have accumulated a mass of material when compiling it. The present whereabouts of this, if it still exists, is likewise unknown.

Of a somewhat different nature is the series of carefully annotated sale catalogues often illustrated by admirable pen drawings, that belonged to John Brodribb Bergne and were dispersed in individual lots at the sale of his coin collection in 1873.⁴ The whereabouts of a few of these catalogues is known today, but the greater part are still missing. Besides the notes and drawings the importance of these catalogues lies in Bergne having in many cases added pedigrees of the coins in the various catalogues. Since it is only within the last fifty years that cataloguers have made it a general rule to publish pedigrees, Bergne's notes should enable considerable additions to be made to the published records. This is of far more than academic interest because, in this series, a forger of exceptional skill was at work from about the middle of the nineteenth century. His products are being identified progressively⁵ but a number of coins still remain under suspicion. When by its pedigree, a coin can be carried back prior to his date, the case for its authenticity is greatly strengthened. No forger of comparable skill was, to our knowledge, operating at an earlier date; eighteenth and early nineteenth century forgeries are for the most part readily identifiable as such.

One of Bergne's sources was a manuscript in the Coin Room at the British Museum written initially by T. Dodsley Cuff and continued by Bergne. In this large volume Cuff listed significant English coins from many early sales, beginning with the Earl of Oxford's in 1741, and gives the names of the buyers. From a cross index under reigns, it is often possible to trace the progress of a coin through a series of famous collections over a hundred years or more.

In a recent article in the *British Museum Quarterly*⁶ Mr. R.H.M. Dolley published an eighteenth century manuscript catalogue of the coins in the cabinet of Sir Robert Bruce Cotton (1571–1631) and, in this account and in a further paper written jointly with Mrs. J. S. Strudwick,⁷ discusses its value not only as a canon

⁴ Sale, Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge, May 1873, lots 1540–1600.

⁵ See for example *BNJ*, XXVIII, p. 18.

⁶ Vol. XIX, p. 75.

⁷ *BNJ*, XXVII, p. 302.

of authenticity but also as providing evidence of more than one early and otherwise unrecorded hoard. No less important is a quarto volume of engravings with manuscript notes in the library of the British Numismatic Society to which it was presented through the generosity of Doctor E.C. Linton. No account of this volume has hitherto been published.

The volume consists of five plates of Ancient British coins and twenty eight of Anglo-Saxon coins. The foot of each reads:—

“Publish’d as the Act directs Jan^y. 1. 1803 by Leigh, Sotheby & Son,
York Street, Covent Garden.”

In fact the engravings appear not to have been published for sale until they were included, as the first thirty three plates, in Ruding’s *Annals of the Coinage of Great Britain* published in 1817–19. A note on the fly-leaf reads:—

“The Engravings in this Volume were presented to me by Taylor Combe, M.A. etc. etc. the Weight of the Coins, the Collection they belonged to, and the Moneyers Names were copied from his Manuscripts, which he favoured me with for that Purpose Robert Bryer, August, 1812.

Note. The Engravings have not been published for Sale.”

Taylor Combe (1774–1826) was the son of Charles Combe (1743–1817) who had guided Hunter in the selection of his coin collection so successfully that it is today one of the treasures of Glasgow University. He was brought up therefore in a fine numismatic tradition and, in a comparatively short life, achieved the position of being unquestionably the leading authority of his day on Anglo-Saxon Coins. It is largely due to his acumen that, during the twenty three years that he was in charge of the coins in the British Museum, such remarkable additions were made to the Anglo-Saxon collections there. The evidence of his keepership is reflected in the list of provenances of the Anglo-Saxon coins in the British Museum Catalogue, recently published by Mr. Dolley and Mrs. Strudwick.⁸

The engravings in the Bryer manuscript must have been prepared by Taylor Combe before he came to the British Museum in 1803 and the inscription on each clearly indicates his intention to publish them in that year. Many of the notes too must be before that date as the Tyssen collection of Anglo-Saxon coins, which is always referred to as such, was acquired by the British Museum as a whole in 1802. It is interesting to note that Ruding, who clearly used Taylor Combe’s

⁸ The provenances of the Anglo-Saxon coins recorded in the two volumes of the British Museum catalogue by R. H. M. Dolley and Mrs. J. S. Strudwick. *BNJ*, XXVIII, p. 26.

notes as well as his plates, followed them so closely that, even though publishing in 1817-19, he still referred to coins as being in Tyssen's collection. Combe appears, whenever possible, to have selected for illustrations, specimens that were in private collections such as the Duke of Devonshire's, Dr. William Hunter's, Lord Pembroke's, Samuel Tyssen's, etc., and in four Oxford collections, the Ashmolean Museum, the Bodleian Library, Christ Church College and Corpus Christi College and to have drawn on the British Museum only when other sources failed. This adds to the value of his engravings especially where a private collection has since been dispersed.

A note records the collections referred to that had been disposed of by 1812. Several had been dispersed by public auction, but it may be useful to record here the ones that are stated to have been sold privately:—

Robert Bootle sold to Lord Northwic (sic) and Mr. Richard Miles the British and Saxon to the latter.

William Mason sold to Adey Bellamy (a Dealer in Coins).

Isaac Rebello sold to Edwards Roberts Esq., M. Trattle Esq., and Mr. Richard Miles, the latter (sic) bought all the British and Saxon Coins.

Samuel Tyssen all his British and Saxon Coins sold to the British Museum 1802 (the remainder by public auction).

Although, as has been said above, Ruding followed Combe's notes in his publication, he did not use them *in extenso*. A number, often significant, were omitted. Among the Ancient British coins Combe records the following find-spots (the references are to the plates as published by Ruding):—

British Coins, pl. 1, 19. "A coin similar to this was found at Old Ford near Hackney in the bed of the River Lea."

British Coins, pl. 2, 38. "A coin very similar to this was lately found in a field near Dorchester in Oxfordshire, Wright 90 g^{ns}. June 14, 1811."

40. "A large Parcel of this Type was found within 5 miles of Colchester in 1807 they were sold to Mr. Miles."

Against the coin of Aethilberht on pl. 3 (which it is interesting to note that Combe agrees with Brooke in attributing to the Kentish, rather than the East Anglian, King of that name)⁹ there is a note "This coin is now in the British Museum; a Cast in base Metal is in Dr. Hunter's collection." The coin illustrated was in fact bought by the British Museum at Barker's sale in 1803 and here again

⁹ G. C. Brooke, *English Coins*, p. 15.

Ruding has followed Combe's preliminary manuscript uncritically in giving the source (in 1817-19) as "Barker". The Hunter coin is, incidentally, now considered to be genuine and is the third known specimen of this remarkable coin the reverse type of which derives directly from Roman bronze in depicting the familiar Roman type of the wolf and twins.

Unquestionably the most significant provenance recorded by Taylor Combe is the one he gives for the coin of Beorhtric at the bottom of his pl. 3. Of this King three coins are known today and there is a possibility that a specimen illustrated by Speed,¹⁰ and which was therefore known in the early seventeenth century, may be a fourth. If so, its present whereabouts are unknown. The coins of Beorhtric are of two types, one with an $\mathfrak{A}$ on the obverse and a cross with pellets in the angles on the reverse,¹¹ the other with alpha and omega surmounted by a cross on one side and an omega on the other.¹²

There has been considerable controversy as to which of the kingdoms of the heptarchy these coins should be attributed. Taylor Combe gave them to Wessex where a king of that name (786-802) was a contemporary of Offa's and married his daughter. Haigh regarded them as an issue of East Anglia made by a son of Berhtwulf, King of Mercia (840-852), who attests a charter as *Berhtric filius regis*. But he confesses to being puzzled as to how such a man could coin as King in East Anglia.¹³ Keary in the British Museum *Catalogue* is content to follow him,¹⁴ as does Hawkins.¹⁵ Carlyon Britton,¹⁶ Oman¹⁷ and Brooke,¹⁸ however, prefer the Wessex attribution.

Where views so conflicting are held by leading authorities, find-spots are obviously of great value. It was known previously that the coin in the British Museum (B.M.C.I. p. 89) was found at Sunbury, in Middlesex, a few miles west of Kingston-on-Thames, and that the one acquired at the Lockett sale was "found within two miles of Andover in 1854". What is in fact only known from this note of Taylor Combe's is that the Hunter specimen illustrated by Ruding

¹⁰ *Historie of Great Britaine*, p. 230 in the 1623 edition.

¹¹ (a) *BMC, Anglo-Saxon*, I, pl. XV, 8; (b) the Ruding coin in the Hunter collection; (c) the Speed coin.

¹² British Museum, ex Lockett sale (1955) 452.

¹³ Haigh, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

¹⁴ *Op. cit.*, I, pp. lxi and 89.

¹⁵ *Silver Coins of England*, 3rd edn., 1887, p. 61.

¹⁶ *NC*, 1930, p. 39.

¹⁷ *The Coinage of England*, p. 20.

¹⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 41.

was "Found near Guildford" (in Surrey). All three specimens have therefore recorded find-spots to the west of London and, though this is of itself not conclusive, it considerably supports the views expressed both by Taylor Combe and by more recent authorities that we have in this small issue the earliest known penny coinage of the great kingdom of Wessex.

In writing on the Cotton collection, Mr. Dolley and Mrs. Strudwick express the opinion that the coin of Beorhtric illustrated by Speed is "almost certainly the Hunter coin".¹⁹ The question is, I would suggest, a more open one than they concede. It is true that a number of coins missing from the original Cotton collection found their way into Hunter's. It is also true that in early engravings considerable licence was taken with the drawing of coins, so that doubt often exists as to whether a surviving specimen is the one illustrated. But in this case the differences between Speed's engraving (Fig. 1) and the Hunter coin (fig. 2) are so considerable as to give reasonable grounds for believing that they are not the same.



Fig. 1.

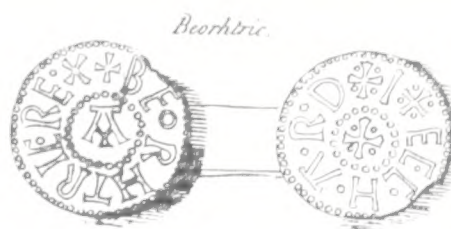


Fig. 2.

It will be seen that the spelling of the King's name differs on the two engravings, but this might well arise from an uninformed engraver in the seventeenth century copying what he believed he saw. The five pellets in the field that Speed's engraver puts in and around the central A are, however, less likely to be an invention. There is no trace of them on the Hunter coin. On the reverse the legends differ

¹⁹ *BNJ*, XXVII (1954), p. 311.

materially. There is no question on the Hunter coin of there being an E in H(E)ARD and the D is of a completely different form. Taylor Combe's engraving, moreover, reproduces faithfully the double cross with pellets and an 'I' between that are found on the Hunter coin. Speed shows only one cross, with pellets. Finally, in the centre, Speed shows a cross with three pellets in each angle; Hunter's coin clearly shows a single pellet in each. Where one has to deal with a worn or damaged coin, interpretation of detail becomes difficult. In this case, especially on the reverse, the Hunter coin is perfectly clear. I believe Speed's engraving to be of a different specimen, now alas lost and this was the view taken by Hawkins.²⁰

On pl. 10, coins of the Kings of Northumberland, an asterisk against the first coin, a styca of Eanred by the moneyer Monne, leads to a note that reads as follows:—

“EANRED, No. 1. Found in the year 1774 on the Estate of Philip Rashleigh Esq: near Trewardeth on St. Wynow and near Lystwithiel in Cornwall in a Silver Cup. With it were found a number of other scarce Pennies of Berhtulf, Coenuulff, Cioluulf, etc. etc.”

The reference is clearly to what is now generally known as “the Trewhiddle hoard”. A later manuscript catalogue of the Rashleigh collection (to which collection the bulk of the hoard passed), which has recently been acquired by the British Museum Coin Room, has a note to the same effect. But in no published account is the claim made that there was a styca of Eanred in the hoard. There was, however, in the hoard a highly important and unique coin in the shape of a penny with the name of Eanred and this coin is illustrated as Eanred No. 1 on plate 27 of Combe's work. Several factors lead one to believe that the note should have been attached to the penny labelled Eanred No. 1 on pl. 27 rather than to the styca similarly labelled on pl. 10. First, the styca in question is said to be in Hunter's collection; there is no evidence that Hunter acquired any coins from the Trewhiddle hoard or indeed had the opportunity to do so. Second the note says it was found with “a number of *other* scarce pennies”; the coin to which the note is now attached is not a penny. Third, it is hard to believe that the evidence

²⁰ Since writing the above I have been able to discuss the question with Mr. Dolley who now entirely agrees that the two coins are probably different specimens. He points out, moreover, that it is unlikely that the find-spot of the Hunter specimen would have survived for the 150 or more years between Speed's publication and Taylor Combe's notes without its being recorded elsewhere meanwhile.

of so vital a piece as a Northumbrian styca in this Wessex hoard would have been overlooked by early writers discussing the highly controversial penny in Eanred's name.

On pl. 13 the coin of Archbishop Ceolnoth, number 5, is said by Ruding to be based on specimens in Rebello's and Lord Pembroke's cabinets and it is to be presumed that the coin illustrated belonged to the former. Bryer's note is "PR & P" i.e. Philip Rashleigh and Lord Pembroke (not I.R. & P as it would have been for Isaac Rebello). There was an exactly similar coin in the Rashleigh sale of virtually the same weight and as it is a rarity it is likely to be the one in Taylor Combe's plate.²¹

On pl. 16 the coin of Eadweard the Elder numbered 20 is stated to be from "Taylor Combe's book of drawings" a source now lost to us and, no doubt, destroyed, as were the original of Taylor Combe's notes, in the fire at the British Museum Coin Room during the late conflict.

On pl. 20 is illustrated, as number 10 of Eadwig, one of his rarest types of which probably only three whole specimens and one fragment survive today. To this is added the note – "Found in the Churchyard of Kimbury near Hungerford in Berkshire in 1761. It originally belonged to the Revd. Mr. Fowle Clergyman of that place." This confirms a note in a copy of Ruding's plates in the Heberden Coin Room at Oxford where the name is correctly spelt Kimbury. Doubtless this is from the hoard listed as number 220 in Mr. Thompson's *Inventory of British Coin Hoards*.²²

At the end of the plates is a record of a small hoard, hitherto unpublished. A single coin is illustrated by a pen drawing in a letter written by Taylor Combe in which he identifies it as of Fulco, Count of Anjou. The type was originated by Fulco IV and continued by Fulco V and so covers a period 1060–1129. Dieudonné, moreover, considers that it was also issued by the Plantagenets after 1129.²³ Seven of these coins were found in digging the foundations for the new buildings of the Bank of England in Lothbury in September, 1807.

There follow twenty nine closely written pages of mints and moneyers under the different reigns. The value of these lists lies in their showing that the coins in question were known in the eighteenth century, which, as already explained, reduces the likelihood of their being forgeries.

²¹ Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge, 1909, Lot 96 ex Trewiddle hoard.

²² Published by the Royal Numismatic Society, 1956.

²³ *Manuel de Numismatique Française*, IV, p. 73.

One must not, however, be over-confident. The alleged coin of Cnut, illustrated pl. 23, 24 shows what could be done even at so early a date. The coin is now in the British Museum (B.M.C. 466) and is, Mr. Dolley informs me, a coin of Edward the Confessor with the obverse inscription carefully recut to provide a unique coin for Cnut.

The coin of Eadweard the Elder, pl. 16, 20 is most likely to be the one recently acquired by the British Museum from Mr. Robert Erskine, who bought it in the Ryan sale,²⁴ (where its authenticity was questioned), because he believed it genuine, and passed it on to the National Collection for the same nominal sum that he had paid. Mr. Dolley is writing a detailed note on this coin in the next number of the *British Numismatic Journal*. No less interesting is the coin of Edgar illustrated pl. 21, 2 with the mint-name *Castr.* which it has been left to the same writer, over a century and a quarter after its original publication, to identify as of the mint of Caistor in Lincolnshire.²⁵

The drawing of the coins which, in the case at any rate of those belonging to Hunter, was carried out under Taylor Combe's own supervision in his father's parlour,²⁶ is remarkably accurate and the various provincial styles of Aethelred II, that have now been identified, can be readily recognised in the plates. Some of Combe's attributions have also stood the test of time remarkably well. It is to his credit for instance that he correctly identified the mint of Cadbury on a coin of Cnut and of Torksey on one of Aethelred II. Against this one may wonder why he failed to differentiate the coins of Leicester and Chester and attributed all to the former mint.

But in spite of such minor defects, the author of this manuscript emerges as a man of great, probably even unrivalled, stature among Anglo-Saxon numismatists and Doctor Linton, is to be congratulated on having recovered the book from obscurity.

Another manuscript, of a somewhat later date, is from the pen of the Rev. T.F. Dymock, a Fellow of the (Royal) Numismatic Society, whose collection was sold by auction in 1858. This manuscript is the property of Mr. J.D.A. Thompson, of Oxford, who found it in a provincial bookseller's shop. The present writer is greatly indebted to Mr. Thompson for allowing reference to be made to it here.

²⁴ Glendining & Co. Ltd., 1952, lot 750.

²⁵ *BNJ*, XXVIII, p. 88.

²⁶ Letter from Taylor Combe to Philip Rashleigh among the papers recently acquired by the British Museum.

This manuscript is an ambitious, and largely successful, attempt to set up a classification of the entire Anglo-Saxon series with lists of mints and moneyers. It is illustrated by engravings cut from the plates of Ruding and Hawkins and from articles in such periodical publications as *Archaeologia* and the *Numismatic Chronicle* supplemented by drawings from Dymock's own pen. Although the illustrations are complete down to the Conquest, the lists of mints and moneyers for the reigns following Aethelred II are only in note form and it appears that Dymock died before he could complete the work.

Some of Dymock's attributions are interesting and, though original to him, find general acceptance today. For instance, coins of Ecgberht, illustrated on pl. 5, 1-2 of Ruding, and there attributed (following Taylor Combe) to the short reign of Offa's son Ecgfrith (796), are given by Dymock to Ecgberht of Kent (c. 765-c. 780 or later). He makes this attribution with the knowledge that an alternative was current, namely that they were the product of Ecgberht of Wessex (802-839). This he rightly rejects "for there are many known coins of the King of Wessex, to which these bear no resemblance, being to all appearance of an earlier date." Other examples could be quoted, notably among a group he illustrates on p. 66 which he describes as "Kings of the Heptarchy, of What Kingdom not satisfactory ascertained." These consist of the Aethilberht "wolf and twins" type (to which reference has already been made) which he assigns to Kent; two coins of an historically unknown King Eadwald (Ruding pl. 4, 1 and 2) which he assigns to East Anglia; and two of Beorhtric (also discussed above). Dymock reviews the evidence for an East Anglian attribution of these last and comes to the conclusion that a Wessex one is to be preferred.

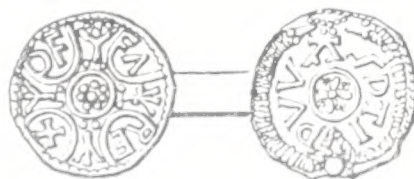


Fig. 3.

The coins of Offa he divides into no less than twenty seven distinct types. With one exception all are known today. The exception is the coin illustrated above (Fig. 3) of which Dymock gives a drawing taken from the *Numismatic Chronicle*, VII (1845), "Proceedings", p. 6. It was exhibited at a meeting of the Society in 1843 by Mr. Joseph Clarke who said that it had been found at Chesterford, Essex. Clarke

added that a similar coin had been mentioned in the sale catalogue of Sir John Twisden²⁷ but that a doubt had been raised as to its genuineness "which is weakened by the authenticity of the example exhibited to the Society." What clearly seems to be a forgery, or at least a tooled original, and may be Twisden's coin, is illustrated by Lawrence in his paper on forgeries.²⁸ On the other hand Clarke's coin, if its find-spot is authentic, should be genuine. The moneyer, Tirwald, is known from only two other coins of Offa's, one in the British Museum,²⁹ the other in the Ryan sale.³⁰ Both of these have the same obverse type as Clarke's coin. Though the reverse type of all three coins differs, the central motif on the Clarke and Ryan coin are similar in design. The present whereabouts of the Clarke coin is not known and no final judgment can be passed on it until it is found. It may, however, not be without significance that Dymock appeared to accept it as genuine.

Among the coins of Ecgberht of Wessex, Dymock illustrates by a drawing one similar in type to Hunter's coin (Ruding pl. 14, 1) but by the moneyer Diormod. The only specimen of this type recorded today by Diormod is in the British Museum and comes from a hoard found in Dorset a few years before its publication in 1915.³¹ It cannot therefore have been the one seen by Dymock. It seems however, likely to be the specimen recorded by Pegge as being in the Cotton collection in 1748 and noted by Gifford as among those "brought to ye Museum", but which could no longer be traced there, and which were probably lost before 1803.³² If this is so, it is our only illustration of this missing piece.

A detailed account has been given elsewhere³³ of a remarkable Winchester halfpenny of Edgar which has since disintegrated. Here again Dymock's drawing is our only illustration of this very significant coin.

Of less importance, but again perhaps the only illustrated record, is a penny of Athelstan of B.M.C. type IX (that is, with the crowned bust to the right contained within the inner circle) by the moneyer Leofric of Winchester. There were three

²⁷ S. Leigh Sotheby, 1841. What is likely to be the same coin appeared in the Till Sale, 1846, lot 405 and in the Strutt Sale, 1874, lot 87. I am indebted to Mrs. Strudwick for this information.

²⁸ *BNJ*, II, pl. I, 9. The present whereabouts of this coin is not known. It is not in the Lawrence collection of forgeries presented to the British Museum.

²⁹ "British Museum Anglo-Saxon Acquisitions", *NC*, 1922, p. 226, no. 49.

³⁰ Lot 617 ex Grantley 831 ex Evans.

³¹ R. C. Lockett in *NC*, 1915, p. 336.

³² See *BNJ*, XXVII, p. 310.

³³ *BNJ*, XXVII, p. 135.

comparable specimens in the Rome hoard³⁴ but the description does not make it clear whether these are of type VIII or IX and they have none of them been illustrated.

Other similar manuscripts could be quoted, for instance a neat little volume written by Miss Harriet Sophia Bockett between 1840 and 1848 which in part copies an unpublished manuscript entitled "A Brief Account of the Saxons and their Coins" by B. Mackerell, who died in 1738, and in part contains drawings of coins brought to Miss Bockett from time to time, including virtually the only record of a hoard, deposited c. 870 and found in a coffin in the churchyard of St. Mary's, Reading.³⁵ This manuscript is the subject of a note by Mr. Robert Sherlock in the forthcoming number of the *British Numismatic Journal*.

Without going into further detail of this and other manuscript material of the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries on the subject of Anglo-Saxon coins, it is hoped that what has been written will have been sufficient to demonstrate their value to the student of today. The writer would welcome hearing of similar material in other collections.

In concluding he must express his gratitude to Mr. Thompson for allowing his Dymock manuscript to be cited here so freely and to Mr. Dolley and to Mrs. Strudwick for their constant help over a subject which is of common interest to us all.

³⁴ NC, 1884, p. 247, no. 271. Since writing the above I have been able to examine this hoard in Rome and it proves that the three specimens there are in fact type IX.

³⁵ This hoard is number 315 in J. D. A. Thompson's *Inventory*.

BRASHER & BAILEY: PIONEER NEW YORK COINERS, 1787-1792

WALTER H. BREEN

I. *Brasher's Gold Coins*

Perhaps owing to Sunday-supplement and motion-picture publicity, the Brasher doubloon is one of the very few American colonial coins to have become, like the Pine Tree Shilling, something of a byword to the general public.^{1,2} The astronomical prices reported from auctions of several specimens early in this century may have also contributed to the fame of this coin.³ Nevertheless, despite the publicity, this coin and its issuer have been neglected by serious researchers from the beginning, and Brasher himself has remained a singularly elusive figure. Even Sylvester Crosby, the most astute among nineteenth century students of early American numismatics, and justly honored by a place on the architrave of the American Numismatic Society,⁴ gave the coin no further mention than a brief description – under the heading *Patterns and Tokens*.⁵

There is no reason to doubt that this Brasher was in fact the New York gold-

¹ For example William H. Sheldon, M.D., *Varieties of Delinquent Youth*, 1949, p. 792.

² There was a motion picture "thriller" some years ago entitled *The Brasher Doubloon*. The piece illustrated in it, incidentally, was spurious.

³ For example, Chapman sales of the Stickney (1907), Zabriskie (1909), Jackman (1918) collections.

⁴ Sydney P. Noe, *The New England and Willow Tree Coinages of Massachusetts*, NNM, No. 102 (New York, 1943), p. 20.

⁵ S. S. Crosby, *Early Coins of America*, p. 322.

smith and silversmith listed in various handbooks⁶ as Ephraim Brasher, No. 5 Cherry Street, 1789–90. As confirmatory evidence one may point to the hallmark (E·B in oval) which is one of four listed for Brasher and which appears on all nine coins signed by him, many foreign gold coins, and various silver tankards, creamers, bowls and other finely wrought pieces. Yale University owns a tea set by him, and I recently had the pleasure of identifying his hallmark on a previously unattributed set of six tablespoons.

Incidentally, a considerable number of figures prominent in colonial American numismatics are likewise revealed by the handbooks to have been silversmiths. Particularly notable among these are John Hull and Robert Sanderson, coiners of Massachusetts silver;⁷ Paul Revere, engraver of the plates for the Massachusetts “sword in hand” notes of 1775–6;⁸ John Bailey, of whom more later; Standish Barry (1763–1844), of Baltimore, whose name appears on a silver threepence of 1790; Elias Boudinot, subsequently Director of the Mint of the United States; Samuel Brooks, who cut the dies of the so-called Manly medal of Washington in 1790;⁹ Abel Buel of Connecticut, inventor and mechanical genius, and stockholder in the New Haven Mint,¹⁰ mentioned by Crosby in connection with the Connecticut and Fugio cents;¹¹ John Chalmers of Annapolis, who issued silver coins (shillings, sixpences and threepences) in 1783; Peter Getz of Lancaster, engraver and die sinker, best known for his Washington pattern half-dollars of 1792;¹² Jacob Perkins of Newburyport, die sinker for Massachusetts cents;¹³ Daniel van Voorhis and Col. William Coley, partners in the Vermont mint and the Machin’s Mill enterprise, the “Manufactory of Hard Ware” whose principal product was imitation British halfpence.¹⁴ The skills involved in the silversmith’s art – including, among other things, metallurgy and punch cutting – were peculiarly fitted to the requirements of manufacturing dies and coins.

Biographical material on Ephraim Brasher is practically non-existent. An article about him by one Stephen Decatur¹⁵ reveals that Brasher was born in 1744 of an

⁶ For example, those by C. Jordan Thorn and by Tiffany’s.

⁷ Reference 4 above and its two sequelae, Nos. 110 and 125.

⁸ Wayte Raymond, *The Standard Paper Money Catalogue*, Part I.

⁹ W. S. Baker, *The Medallion Portraits of Washington*, No. 61.

¹⁰ Crosby, *op. cit.*, pp. 188–9.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 211 and 222.

¹² Walter H. Breen, *The United States Patterns of 1792*, pp. 8–13.

¹³ Crosby, *op. cit.*, pp. 251–2.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 196ff.

¹⁵ *American Collector*, Vol. VII, No. 5; June 1938, pp. 8–9.

old Dutch family, that he had a younger brother named Abraham who was also a silversmith, that Ephraim married Ann Gilbert in 1766, that there were other silversmiths in the family, different branches of which spelled the name Brasier or Brazier; and that Ephraim Brasher was next door neighbor to George Washington in 1789-90. Decatur also quotes from Washington's household account books that on April 17, 1790, he "paid E. Brasher for 4 Silver Skewers, 8-8-4" (New York currency, equivalent to about 21½ Spanish dollars) and that this was his only silver purchase in New York. The article is in popular style and unfortunately lacks documentation, but New York directories for 1790 confirm the Cherry Street address.

It is known from other sources¹⁶ that Brasher and John Bailey separately petitioned the New York state legislature on February 11, 1787, for the privilege of coining coppers; that Brasher and Bailey acted briefly as partners in making silverware;⁶ and that in November, 1792, Brasher, with the help of David Ott, made assays of various foreign gold coins for the United States government.¹⁷ The assay of foreign coins was made a yearly mint duty by Act of Congress, and the results for many decades appeared in the annual Reports of the Director of the Mint. However, in 1792 this could not be legally done in the mint, because the assayer, Albion Cox, had not yet qualified by giving the \$10,000 bond required by law.^{17a, 18} This is not surprising; Cox, sought out by Pinckney in England for the mint assayership, had fled there only four years before to escape debtor's prison after the failure of the minting enterprise in New Jersey.¹⁹ Since the assays had to be done, and reducing the bond requirement for Cox would take an Act of Congress and considerable time, Washington's old neighbor Brasher was a logical choice for the assignment.

These assays of foreign gold immediately suggest an explanation for the fairly often reported gold coins with the countermark of EB in oval, often on center plug. One of these, a British sovereign, from the Ellsworth collection, was pictured as No. 123 in Howland Wood's monograph on cut and counterstamped coins of the West Indies²⁰ and by him unhesitatingly accepted as authentic. Another, a

¹⁶ Crosby, *op. cit.*, p. 290.

¹⁷ *AJN*, July 1892, p. 20.

^{17a} Ref. 12, pp. 6-7.

¹⁸ Carothers, *Fractional Money*, p. 70 footnote.

¹⁹ Damon G. Douglas, Speech before New York Numismatic Club (unpublished); personal communication.

²⁰ Howland Wood, *Coinage of the West Indies*. Reprinted from *AJN* (1914).

Brazilian half dobra of 1754 (Bahía mint), from the Newcomer collection, appeared on pl. 13 of the catalogue of the Society's Exhibition of U.S. and Colonial Coins, January 1914. The writer in 1953 had the opportunity of examining five different gold coins with the same countermark. On four of these the punch used for the countermark is the same as that found on the Brasher doubloons and the two other coins mentioned above;²¹ on the fifth, a very slightly different punch of identical style was used. Wood²⁰ theorized that the EB hallmark was a guarantee of genuineness, and that coins having it would circulate more readily. Decatur¹⁵ elaborates on this by saying that Brasher stamped his hallmark on every genuine gold coin that passed through his hands. This would be very difficult to prove, and seems intrinsically unlikely owing to the amount of time required to weigh and test each gold coin. That they were in fact tested is shown by the presence of clipping or center plugs or both on the five coins I examined; the list follows:

1. Brazil. 1727 Half scudo or 800 Réis, Minas mint. Countermark on a center plug. 3.47 grams; 53.6 grains.
2. 1747 Half dobra, Río mint. Center hole (plug lost?); countermark on plug below the hole. 12.64 grams; 195.1 grains.
3. 1754 Half dobra, Bahía mint. Countermark on center plug. 11.73 grams; 181.0 grains.
4. Great Britain. George II. 1749 Guinea. Clipped; rough from exposure to sea water; countermark in center, but no plug. 8.06 grams; 124 grains.
5. George III. 1760 Half guinea. Clipped; countermark on center plug. ANS Collection. 4.05 grams; 62.5 grains. PLATE XII,3

It is far simpler to assume that these coins formed part of the 1792 assays, which were presumably quite extensive.

Some numismatists have, without giving reasons, advanced the notion that the New York doubloons of 1787 were merely patterns for the copper coinage proposed by Brasher in his petition to the New York legislature. I find this unacceptable. First, no precedent exists in American numismatics for a *copper* coin to be represented exclusively by half a dozen *gold* patterns. Second, the gold pieces were standardized in weight – 408.25 ± 3.25 grains. Third, they actually circulated; the known specimens vary widely in condition. The unique half doubloon was actually found in a miscellaneous lot of foreign gold coins. Fourth, all bear Brasher's

²¹ In the Zabriskie sale (Chapman, 1909) there was a Portuguese half joe with the guaranteed original Brasher counterstamp on it, identical to that on the doubloon in the sale.

hallmark, just as do the foreign gold coins he tested and certified. Fifth, the existence of the Lima Style doubloons (Nos. VIII and IX below) testifies that a gold coinage was intended and executed *for circulation*.

Through the aid of John J. Ford it has been possible to establish the provenance of all Brasher gold now known, and the enumeration follows:

- I. New York doubloon. *Obv.* Rising sun and mountains; signed BRASHER below, within beaded circle. NOVA EBORACA COLUMBIA EXCELSIOR punctuated with quatrefoils. *Rev.* Eagle displayed with arrows and olive branch; 13 mullets around head; the whole within circle of twin olive leaves. EB hallmark punched on wing on Nos. I-V. UNUM * E * PLURIBUS 1787 (quatrefoils l. and r. of date). Smithsonian Institution, on loan from U.S. Mint Collection; probably one of the pieces saved by Adam Eckfeldt as Coiner and by him presented to the Mint Collection in 1838. The most worn of the doubloons; weight 406.8 grains. PLATE XII, 1
- II. Mid-west collection, ex Virgil M. Brand, ex James Ten Eyck (1922), John G. Mills (private sale), R. Coulton Davis (1889/90). 408.25 grains. PLATE XII, 2
- III. Yale University, ex F.C.C. Boyd, ex B.G. Johnson, Virgil M. Brand, Capt. Andrew C. Zabriskie (1909), Lorin G. Parmelee (1890). 407.5 grains. Pictured in Crosby, *op. cit.*, IX, no. 24, and Fig. 65. PLATE XII, 4
- IV. Johns Hopkins University, ex John Work Garrett estate, ex Wayte Raymond, Col. James W. Ellsworth (1923), Matthew Adams Stickney (1907). 407.945 grains. On pl. 10, of the catalogue of the Society's Exhibition of U.S. and Colonial Coins, 1914, and in the *Standard Catalogue of United States Coins*. PLATE XII, 5
- V. F.C.C. Boyd, ex B.G. Johnson, Col. E.H.R. Green, Waldo C. Newcomer, Allison W. Jackman (June 1918), S.H. & H. Chapman (July 15, 1897). Discovered in a Philadelphia sewer by laborers in 1897. 411 grains. PLATE XII, 6
- VI. Johns Hopkins University, ex John Work Garrett estate, ex T. Harrison Garrett, ex Charles Ira Bushnell (1882). 411.5 grains. Hallmark punched on eagle's breast. Pictured in *American Collector*, Vol. VII, No. 5, June 1938, p. 8, and in the *Standard Catalogue of United States Coins*. PLATE XII, 7

The piece to follow is generally known as the Half doubloon.

- VII. Private collection, ex Major Ball, Frank Smith, Col. E.H.R. Green, F.C.C. Boyd, David Proskey (1928). Exact weight not known; reportedly about 204 grains. Dies of the regular doubloon, on a planchet a little thinner and much smaller; probably cut down from regular doubloon planchet. Very nearly mint state. Proskey found this piece in a lot of British and other foreign gold coins purchased from an old lady who was not a coin collector. PLATE XII, 8.

The next two are the only examples known of the Lima Style doubloon. PLATE XII, 9–10.

- VIII. *Obv.* Lions and castles in the four quarters divided by a cross evidently intended to represent the cross potent of Jerusalem; EB hallmark punched at center. *Rev.* In three lines, divided by pillars surmounted by fleurs-de-lis, L·8·V / P·V·A / 7·4·2 (i.e. Lima, Philip V, 8 [Reales], 1742 [sic]). Waves below; in exergue, BRASHER in letters of identical style to those used on the signature on the New York doubloon. The whole engraved, not punched in, except that the dots between letters and at borders on both sides may have come from a single punch. Johns Hopkins University, ex John Work Garrett, ex Waldo C. Newcomer. 408 grains. Discovered by Newcomer about 1914–15; investigated and authenticated in the latter year by the ANS Committee on U.S. Coins (then comprising Edgar H. Adams, Wayte Raymond and William H. Woodin). PLATE XII, 9.

- IX. Mid-west coin firm, ex Bernstein Collection, ex Ten Eyck (1922). 408 grains. In dies and location of hallmark identical to last. PLATE XII, 10.

It may be profitable to speculate on why Brasher issued these imitations of the old Lima doubloons. Consider the types of gold coins in circulation during the 1786–1794 period. Judging by fragmentary references in the National Archives and – more important – by the occasional mentions of types of coin brought in to the Mint for recoinage, these consisted mainly of Spanish, Mexican and Peruvian 8 Scudos (doubloons), English guineas, Portuguese and Brazilian half dobras (6400 Reis), French louis, and very rarely smaller denominations. Many of these coins were sweated or clipped. The common practice of revalidating such coins by inserting center plugs to bring them up to full weight was anything but satisfactory. No official gold coinage existed in the American colonies, although the Boston Mint, established by legislative act of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts,

Oct. 17, 1786, was authorized to coin gold and silver as well as copper.²² Brasher apparently not only felt the need of a less troublesome manner of getting gold bullion into circulation, but also had the means. That six New York doubloons survive indicates that the issue was not of infinitesimal size; but I submit that the design of the coins – highly original and unfamiliar – told against them, just as the equally original and significant design of the “plough type” coppers of the Republic of Vermont (1785–6) told against them and limited their circulation. Issues of any private mint would logically find more ready and unquestioning acceptance if they looked like coins already in circulation. Pass a New York doubloon, with its strange design, and it would be looked upon with suspicion and possibly refused; pass a worn Mexican or Peruvian gold coin – *or something enough like it* – and it would be accepted with hardly a second glance after the clear ring and heavy weight are noted. This principle was extensively applied in England by the coiners of the so-called “bungtowns,” which were evasive imitations of regal halfpence;²³ they usually look well worn because the dies were shallowly cut or deliberately hammered down. The Vermont legislature learned the same lesson, too. After eleven months and 27 days of coinage, it passed²⁴ an act (Oct. 24, 1786) changing the type to imitate the British halfpence (mostly counterfeits) then forming the bulk of circulating copper²⁵ – and the Vermont head type coppers were readily accepted and passed, to judge by the well worn condition of most of them. It is therefore safe to attribute a similar motivation to Brasher. Now this man surely knew better than to make imitations of British guineas or other coins with a foreign ruler’s name and titles. The seemingly anonymous Lima doubloons with their cabalistic initials must have appeared as the logical type for a private issue that would both match something already in circulation and not offend patriotic sensibilities. Brasher’s plainly readable signature on the coins would be an additional safeguard for anyone questioning the pieces. We have no way of knowing the quantity issued, even in comparison with the New York doubloons. The original mintage may have been far larger than that of the latter, the pieces suffering the common fate of gold coins. Most foreign, or foreign-appearing, gold coins went to the melting pot sooner or later; many such pieces after 1795 were deposited in Eastern banks, which from time to time shipped quantities of them

²² Crosby, *op. cit.*, p. 241.

²³ J.D.A. Thompson, *Evasions*. In: Seaby’s *Coin and Medal Bulletin*, June 1949, No. 373.

²⁴ Crosby, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 220.

to the mint for recoinage. This is what probably happened to the Brasher Lima Style coins. We are fortunate that even two specimens survive.

2. *The Copper Coins of John Bailey*

Crosby²⁶ quotes an affidavit by John Bailey, "of the City of New York, cutler," to the effect that he had not struck any Jersey coppers since April 15, 1788, and that "what he so made previous to the said fifteenth of April, was in conformity to, and by authority derived from an Act of the State of New Jersey..." The researches of Damon G. Douglas¹⁹ have identified these Jersey coppers as the well-known "fox" type, Maris obverses 74 to 78, reverses bb, cc, dd (Maris 77 dd, illustrated on PLATE XI, 11). They all have drooping, jaded horses with long combed manes, straight beams, date 1788; and on reverse, elaborate sprigs below shield and a small running horse (a sort of mintmark?) in the legend. They are punctuated with quatrefoils; two obverses (74 and 76) also show a six-pointed star.

Though Douglas gave no reason for attributing these to Bailey, an excellent one exists. The letter P, and the somewhat asymmetrical quatrefoil, are from *the identical punches found on the Brasher doubloons and the Nova Eboracs* (except the rare small head variety, Crosby PL. VIII, 12, which may have been made by James F. Atlee). We have earlier seen that Bailey and Brasher were temporarily partners. Closer examination strengthens the connection: the date punches on the Nova Eboracs (PLATE XII, 12) appear also on the New York doubloons; the eagle on the latter is the twin of that on the 1787 Excelsior cents (PLATE XII, 13). That one of the dies of the latter comes muled with a CONFEDERATIO die, Crosby Pl. VII, 21, indicates – if the muling is genuine – that the latter die was also brought over here from Birmingham.

It now becomes possible to re-examine the old question of the identity of the coppers struck in New York for Major Eli Leavenworth in the fall of 1787 or '88.²⁷ The year is in doubt because, as Eric Newman said,²⁸ the committee of inquiry may have drawn up the report many months before submitting it. Crosby thought that the coppers might have been the George Clinton and Liber Natus cents, together with some dies of Connecticut type displaying Atlee's workmanship (e.g., Miller 1'A, 1⁴WW, 3-G, 52-G of 1787, 2-D of 1788; the head on this last closely matches

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 283.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 223 and 319.

²⁸ Eric P. Newman, personal communication.



1



2



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4



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6



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10



11



12



13



that on imitation halfpence and the reverse comes with a GEORGIUS III REX obverse, and the others share letter punches with the 1787 IMMUNIS and LIBER NATUS as well as the mule of a GEORGIUS obverse with a Vermont reverse of 1788, Ryder 31. I am now prepared to show that Atlee worked full time for the Rahway (N.J.) mint in 1786-7, and that in the last half of 1787 and much of 1788 he was kept busy as the regular die cutter for the Rupert (Vt.) mint. Without going into too much detail here, it is possible to establish that Atlee made most Rahway Mint dies (Maris obverses 13 to 55 except 17, 34-38, 40, 48-51, 53, 54; reverses J through m except V, W, X, b, f, g, h, k, with perhaps three or four other exceptions) by noticing his peculiar A, C and N punches which appear on all the above dies as well as the 1787 IMMUNIS and the others in that group. In 1787-8 we find that he made dies for both the Rupert and Machin's Mill mints,²⁹ but the latter did not really get started until 1789.³⁰ The same A, C and N punches are found on practically all Vermont dies of the head type, except Ryder 9, 10, 11 and 15. The extensive implications of the above will form the subject of forthcoming volumes on the state coinages of the New England states and New Jersey; but in the meantime I would like to suggest that the New York mint where Major Eli Leavenworth had coppers struck might just as easily have been that of Brasher and Bailey as that of Machin and Atlee, particularly since the latter was hardly ready for operations. In that case, the Nova Eboracs – and perhaps the Excelsior Cents – were the coins made for Leavenworth.

This brief excursus has left unanswered more questions than it has answered. Did Bailey cut the dies of the doubloon or merely the punches? How did he obtain authority to strike Jersey coppers? Was it by investing in the Matthias Ogden enterprise (Ogden was the original entrepreneur for the Rahway mint.)? What was the relationship, if any, between Bailey, Brasher and Leavenworth? What happened to the CONFEDERATIO die brought over here, and was it Bailey or Walter Mould who imported it (Mould brought over several other Wyon dies, notably the 1785 IMMUNE COLUMBIA.)? When was the Lima Style doubloon minted? Did Bailey or Brasher cut the dies for this? And so on, without end. We can, however, take comfort in the fact that anything at all has been ascertainable about our early American coinages, where so little documentation exists.

²⁹ Crosby, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 202.

QUESTIONI PONDERALI¹

LAURA BREGLIA

Il primo gruppo di emissioni che si presenta con struttura organica e ben chiara fra le coniazioni dell'ambiente egeo-anatolico è costituito, come è noto, dalla monetazione concordemente attribuita a Creso.² Con essa infatti siamo di fronte

¹ La presente nota nasce dalla necessità, sempre più sentita, di una chiarificazione e un aggiornamento delle premesse ponderali della monetazione antica. Questo sia ai fini immediati di un controllo alla mia recente ricerca: *Le antiche rotte del Mediterraneo documentate da monete e pesi*, edita nei *Rendiconti della Accademia di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti di Napoli*, v. XXX, 1955, sia ai fini di un migliore approfondimento dei dati ponderali nelle loro possibilità di documentazione storica tanto diretta, quanto indiretta attraverso la moneta.

Nel piano generale delle ricerche sull'argomento, molto complesso certamente, ma meno complicato forse di quanto non l'abbiano reso i moderni studi, lo scritto attuale, peraltro, ha il solo valore di un sondaggio verso nuovi indirizzi di ricerca. Per questo, nonostante il suo carattere incompleto e pertanto transitorio, lo abbiamo destinato all'attuale sede; perchè converga più facilmente su di esso l'attenzione degli studiosi di diverso orientamento ed indirizzo. Lo studio, di grandissima importanza, dei valori ponderali, come base di interessi economici, originariamente elementari e poi sempre più complessi, per lo sviluppo della vita umana socialmente organizzata, va ripreso e riportato, infatti, senza visioni preconcepite, ai suoi obbiettivi e fondamentali dati, per poter trarne alla luce delle conoscenze odierne, valori e conclusioni criticamente valide. La ricerca, è tanto più opportuna da tentare pel fatto che anche lavori recentissimi (cfr. A. E. Berrimann, *Historical Metrology*, 1953) non sembrano dare all'argomento impulsi nuovi e suscettibili di sviluppi promettenti.

² Sulla monetazione di Creso si veda tra la vecchia bibliografia, Head, *BMC, Lydia*, 1901; *HN*², pag. 646 segg.; Babelon, *Traité*, II, I, pag. 227 segg. e Regling, "Dareikos und Kroiseios", in *Klio*, 1914, pag. 91-112 (relativamente ai dati ponderali). Di recente cfr. J. H. Jongkees, "Kroiseios en Dareikos", in *Jaarbericht No. 9 van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Gezelschap Ex Oriente Lux*, 1944, pag. 163-68, e, relativamente ai ripostigli, i dati e la bibliografia raccolti nella recentissima nota di S. P. Noe, *Two Hoards of Persian Sigloi*, *NNM*, No. 136 (New York 1956).

ad una coniazione bimetallica, organizzata dal punto di vista ponderale, secondo due differenti scale di valori: la prima, che ha lo statere pari a gr. 8,17 è usata per la emissione di una serie aurea, l'altra, che si basa sullo statere di gr. 10,89, è usata per una seconda serie aurea e per la coniazione dell'argento. Questo piede interessa, quindi, a ben vedere, con due serie monetali, in maniera più impegnativa e più profonda, il complesso della monetazione Lidia.

Tralasciando ora l'esame analitico dell'intera struttura ponderale, che contiamo di sviluppare a fondo in altra sede, ci interessa invece richiamare l'attenzione sull'esistenza del valore ponderale di gr. 10,89, presente, come si è visto, in due serie monetali parallele, e coniato anche nella sua metà pari a gr. 5,44. E' su tale valore ponderale che si puntualizza, infatti, l'interesse di questa nostra nota.

Notiamo quindi, anzitutto, che esso è presente anche nella successiva monetazione persiana, il cui inizio si attribuisce generalmente a Dario di Hystaspe, e che nella sua organizzazione appare, a ben vedere, come una continuazione semplificata, delle emissioni lidie. Mentre infatti le "creseidi" erano divise, come si è visto, in tre serie di emissioni su due piedi base differenti, la monetazione persiana, pur riducendo le tre serie a due, una aurea ed una argentea, conserva la differenziazione ponderale.³ La serie aurea ci presenta quindi lo statere di 8,41 mentre quella argentea ci dà l'unità di 5,57 pari alla metà della creseide argentea.⁴

Fra la coniazione di Creso e quella di Dario c'è quindi un elemento di continuità, tanto nel criterio bimetallico della monetazione, quanto nei suoi valori ponderali. Tale continuità è tanto più interessante pel fatto che le prime emissioni persiane si verificano, forse, proprio nella parte occidentale del grande impero, nella stessa Sardi⁵ mentre nell'ambiente delle potenti satrapie anatoliche lo stesso valore ponderale resterà a base della monetazione. Non solo, ma interessante è anche la constatazione che la monetazione persiana nella sua struttura originaria non subirà sostanziali alterazioni o mutamenti. Da Creso ad Alessandro le genti che abiteranno il territorio microasiatico conserveranno, infatti, una monetazione costante nei suoi valori ponderali.

³ Sulla monetazione persiana oltre la bibliografia di cui a nota 2, Babelon, *Traité*, II, I, pag. 249 segg. e Hill, *BMC, Arabia*, pag. CXX segg.

⁴ Sull'apparente difficoltà costituita dal fatto che il doppio di 5,57 dà 11,14, non 10,89, valore precedentemente attribuito alle creseidi, si veda innanzi quanto è diffusamente detto in merito ai limiti di oscillazione dei valori ponderali.

Il valore, nominalmente pari, delle due valute nella circolazione ci è peraltro confermato dalla costituzione dei ripostigli monetali. Cfr. Noe, *op. cit.*

⁵ Babelon, *Traité*, II, I, pag. 254; *HN*², pag. 647, e, per la frequente provenienza dell'Asia Minore, Noe, *op. cit.*, pag. 1 segg.

Tale stato di fatto ci porta a chiederci quale sia stata, in Asia Minore, dove più di frequente creseidi e darici sono rinvenuti, la situazione ponderale prima che l'uso della moneta si affermasse; quali valori ponderali venissero usati, cioè, nella regione, nei lunghi secoli in cui per lo scambio si usò valersi dei metalli controllati a peso; esso ci induce a chiederci altresì se è possibile riscontrare traccia del valore ponderale di gr. 5,44, o del suo doppio in epoca precedente alla moneta vera e propria.

In altro lavoro,⁶ già abbiamo avuto modo di occuparci a lungo di questo valore ponderale attraverso il riconoscimento della sua presenza nel Mediterraneo occidentale; la necessità di chiarire anzi i tempi e i modi, grazie ai quali esso aveva potuto giungere e propagarsi in località così lontane, ci aveva portato a studiarne in maniera, se pure sommaria, le possibili origini e la storia.

Avevamo svolta tale indagine rinunciando a risalire, attraverso il metodo normalmente usato del calcolo in cinquantiesimi o sessantesimi, ad una possibile mina originaria,⁷ preferendo piuttosto servirci di una più evidente realtà: di controllare l'esistenza, cioè, di tale valore ponderale, lì dove le monete ce lo presentavano nelle coniazioni occidentali. Lo avevamo riconosciuto, quindi, nelle emissioni delle colonie calcidesi di Sicilia⁸ e a Cuma,⁹ in differenti emissioni etrusche,¹⁰ probabilmente nelle coniazioni di Emporiae e Rhode¹¹ ed a Cartagine.¹² Non solo, ma tale studio ci aveva portato a constatare che lì dove la monetazione era più intensa, come in Etruria, ad esempio, ed a Cartagine, il piede monetale si articolava con lo stesso criterio di divisione che abbiamo ora constatato per le monetazioni

⁶ "Le antiche rotte del Mediterraneo documentate da monete e pesi", in *Rendiconti della Accademia di Archeologia, Lettere e Belle Arti di Napoli*, v. XXX, 1955, pag. 229 segg., pag. 263 segg.

⁷ L'esistenza di un criterio di divisione teorica della mina in 60 sicli è indubitabile, in base alla documentazione recuperata, ma la variabilità dei valori attribuiti alle mine ed ai sicli ne infirma le possibilità indiscriminate di ricostruzione teorica. Molto più dubbi sono poi gli altri criteri di divisione, che sono per la maggior parte "dedotti" dalla documentazione, in età moderna o più antica, non attestati sufficientemente da fonti originali. Il valore del nostro tentativo sta appunto in questo: nel mettere a fuoco, cioè, la documentazione monumentale, individuandone, con la maggiore possibile obbiettività, i dati più concreti ed elementari.

⁸ Breglia, *op. cit.*, pag. 228 segg. con bibliografia relativa a pag. 230.

⁹ Breglia, *loc. cit.*, sui dati di A. Sambon, *Les monnaies antiques de l'Italie*, 1906, pag. 139 segg.

¹⁰ Sambon, *op. cit.*, pag. 16 segg., e Breglia, *op. cit.*, pag. 229 segg., pag. 245 segg. e passim con bibliografia precedente.

¹¹ Breglia, *op. cit.*, pag. 296 segg. con bibliografia precedente.

¹² Breglia, *op. cit.*, pag. 290 segg.

di Lidia e Persia; si addoppiava, quindi, in progressione geometrica nei suoi multipli di 11,47; 22,94; 45,88, mentre con uguale criterio si frazionava nei valori minori di gr. 2,86, etc.

Tutta la scala dei valori interessati a questo piede ponderale si ricostruiva quindi, grazie alla giustapposizione delle diverse serie monetali che lo avevano adottato, in tempi e luoghi differenti del mondo antico, nel seguente modo: 0,70; 1,40; 2,80; 5,60; 11,20; 22,40; 44,80, con la riserva, però, che ognuna di queste frazioni è suscettibile, nella pratica, di più o meno ampie oscillazioni.¹³

Il risultato, già interessante di per sè, ci spingeva, una volta accertato tale dato di fatto: il costante criterio, cioè di frazionamento di questo valore ponderale, a ricercare la eventuale origine di esso e risalire, quindi, attraverso la documentazione disponibile, quanto più era possibile nel tempo.

La ricerca ci fu allora relativamente facile perchè ci parve di poter riconoscere la nostra scala di valori in un gruppo di anelli aurei rinvenuti in tre tombe di Enkomi, a Cipro, che lo Hill aveva editi senza poter riconoscere una norma sicura tra i pesi differenti.¹⁴ Riproduciamo la tabella dello Hill segnalando fra i diversi pesi quelli che ora ci interessano coi caratteri corsivi.

<i>Gruppi</i>	<i>Numero degli anelli pesati</i>	<i>peso in grammi</i>
I	11	1,39-2,01
II	3	2,27-2,45
III	6	2,91-3,34
IV	1	3,93
V	4	4,39-4,70
VI	1	5,51
VII	7	7,44-7,84
VIII	3	9,08-9,40
IX	2	11,95-12,09

Lo scopo della ricerca allora in corso ci fece paghi del risultato ottenuto in tale modo: di poter riconoscere, cioè, nella documentazione, rinvenuta a Cipro e databile, grazie alle associazioni dello scavo, fra il XIV e il XII secolo, di un

¹³ La scala così ricostruita, riflettendo dati desunti da un complesso di sistemi, non più da un sistema singolo e pertanto legato ad una realtà storica concreta, assume infatti un carattere astratto, che perde come tale, nella sua formulazione teorica, la naturale oscillazione praticamente riscontrabile nell'ambito di ogni frazione ponderale.

¹⁴ Hill, *BMC, Cyprus*, 1904, introduzione, pag. XX segg.

gruppo di anelli che vi ebbero con ogni probabilità funzione monetale,¹⁵ l'esistenza del valore ponderale che aveva così intensamente interessate le monetazioni posteriori. Proprio queste ultime, pertanto, col peso documentario della monetazione persiana, ci avevano indotto, quindi, a ritenere parzialmente esatta per il nostro piede ponderale la dizione di "persiano" generalmente attribuitagli in sede numismatica.¹⁶ La mancanza di dati più precisi da un lato e l'esigenza, tuttavia incalzante, di una maggiore aderenza storica, data la constatata antichità del peso, ci aveva portato solo a sostituire la espressione di "piede persiano" con quella più ampia e generica, e tuttavia proprio per questo più precisa, di "piede microasiatico". Al valore "politico" della espressione sostituimmo quindi un valore "geografico" con l'avvertenza solo, che anche questo stesso termine era da ritenersi provvisorio, fin quando almeno la ricerca non ne avesse dato conferma o non l'avesse superato. Il quesito di rintracciare le possibili origini della situazione ponderale che preparò ed espresse in ambiente microasiatico la monetazione persiana e già prima quella lidia, che abbiamo prospettato all'inizio di queste pagine bene si adatta, quindi, al quesito lasciato aperto al termine della ricerca precedente: seguire, cioè, quanto più è possibile all'indietro, attraverso l'esame diretto dei pesi recuperati, il valore ponderale di gr. 5,57-5,44 circa con la completa scala dei suoi multipli e delle sue frazioni, per assicurarne, anzitutto, la concreta esistenza nelle fasi precedenti alla monetazione, e determinarne poi, se possibile, l'origine storica, sì da acquisire alla nostra conoscenza un nuovo strumento di indagine ugualmente prezioso per la ricerca storica e per quella metrologica.

Prima di procedere, però, nella ricerca riteniamo necessario stabilire i limiti sicuri di oscillazione di tale peso, perchè è noto che noi non possiamo contare, nella documentazione ponderale antica, mai, su termini fissi e stabilmente precisi come può avvenire ad esempio negli attuali mezzi di misurazione; già abbiamo avuto modo di constatarlo nelle pagine precedenti dove abbiamo controllato: ad Enkomi il peso di gr. 5,51, in Lidia quello di gr. 5,44, che sale in Persia a gr. 5,57,

¹⁵ Per la funzione monetale rivestita, in alcuni ambienti, dagli anelli, non solo nell'antichità: Babelon, *Le origini della monetazione*, 1896, pag. 50 segg. della traduzione italiana inserita nel III volume della *Biblioteca Economica* di W. Pareto; si veda altresì Ridgeway, *The Origin of Metallic Currency and Weights Standards* (Cambridge, 1892), pag. 35 segg. e 128 segg., nonchè Regling, Voce: Geld, in Ebert, *Reallexicon der Vorgeschichte*.

¹⁶ Breglia, *op. cit.*, pag. 262 segg.

mentre in Etruria si aggira intorno a gr. 5,68¹⁷ ed a Cartagine intorno a 5,73. E' quindi necessario stabilire se, nonostante tali variazioni, siamo autorizzati a riconoscere, alla base dei valori suindicati, lo stesso peso originale ed in tal caso entro quali limiti estremi possiamo legittimamente far oscillare le sue variazioni.

Prescindendo dalle difficoltà pratiche, antiche ed attuali, che infirmano anzi tutto i nostri dati, quando ci si muove intorno ai centigrammi,¹⁸ grazie ai metodi di cui può valersi attualmente la ricerca numismatica noi siamo in grado, fortunatamente, di disporre subito di un valido criterio orientativo. Intanto il controllo più immediato lo abbiamo attraverso l'esame analitico dei pesi delle serie monetali notoriamente tagliate su questo piede. Nel caso specifico possiamo fare quindi capo, da un lato ai dati raccolti dal Regling per le creseidi e i darici, integrati da quelli che attualmente è possibile desumere dal Noe, elementi che esponiamo nella Tabella annessa, dall'altro possiamo rifarci alle emissioni delle città calcidesi di Sicilia e questa seconda scelta si basa unicamente sul motivo pratico che, attraverso le tabelle raccolte dal Cahn,¹⁹ noi disponiamo una volta tanto di un dato analitico valido e preciso.

Dalla serie di Zancle, infatti, che raccoglie in Sicilia una delle coniazioni più importanti di questo gruppo, e quindi, con un notevole numero di esemplari, le maggiori oscillazioni, noi abbiamo già due valori – massimo pari a gr. 5,95 e minimo pari a gr. 4,50 – che includono ampiamente i valori medi che abbiamo precedentemente segnalato; il confronto con le emissioni parallele delle altre cittadine siceliote ci permette inoltre, attraverso l'addensarsi degli esemplari su particolari pesi medi o "punti di concentrazione", di restringere gli estremi forniteci da Zancle su oscillazioni minori e valori meno differenziati.

I limiti fra i quali possiamo con piena sicurezza contenere il valore ponderale

¹⁷ Questo dato non ha valore probante per l'Etruria perchè, in mancanza di esemplari sufficienti, è piuttosto dedotto dagli altri nominali che non documentato in sè.

E' evidente inoltre che le differenze constatate tra pesi medi di paesi diversi hanno un valore differente da quelle controllate tra pesi singoli di una sola coniazione. In questo caso, infatti, siamo contro solo ad un fenomeno di irregolarità ponderale di carattere generico, che può anche essere indipendente da motivi peculiari. Nel primo caso invece – delle differenze cioè dei valori medi tra pesi indipendenti – le variazioni possono essere influenzate anche da motivi economici e politici propri dei diversi paesi e di loro particolari momenti.

¹⁸ Può essere interessante a questo punto ricordare che ho personalmente constatata la differenza di alcuni centigrammi in due pesi uguali del valore di 2 grammi controllati ed emessi di recente, per una bilancia di precisione, dalla nostra Zecca.

¹⁹ *Die Münzen der sizilischen Stadt Naxos* (Basel, 1944), pag. 94, pag. 79. Si vedano le Tabelle A e B della nostra Appendice.

di cui ora ci occupiamo rispondono quindi a gr. 5,90–5,00 circa; è possibile anche che pesi maggiori o minori possano riportarsi ad esso, ma in condizioni particolari,²⁰ di cui non possiamo tener conto ora e che vanno comunque caso per caso individuate e controllate.

Acquisito tale dato di fatto è molto interessante porlo in rapporto con l'altro elemento che abbiamo precedentemente constatato, con la scala di valori, cioè, in cui normalmente si inserisce, in tutti gli ambienti, il nostro peso. Come si è visto, infatti, essa appare costantemente costruita sulla base della progressione geometrica che raddoppia, o divide sempre per metà, i suoi termini.

L'avvicinamento di questi due dati di fatto ci pone contro in realtà ad una constatazione molto interessante: noi possiamo infatti controllare che, partendo dalla oscillazione minima del valore base – nel nostro caso gr. 5 – e raddoppiandolo, noi diamo luogo ad una scala di valori che avrà come termini, gr. 10, 20, 40, 80 e via dicendo. Analogamente constatiamo che, se il nostro punto di partenza è stato il grado massimo dell'oscillazione ed ossia 5,90, la scala di valori ci darà dei termini paralleli bensì, ma sempre più differenziati; noi avremo, infatti, questa volta, con altrettanta legittimità, frazioni pari non più a 10, 20, 40, 80 grammi, ma rispettivamente = a 11,80 23,60; 47,20; 94,40 grammi e via dicendo. Pesì di 80 grammi o di 94,40 grammi, possono quindi essere stati originati, con uno stesso principio di coordinamento, da uno stesso piede base e dovremo quindi poterli legittimamente riportare ad esso, teoricamente, in un loro riconoscimento inquadrativo,²¹ anche se la pratica avrà evidentemente differenziate, in località o tempi diversi, le scale più lontane dei valori.

Il dato di fatto, tuttavia, che oscillazioni così ampie e sempre maggiori, via via che si risale verso frazioni ponderali più alte, possano verificarsi fra termini equivalenti di una stessa scala di valori, così che, come si è visto, un peso rispondente a gr. 80 possa esser ritenuto, anche sul solo piano teorico, equivalente a un peso pari a gr. 94,40 è però difficile da accettare alla nostra esperienza e mentalità moderna. Non

²⁰ Alludiamo alle fluttuazioni che possono determinarsi nello svolgimento interno di una serie monetale, per l'influsso di condizioni economiche temporanee, o nelle sue fasi evolutive, quando, cioè, per il preponderare di una monetazione differente, nella zona, il sistema monetale tende lentamente ad adeguarsi al peso della nuova moneta dominante.

²¹ Le differenze qui esemplificate costituiscono un principio teorico più che un fatto reale, perchè, come possiamo controllare anche dalle tabelle annesse in appendice a questo studio, i pesi tendono a raggrupparsi, come frequenza, proprio intorno ai valori medi, nei limiti dell'oscillazione. Questo fenomeno è particolarmente verificabile nella monetazione, dove, evidentemente, i pezzi troppo pesanti o troppo leggeri dovevano essere probabilmente eliminati.

possiamo quindi procedere nella nostra indagine e ritenere validi i criteri che andiamo per essa costruendo se non accertiamo prima la realtà di questo dato; se non controlliamo, cioè, la possibilità che si sia verificata, realmente, nella pratica antica, la coesistenza di oscillazioni così forti per frazioni equivalenti di uno stesso valore ponderale.

Fortunatamente siamo in grado di rispondere a tale quesito in maniera affermativa perchè esistono, effettivamente, alcuni elementi di convalida alla nostra ipotesi ricostruttiva, tali da ridurre almeno di molto i nostri dubbi, anche se non riusciamo del tutto a eliminarli.

Le possibilità di controllo ci vengono infatti dallo stesso materiale antico e precisamente da due speciali classi di monumenti: i pesi, cioè, dotati di iscrizione, e le monete. La testimonianza infatti di questo duplice ordine di fonti è, come vedremo, per due motivi, intrinseci e paralleli, di grandissimo interesse.

I pesi cui alludiamo e che hanno costituito nello scorso secolo la base delle teorie metrologiche vigenti, risalgono alle civiltà mesopotamiche e, grazie alla iscrizione, appunto, non solo sono cronologicamente e geograficamente bene individuabili, ma anche si dimostrano controllati nel loro valore, ed in sè stessi di carattere ufficiale.²² Analogamente sul carattere ufficiale della moneta non occorre insistere. Piuttosto è interessante constatare che, tanto i pesi, taluni dei quali ci riportano alla più alta antichità, quanto le monete, appaiono databili in termini di tempo assai attendibili²³ e ci permettono quindi con il loro scaglionarsi nei secoli, di controllare una stessa situazione, talora pressochè immutata, a distanza di millenni.

Dalle iscrizioni dei pesi apprendiamo quindi che, in ambiente mesopotamico, sin dal III millennio avanti Cristo, è dato al valore indicato come "mina" un peso oscillante fra gr. 489,60 e 502,²⁴ oscillazione che si allarga in altri pesi con iscrizione,

²² Per essi si vedano le raccolte datane dal Brandis, *Das Münz-, Maß- und Gewichtswesen in Vorderasien*, 1866, pag. 43 segg., dal Weissbach, *Über die babylonisch-assyrische und altpersische Gewichte*, dal Segré, *Metrologia*, pag. 176 segg., dallo Unger in Ebert, *Reallexicon der Vorgeschichte*, Voce: Gewichte, sezione: Mesopotamien, donde è possibile risalire alla bibliografia specifica.

²³ Poichè però, in più casi, la cronologia dei pesi campioni, in mancanza di precisi rilievi di scavo, è desunta proprio dai nomi dei sovrani che ricorrono nelle iscrizioni, è evidente che anche la loro cronologia subisce degli spostamenti in rapporto alle oscillazioni, cui è ancora soggetta, attualmente, la cronologia orientale.

²⁴ I dati attuali sono stati da noi desunti, e sono pertanto facilmente controllabili attraverso le liste del Brandis, del Segré e dello Unger citate a nota 22. In particolare si vedano i pesi riportati dal Segré, *op. cit.*, pag. 176, n. 2, 4, 12.

ma senza nome del re, a 468-506;²⁵ il valore della mina pesante, o doppia della precedente, risulta invece definito tra gr. 946 e gr. 1000, per pesi dello stesso ambiente ed ugualmente di carattere ufficiale.²⁶

A questa prima e più antica documentazione, già evidente, per quanto in sè disorientante, si aggiunge quella più vicina, e non meno disorientante, della monetazione. Riproduciamo per essa i dati rilevati dall'esame della monetazione siracusana nella sequenza dei conii ricostruitane dal Boehringer.²⁷

In merito al problema ponderale, che ora ci interessa, la monetazione di Siracusa ci permette di rilevare, anzitutto, che esemplari battuti da una stessa coppia di conii, e pertanto frutto di una stessa emissione e composti quindi da una stessa lega di metallo, possono presentare, per i tetradrammi, oscillazioni che vanno da una media di circa 1 grammo, o poco meno, ad un massimo di 1 grammo e 23. Tali oscillazioni, ed il dato è molto interessante ai nostri fini, si accrescono nel decadrammo, in cui assumono valore costante superiore a 1 grammo, mentre possono arrivare ad un massimo generale di gr. 2,35, ed oltre.

Documentazione molto importante questa della moneta siracusana (e siamo sicuri di poter controllarla in altre serie monetali con risultati analoghi²⁸ per

²⁵ La cronologia di questi altri esemplari è variabile e scende talora fino ad età assira. Per la bibliografia vale quanto è detto alla nota precedente.

²⁶ Cfr. note precedenti. In quanto al problema della mina doppia, o pesante, generalmente ammessa in tutti i trattati di metrologia, e in realtà documentata, esso è tutt'altro che chiarito nella sua essenza.

²⁷ *Die Münzprägung von Syrakus*, 1929. I tetradrammi di Siracusa nella classificazione stabilitane dal Boehringer permettono di rilevare i seguenti esempi scelti a caso:

Serie	I, n.	10 – tetradrammi	di gr.	16,70; 16,89; 17,46; 17,50
„	II, „	27 – „	„ „	16,58; 17,18; 17,20
„	III, „	34 – „	„ „	16,60; 16,94; 17,07; 17,18; 17,20; 17,22
„	XII, „	328 – „	„ „	16,70 a 17,37
„	„ „	374 – Damareteia	„ „	42,07 a 43,35
„	„ „	376 – „	„ „	43,16 a 44,42
„	„ „	380 – tetradrammi	„ „	16,30 a 17,53

Le differenze estreme, quindi, fra esemplari battuti con lo stesso conio danno: pel decadrammo uno scarto massimo di gr. 2,35, pel tetradrammo di gr. 1,23; per il didrammo, la cui coniazione è peraltro saltuaria, dalla stessa fonte, di gr. 0,50. Esempi sufficienti a documentare che lo scarto cresce con l'accrescersi del peso e non sempre l'errore è sottoposto a correzione.

²⁸ Un accenno ad altri casi è stato peraltro già dato da noi a nota di pag. 247 del lavoro già citato: *Le antiche rotte* ecc. Si tenga presente però quanto è detto nella seguente nota e, per la più alta antichità, la frequenza con cui i sovrani si attribuiscono come benemerenzze le riforme ponderali e la continuità con cui è ricordata nei contratti l'uso della bilancia. Cfr. Babelon, *Les Origines de la monnaie* (Paris, 1897), pag. 65-67 (pari a pag. 174 della versione italiana edita nella *Biblioteca*

motivi assai evidenti. Anzitutto ancora una volta siamo posti di fronte alla constatazione di una innegabile tolleranza del mondo antico rispetto al dato ponderale anche nella realizzazione stessa di documenti ufficiali, e a valore reale, come la moneta;²⁹ in secondo luogo noi controlliamo, anche sulla moneta, quanto si è visto con i pesi, che cioè le oscillazioni si accrescono quanto più il peso si ingrandisce; in terzo luogo siamo forzati ad ammettere che se questo stato di fatto si verifica per *monete del V secolo*, curate come lo sono, normalmente, gli esemplari di Siracusa, esso è tanto più accettabile per pesi, molto spesso anonimi e di carattere privato, di tempi e civiltà molto più antiche e presumibilmente dotate di minori capacità tecniche di accertamento. A tali dati di fatto, che dobbiamo ammettere perchè documentati nella loro realtà obbiettiva, possiamo inoltre aggiungere delle osservazioni che ne attenuano l'assurdità e li rendono pertanto più accettabili.

Anzitutto bisogna aver presente che gli esemplari – pesi o monete – su cui fondiamo le nostre osservazioni sono stati pesati su differenti bilancie e con diverse pesature, non rispondono quindi ad una precisa e omogenea rilevazione dei dati ponderali. Allo studioso che li raccoglie, infatti, i valori ponderali arrivano da tutte le parti del mondo, con possibilità molto scarse di diretto controllo del materiale e l'esperienza insegna che uno stesso esemplare può presentare in due testi differenti, scarti di peso già notevoli.³⁰

E' evidente che, se una tale imprecisione si verifica per le monete, ancora più sensibile può essere pei pesi, specie nei valori molto elevati che, di per sè, escludono l'uso di una bilancia di precisione. Se tali inconvenienti sono ammissibili in età moderna si immagina, inoltre, quante inesattezze potettero verificarsi in età antica

Economica di Pareto, v. III) dove è ricordato che "al mercato, venditore e compratore si servono di bilance, che portano sempre alla cintola con una serie di pesi in pietra", notizia che egli rileva da numerosi passi del Vecchio Testamento dove l'ammonimento ad usare pesi giusti è frequente come la condanna morale per tali frodi.

²⁹ L'oscillazione ponderale tra esemplari della stessa serie monetale è peraltro controllabile non solo nella monetazione romana, anche di età imperiale, ma, diffusamente, anche nelle serie medioevali e di età moderna, anteriormente alla istituzione degli attuali metodi meccanici di fabbricazione.

Molto interessante sull'argomento sono i dati raccolti dal Dieudonné nel suo *Manuel des poids monétaires* (Paris, 1925). In particolare a pag. 13, dove è precisato che "on pesait donc les pièces, les "Déniers" (au sens générique de monnaies) par approximation, c'est-à dire qu'on se préoccupait de savoir si elles allaient en deça ou au delà d'un poids donné". Risulta quindi, ad esempio, dagli editti di Filippo VI che la Zecca inviava alle officine, come controllo di ogni emissione, tre esemplari: quello esatto, il forte e il debole.

Dato di fatto che conforta l'attuale metodo di controllo dei dati ponderali, che sostituisce al valore medio, il massimo, il minimo ed il punto di concentrazione.

³⁰ Si veda innanzi a pag. 581-82.

nella stessa preparazione dei pesi, affidata alla iniziativa individuale dell'artigiano, non sempre ufficialmente verificati e nati, comunque, grazie al controllo diretto tra due pesi equivalenti, controllo attuato con bilance la cui precisione dovette essere di necessità soltanto approssimata.

Si aggiunga a questo, e tale osservazione ha un notevolissimo valore, che noi ci varremo della norma, che stiamo proponendo, per controllare materiale ponderale non omogeneo, nè per provenienza, nè per cronologia, ma al contrario raccolto in località varie e, soprattutto, appartenente a tempi differenti. In tali condizioni le differenze fra esemplari di una stessa frazione ponderale possono in parte esser dovute all'avvicinamento inconsapevole di pesi, originariamente usati in zone o tempi differenti e quindi realmente estranei l'uno all'altro perchè inquadrati ognuno in una propria scala di valori, sostanzialmente simile bensì, ma alterata per condizioni diverse e contingenti.

Stabiliti questi punti continuiamo ora la nostra indagine per vedere se realmente il piede base di gr. 5-5,90 circa, la cui realtà è stata già ampiamente controllata nella monetazione e che si è dimostrato, anche nei pesi, termine di una scala di valori ponderali organizzata in progressione geometrica, può esser valido a raccogliere e riordinare un gruppo, almeno, degli antichi pesi recuperati: una volta individuato quindi un filone concreto ed evidente, vedremo fin dove ci sarà possibile seguirlo nel tempo e nello spazio.

La scelta del materiale su cui provare il nostro metodo o, se si preferisce, la nostra norma ci è stata suggerita da criteri pratici immediati, dal fatto, cioè, che abbiamo potuto disporre, senza particolari ricerche, di una notevole raccolta documentaria nei dati presentati nella voce "Gewichte" dal "Reallexicon der Vorgeschichte" dello Ebert.³¹

Come è noto la voce, che si è rivelata di preziosa utilità, fu compilata da studiosi differenti, il cui contributo è particolarmente utilizzabile lì dove essi hanno rinunciato ad ogni tentativo di teorizzazione per darci invece il valore analitico dei pesi recuperati, allo stato grezzo per così dire. A tale criterio si sono attenuti

³¹ In questo lavoro di sondaggio, in cui preme accertare soprattutto l'esistenza di un "principio" teorico, la raccolta citata è già sufficiente perchè ci pone contro a un complesso di varie centinaia di pesi. E' però anche da osservare che, mentre uno studio più ampio, ove la tesi in esame si dimostrasse fondata, dovrebbe presupporre lo spoglio sistematico del materiale ponderale eventualmente recuperato nelle varie località dalle missioni di scavo, con l'utilizzazione soprattutto dei dati di rinvenimento, un primo esame sommario, dato alle varie relazioni non sembra prospettare grandi possibilità nuove.

particolarmente lo Unger ed il Thomsen, che, peraltro, ci hanno presentati i due settori più ricchi e, nel loro interesse, più importanti, del materiale raccolto in Mesopotamia e negli scavi di Palestina-Siria.

Nell'una e nell'altra zona il valore di 5-5,90 è non solo immediatamente controllabile, ma anche dà luogo alla possibilità di isolare agevolmente tutto un gruppo di pesi secondo la scala di frazioni che per esso individuiamo.

Ne diamo i risultati nella bella C alligata a questo studio con una duplice avvertenza: la prima, che una volta estratti dal materiale grezzo i pesi che risalgono al nostro piede base o, se si vuole, al sistema ponderale cui esso si rifà, anche i rimanenti pesi che ora non riproduciamo possono essere riportati a sistemi ponderali analogamente costruiti, in progressione geometrica cioè, su valori base differenti e tuttavia storicamente già noti e bene individuabili.³²

La seconda, che presentiamo in questo studio solo gli elementi risultanti dall'ambiente palestinese e questo non perchè essi non siano riscontrabili anche in Mesopotamia o altrove, ma solo perchè, in questo ambiente, si presentano nella forma più semplice e semplificatrice. Sul quadro mesopotamico ci proponiamo di tornare altrove, quando questi primi risultati sieno già passati per un vaglio critico e quando sia possibile quindi affrontare, su basi più solide, i suoi complessi ed interessantissimi problemi.

Il quadro dei pesi recuperati in Palestina, a Megiddo e a Gezer soprattutto,³³ oltre che, in minor misura, in località diverse, ci dà modo infatti di accertare che in questo ambiente, come già avevamo intraveduto a Cipro,³⁴ coesistevano sistemi di peso differenti, talora anche collegati l'uno all'altro attraverso particolari frazioni con rapporti che possiamo riconoscere. Tale situazione comune a diversi ambienti del mondo antico,³⁵ controllata a Cipro grazie al gruppo degli

³² Ritroviamo, infatti, in essi, con altri, i due valori ponderali individuati negli anelli di Cipro, e cioè il valore ponderale di gr. 7,50 circa e quello di 9.

³³ Il carattere esplorativo della attuale ricerca ci ha indotto a non tentare una suddivisione del materiale per tipi di pesi, o per strati di scavo, per desumerne possibili elementi storici.

D'altro canto, non sembra che una reale diversità risulti fra il materiale dei vari strati.

³⁴ La posizione geografica della Palestina, che le assegnò funzione di transito nel Medio Oriente e ne fece zona di confluenza e di contatti militari, o commerciali, in ogni tempo, giustifica pienamente questo dato di fatto, così come per Cipro, tappa fondamentale dall'Oriente verso il mondo Egeo. Il quadro, evidentemente, potrà essere precisato con l'esame del materiale dei più recenti scavi a Cipro stesso e ad Ugarit, ma questo ci porterebbe già nel vivo del problema storico, che non vogliamo toccare in questa sede, in cui preme soltanto prospettare i nuovi eventuali strumenti di future indagini.

³⁵ Cfr. Breglia, *Le antiche rotte*, passim e in questa stessa nota a pag. 668 la coniazione di Cresio.

anelli, ed ora in Palestina nella documentazione ponderale, è quindi fenomeno, a ben vedere, diffuso e comune al mondo antico. Nei primi sondaggi, infatti, ancora troppo immaturi perchè li presentiamo, ci si svela analoga anche negli altri settori del mondo orientale: in Mesopotamia, come si è accennato, in Egitto, nonchè a Creta. Cambia naturalmente il numero ed il tipo dei fattori, così come la loro dosatura, ed è proprio l'accertamento di quest'ultimo dato di fatto la meta più interessante delle indagini future, in quanto ravviva la ricerca, divenuta metodo meccanico, col nuovo sapore del contenuto storico, nello stesso tempo controllandone e convalidandone le possibili ricostruzioni. Tralasciando ora ancora questo campo di interessi rileviamo che in Palestina, a parte la possibilità di individuare e classificare tutto un gruppo di pesi, risultato interessante, ma a ben vedere limitato al settore metrologico, abbiamo appunto la possibilità di dare una prima convalida alla nostra indagine.

Nel materiale, infatti, già il Thomsen ha tentato un primo accostamento (che viene a coincidere col nostro) grazie ad alcuni pesi di diversa provenienza ma riaccostabili in virtù dei segni di valore che li contraddistinguono. Ne trascriviamo l'elenco ed il quadro ricostruito dal Thomsen³⁶ integrandolo con le provenienze.

Provenienze – riferimento bibliografico – valore – segno di valore

Gezer	VIII n. 101	11,30	8I = 1 × 11,30
„	VIII „ 102	11,375	8I = 1 × 11,375
„	VIII „ 104	22,50	8II = 2 × 11,25
Gerusalemme	III „ 1	24,50	8II = 2 × 12,25
Schephela Hügel	V „ 5	44,60	8V = 4 × 11,15
„ „	V „ 4	45,50	8V = 4 × 11,375
Gerusalemme	III „ 2	46,00	8V = 4 × 11,50
„	IV „ 1	90,86	8L = 8 × 11,36
Gezer	VIII „ 106	91,47	8J = 8 × 11,43
Schephela Hügel	V „ 6	93,00	8J = 8 × 11,43
Gezer	VIII „ 105	94,60	8J = 8 × 11,82

L'interesse della tabella rispetto ai risultati da noi proposti è evidentissimo. Ammesso l'accostamento Thomsen col segno 8 uguale all'unità, il segno V uguale a 4, e quelli J e L pari ad 8, le iscrizioni, in rapporto al peso, ci confermano: anzitutto il criterio del raddoppiamento posto a base del sistema; in secondo luogo gli sbalzi che si verificano, senza esser normalmente registrati, tra pesi teoricamente

³⁶ *Reallexicon*, loc. cit., pag. 315.

uguali; in terzo luogo l'accrescersi degli scarti tra peso e peso, inevitabile conseguenza del criterio di frazionamento del sistema.

La legittimità del nostro metodo di ricerca risulterebbe quindi confermata in pieno e, pertanto, altrettanto legittima ci sembra l'applicazione di esso anche a quei pesi pei quali non abbiamo indicazione di valore ma che, attraverso le successive riduzioni per metà, ci riportano allo stesso valore base di gr. 5-5,90 circa.

Ai risultati, che collimano coi nostri, la tabella del Thomsen aggiunge inoltre delle precisazioni; che, cioè, almeno in ambiente palestinese, l'indice del piede base è piuttosto alto, perchè va da un minimo di 5,62 ad un massimo di 5,91, col valore eccezionale di 6,12,³⁷ e che, almeno in Palestina, unità del sistema ponderale è considerato il valore di 11,15-11,82 e non quello di 5,62-5,91 che ne rappresenta invece la metà³⁸ e che è stato il punto di partenza della ricerca nostra.

Se ci rifacciamo agli inizi dell'attuale studio, noi lo ritroveremo, infatti, insieme ai due quesiti di carattere storico che intorno ad esso formulammo: perchè esso costituì, cioè, uno dei valori base nella monetazione persiana, come già prima in quella lidia, e quale è, nel tempo, il primo periodo in cui compare ed al quale possiamo risalire, il primo ambiente cui, attualmente, ci sembra di poter collegare la sua origine.

La risposta che stiamo per dare a questi quesiti è ipotetica, così come ipotetico è tutto questo nostro studio, a quanto non ripeteremo mai abbastanza. Ma, come si è visto, i nessi sono troppi, già attualmente, perchè i risultati, sia pure ipotetici, possano essere taciuti, così come troppo allettanti ci appaiono le attuali conclusioni perchè possiamo rinunciare a prospettarle, una volta che abbiamo svelate le incertezze e le possibili insidie che in esse si annidano tuttora.

Diciamo subito che il materiale su cui le fondiamo è tutt'altro che ignoto agli studiosi poichè è costituito da barre di metallo – elettro e argento – provenienti da Troia II. La prima notizia ne fu data dallo Schliemann, che le descrive accuratamente, e ad esso rimandiamo riportandone qui soltanto i dati ponderali, che sono i seguenti.

Dal gran tesoro di Troia II proviene un gruppo, rinvenuto in un pacchetto, di

³⁷ Tale valore è, nel gruppo, chiaramente eccezionale, tuttavia non basta da solo ad infirmare la tabella dei rapporti ove si pensi che nella serie delle monete di Himera (cfr. Cahn, *Naxos*, loc. cit.) abbiamo un esemplare del peso massimo di gr. 6,20.

³⁸ Questo dato di fatto sembrerebbe confermato dalla testimonianza di un peso del British Museum, di probabile provenienza mesopotamica (cfr. Segré, *op. cit.*, pag. 178, n. 22), in forma d'anatra. Esso infatti è contrassegnato da 2 tratti e pesa gr. 21,36; rappresenta quindi 2 unità di gr. 10,68.

6 barre di argento, linguiformi,³⁹ successivamente affidate al Museo preistorico di Berlino e che nella pesatura dello Schliemann presentano i seguenti pesi rispettivi: gr. 171; 173; 173; 174; 182,20; 189,20. Tali pesi furono successivamente corretti, in una pesatura, presumibilmente più precisa, dal Regling⁴⁰ ai cui dati ci atteniamo trascrivendoli: 170; 170,80; 172,30; 173,90; 182,70; 189,20. Tutti questi pesi, se analizzati in divisioni successive per metà, ci riportano al valore base di gr. 5,30-5,90 circa.

Allo stesso valore ponderale, pari a gr. 5,40, ci riporta la barra di elettro di 87 grammi rinvenuta nel tesoro C della stessa Troia ed attualmente conservata nel Museo di Costantinopoli, così come allo stesso piede base, leggermente indebolito, ci riporta un secondo gruppo di barre di elettro proveniente dallo stesso tesoro C di Troia.⁴¹

Delle 16 barre, analoghe e presumibilmente uguali, siamo in grado di riportare il peso, relativamente ai 5 esemplari che il Regling potette studiarne nel Museo preistorico di Berlino: essi sono i seguenti: 10,50; 10,42; 10,42; 10,22; 9,89. Questa volta il riconoscimento è immediato e l'indice è più basso perchè si muove tra 5,25 e 5,11 con un valore minimo da considerare eccezionale di 4,93.⁴²

La documentazione ponderale di Troia II, databile pertanto alla fine del III millennio a.C.,⁴³ ci presenta un indice che si differenzia solo di venti o trenta centigrammi da quella, sensibilmente più tarda, della Palestina e lo stesso distacco presenta con quella della monetazione, tanto posteriore, di Lidia e Persia. Ma l'interesse non si ferma nell'accertamento di questa millenaria continuità, dato

³⁹ Schliemann, *Ilios*, 1885, pag. 591 segg., n. 851-56; Regling, *loc. cit.*, pag. 232, entrambe con bibliografia precedente e riferimenti al passo biblico: Giosuè VII, 21, 24, in cui è ricordata una "lingua aurea".

⁴⁰ Regling, *loc. cit.*

⁴¹ Schliemann, *op. cit.*, pag. 613, n. 885, e pag. 625, n. 939-41; Regling, *loc. cit.*, che le riporta coi numeri di inventario (6009-6013) loro dati dal Forrer in *Lothr. Jahrbuch*, 18 (1906), pag. 1-77.

⁴² La deflessione nel peso è spiegabile pel fatto che le barre sono segnate da intagli regolari, che preludono al loro spezzettamento, e che evidentemente hanno portato lievi perdite di metallo. Indipendentemente da questo, anche tale valore minimo potrebbe trovare, come si è visto, nella documentazione monetale esaminata, il suo riscontro.

⁴³ Non può portare conseguenze a questo studio l'attuale discrepanza tra gli studiosi sull'appartenenza o meno del tesoro allo strato di Troia II o a quello di Troia III (Schaeffer, *Stratigraphie comparée et chronologie de l'Asie Occidentale*, 1948, pag. 226 segg.), mentre è piuttosto da considerare che, accanto a questi elementi, lo scavo non ha dato altra documentazione ponderale significativa, nè fra il materiale dello Schliemann, nè negli scavi recentissimi del Blegen, Rapporti preliminari in *AJA*, 1934-1937, e *Troy* (Princeton, 1950). E' notevole altresì che, se realmente il materiale esaminato riflette sia pure elasticamente, un sistema ponderale, esso ci risulta non nella documentazione diretta dei pesi, ma già nella sua applicazione ai metalli in uso.

di fatto che, come principio generico, è già noto,⁴⁴ ma risiede soprattutto nella particolarità dell'isolamento di questo piede ponderale nello scavo, pur così ricco, dello Schliemann.

Mentre come si è visto,⁴⁵ altrove la documentazione ponderale è ovunque composita, anche se muta il numero e il rapporto dei fattori componenti, nella Troade, infatti, il sistema ponderale basato sul valore di 5-5,90 circa si presenterebbe, almeno in questo più antico periodo (2350-2100) isolatamente.

E' evidente che le conclusioni basate sul principio della mancanza di documentazione sono sempre in sè pericolose e di carattere ancora più provvisorio degli altri dati cui normalmente ricorriamo, è altresì evidente che le nostre conclusioni, via via che arretriamo nel tempo divengono più labili, soprattutto quando assumono valore generico e non puntualizzato su particolari avvenimenti o ambienti, pei quali si goda di eccezionali e specifiche documentazioni. Ma, premesse queste riserve e limitazioni, la particolarità in sè ci sembra di notevole interesse, perchè verrebbe a rispondere, se confermata, ad entrambi i quesiti da cui siamo partiti: i motivi cioè che avrebbero giustificata la presenza del piede di gr. 5-5,90 nella monetazione di Lidia e Persia, con la sua costanza nella monetazione persiana da un lato e dall'altro la possibile origine, forse, oltre che l'antichità del peso.

Noi saremmo in grado, cioè, di dire, e credo che comunque questo risultato sia accettabile, che Creso e Dario avrebbero adottato questo valore ponderale per le loro valute rispettive, perchè esso era uno dei più antichi, se non il più antico, localmente in uso, perchè, in ogni modo, era agganciato alla regione microasiatica da tradizione millenaria.

Analogamente l'isolamento di questo valore ponderale nella documentazione dello scavo Schliemann potrebbe indurci a ritenere che la Troade, o il mondo microasiatico, fu la patria di origine di tale valore ponderale. Risultato che sarebbe tanto più allettante per il fatto che la documentazione che ce lo presenta è costituita da metalli preziosi, ed in tal modo il peso stesso si dimostrerebbe fondamentalmente legato al commercio dei metalli, ma risultato che non sentiamo di poter presentare ancora con la necessaria stabilizzazione.

I risultati tuttavia cui saremmo giunti: reale esistenza di un sistema ponderale fondato sul valore di gr. 5-5,90 circa e sua struttura; sua continuità nelle monetazioni successive; possibilità di seguirne all'indietro l'esistenza fino alla seconda metà del III millennio almeno; conferma di una sua larga ambientazione nella

⁴⁴ Cfr. Segré, *op. cit.*, pag. 107 segg.

⁴⁵ Si veda precedentemente a pag. 679.

zona egeo-anatolica, ci sembrano peraltro già così notevoli da doverli render noti, anche per poterli approfondire se gli studi ulteriori potranno confermarne l'esattezza. Ad essi, quindi, il compito di controllare e, successivamente, la facoltà di estenderli, sviluppandone, sul piano storico, le non poche conseguenze e possibilità di contributo.

APPENDICE

Tabella A

Tabella ponderale relativa alle monetazioni della prima fase di emissione delle città calcedesi di Sicilia, ottenuta con la sintesi degli elementi, analiticamente presentati per ogni serie, da H. A. Cahn, *Die Münzen der sizilischen Stadt Naxos* pag. 74-5.

Grammi Numero degli esemplari

4,60	1
4,65	
4,70	2
4,75	4
4,80	2
4,85	5
4,90	3
4,95	3
5,00	4
5,05	4
5,10	5
5,15	4
5,20	3
5,25	2
5,30	7
5,35	5
5,40	9
5,45	8
5,50	17
5,55	21
5,60	20
5,65	23
5,70	22
5,75	15
5,80	9
5,85	9
5,90	3
5,95	2

Totale - 212

Dati riassuntivi:

Su 212 esemplari	peso minimo	4,60
	peso massimo	5,95
	punto di concentrazione	5,40-5,85

N.B. Dalla nostra tabella sono stati eliminati, come evidentemente anomali e comunque legati a fenomeni contingenti delle due città, il massimo di 6,20 ed il minimo di 4,50 (e meno) registrati dal Cahn rispettivamente per Himera (1 es.) e Zancle (3 es.).

Tabella B

Tabella ponderale riportata da S.P.Noë, *Two Hoards of Persian Sigloi, NNM*, No. 136 (New York, 1956), p. 42, che la ricostruisce in base al materiale — mezze creseidi e sicli — incluso nei ripostigli da lui editi.

La prima colonna dà i valori ponderali, calcolati di cinque in cinque centigrammi la seconda il numero delle mezze creseidi che incidono su ogni frazione ponderale, la terza colonna il numero dei sicli, indipendentemente dalle loro suddivisioni nei due ripostigli.

<i>valori ponderali</i>	<i>creseidi (metà)</i>	<i>sicli</i>
4,68		1
5,09		2
5,10-5,14		1
5,15-5,19	1	1
5,20-5,24	8	5
5,25-5,29	25	17
5,30-5,34	80	151
5,35-5,39	84	217
5,40-5,44	10	58
5,45-5,49	4	41
5,50-5,54		76
5,55-5,59		85
5,60-5,64		34
5,65-5,69		5
Totale dei pezzi: 212		694

Dati riassuntivi

Creseidi (metà) su 212 esemplari	peso minimo	5,15
	peso massimo	5,49
	punto di concentrazione	5,20-5,44 ¹
Sicli su 786 esemplari	peso minimo	4,68
	peso massimo	5,69
	punto di concentrazione	5,25-5,64 ²

¹ Da Regling (*Klio*, 1912, p. 104) minimo 4,45, massimo 5,45, punto di concentrazione ricavabile: 5,25-5,40 (su 81 esemplari)

² Da Regling (*op. cit.* pag. 106 segg.) minimo 4,23 (esemplari isolati fino a 2,93) massimo 5,88, punto di concentrazione 5,23-5,70 (su 508 esemplari).

Tabella C

Piede di gr. 5,00-5,90

Tabella ponderale ricostruita attraverso il materiale presentato dal Thomsen voce Gewicht, in Ebert, *Reallexicon der Vorgeschichte*, che lo raccoglie dalle relazioni delle campagne di scavo condotte in località varie della Palestina.

I numeri della prima e dell'ultima colonna rappresentano le scale ponderali teoricamente ricostruite col principio del raddoppiamento progressivo, sui valori minimi e massimi che le monete permettono di dare al piede di gr. 5,40-5,70; i numeri della colonna centrale rendono invece i valori ponderali dei pesi presentati dal Thomsen.

QUADRO I - GEZER

2,50....2,83	2,95
5,00....5,20 - 5,25 - 5,49 - 5,52 - 5,58 - 5,77 - 5,78 - 5,78	5,90
10,00....10,07 - 10,15 - 10,18 - 10,21 - 10,22 - 11,30 - 11,37 - 11,40	11,80
20,00....20,03 - 21,48 - 22,28 - 22,40 - 22,50 - 23,02 - 23,24 - 23,29	23,60
40,00....41,75 - 42,52 - 43,67 - 43,75 - 44,90 - 44,92 - 45,90 - 45,43 - 47,40	47,20
80,00....88,30 - 89,50 - 90,58 - 91,35 - 91,39 - 91,47 - 92,65 - 93,45 - 93,69 - 94,60 ..	94,40
160,00....167,40 - 170,28 - 182,75 - 187,61	188,80
Totale: 48 pesi in 7 frazioni	

QUADRO II - MEGIDDO

2,50....2,75	2,95
5,00....5,00 - 5,00 - 5,75 - 5,75	5,90
10,00....10,25 - 10,50 - 10,50 - 10,50 - 10,50 - 10,50 - 11,25 - 11,75 - 11,75 - 11,75 - 11,75 - 11,75	11,80
20,00....20,50 - 20,75 - 21,75 - 22,25 - 22,50 - 22,50	23,60
40,00....40,00 - 41,00 - 43,00 - 43,25 - 45,00 - 47,00	47,20
80,00....80,00 - 87,00 - 90,00 - 91,75 - 92,50	94,40
160,00	188,80
320,00	377,60
640,00	755,20
1280,00	1510,00
2560,00...-2775	3020,00
5120,00...-5575	6041,00
Totale: 35 pesi in 8 frazioni	

Piede di gr. 5,00 - 5,90

QUADRO III - PALESTINA - LOCALITÀ VARIE - THOMSEN: GRUPPI II-III-IV-V e X

2,50....2,54	2,95
5,00....5,18 - 5,85 - 5,87	5,90
10,00....9,998 - 10,04 - 10,21 - 10,67 - 11,53	11,80
20,00....20,09 - 22,33	23,60
40,00....44,60 - 45,00 - 45,36 - 45,50 - 46,00 - 47,00	47,20
80,00....88,00 - 90,00 - 90,86 - 91,50 - 93,00	94,40
160,00....187,34	188,80
320,00....367,68 - 369,23	377,60
Totale 25 pesi in 8 frazioni.	

CHEMICAL COMPOSITION OF ALEXANDRIAN TETRADRACHMS

EARLE R. CALEY

The many results of assays and determinations of the silver content of Alexandrian tetradrachms which have been published by Dattari¹ and others provide fairly adequate information about the fineness of the coins of this important class, but the results of chemical analyses do not provide adequate, or even reliable, information about their composition in general. Many of these analyses are incomplete or otherwise unsatisfactory, as readily becomes apparent from even a cursory examination of the available data, which are listed in Table I. Certain elements, which in all likelihood were present, either were not sought or were missed by the chemists who made some of these analyses. For example, the absence of both gold and lead in determinable proportions in Coins 1 to 4 inclusive, with their relatively high silver content, is very improbable, as is also the absence of determinable proportions of nickel in these coins generally, and especially in those of higher copper content. The deficient totals of some of these analyses may

¹ G. Dattari, *RIN*, XVI (1903), pp. 11-35, 263-331, is the principal source of such information. Other authors, such as A. von Rauch, *ZfN*, I (1874), p. 38, give only one or two results. A few of the original results are cited by J. Hammer, *Der Feingehalt der griechischen und römischen Münzen* (Diss. Tübingen, 1906), pp. 113-114, and many by G. Mickwitz, *Geld und Wirtschaft im römischen Reich* (Helsingfors, 1932), pp. 40-41. The most complete summary of these results is given by L. C. West and A. C. Johnson, *Currency in Roman and Byzantine Egypt* (Princeton, 1944), pp. 172-173.

indicate incomplete or inaccurate analysis, or they may indicate that corroded coins, not truly representative of the composition of the original coins, were taken for analysis. The results for No. 9 are definitely known, for example, not to represent the composition of the original alloy, since this coin was extensively corroded throughout. Aside from these technical defects, the previous analyses are inadequate because the coins that were analyzed are not representative of the series as a whole.

TABLE I

PREVIOUS ANALYSES OF ALEXANDRIAN TETRADRACHMS

<i>Coin</i> No.	<i>Silver</i> %	<i>Gold</i> %	<i>Copper</i> %	<i>Tin</i> %	<i>Lead</i> %	<i>Iron</i> %	<i>Nickel</i> %	<i>Zinc</i> %	<i>Total</i> %
1	61.08	—	32.35	6.43	—	trace	—	—	99.86
2	54.58	—	43.35	1.18	—	trace	—	—	99.11
3	35.20	—	61.66	2.14	—	trace	—	—	99.00
4	28.72	—	69.37	1.63	—	trace	—	—	99.72
5	39.48	0.54	57.69	—	0.71	0.11	—	—	99.44
6	17.30	0.22	82.13	0.06	0.08	none	trace	none	99.84
7	18.60	—	79.90	trace	—	0.10	—	—	99.09
8	15.53	trace	81.00	1.74	0.13	0.08	none	none	98.48
9	22.53	trace	75.29	0.46	0.20	0.05	none	none	98.53
10	3.81	—	89.51	2.76	—	—	—	2.65	98.73
11	2.75	0.03	92.27	3.93	1.03	—	—	—	100.01
12	2.20	0.03	89.43	3.78	3.28	—	—	1.28	100.00
13	2.10	0.04	86.79	2.44	8.63	—	—	—	100.00
14	1.81	—	91.38	3.85	—	—	—	2.89	99.93
15	none	—	71.18	4.95	22.84	0.15	none	0.11	99.23

Notes to Table I

- a. Nos. 1 to 4, inclusive, were coins of Tiberius which weighed 5.90, 9.26, 9.50, and 12.62 grams, respectively. The analyses were published by J. G. Milne, *NC*, Ser. IV, X (1910), p. 336.
- b. No. 5 was a coin of Tiberius of the Year 7, and of the type listed as no. 36 in *BMC, Alexandria*. Its weight was 9.85 grams. The analysis was done at the Chemical Institute of the University of Leipzig and was published by W. Giesecke, *Das Ptolemäergeld* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1930), p. 94. The summation includes 0.91% of other components, which are given as calcium, 0.22%, chlorine, 0.69%, silica, a trace, and phosphate, a trace.

- c. No. 6 was a coin of Claudius of the Year 5, and of the type listed as no. 74 in *BMC, Alexandria*. It weighed 10.4 grams and had a diameter of 23 to 25 millimeters. This coin was submitted to the author for analysis by Dr. L. C. West. The bulk of the analysis was done by a student, W. M. Sinclair, working under the author's direction. The figures shown, except for the summation, are the averages of separate analyses of two parts of the coin. The summation includes 0.05% of arsenic. A trace of sulfur was also present. The result for the silver content was previously published by L. C. West and A. C. Johnson, *Currency in Roman and Byzantine Egypt*, p. 172.
- d. No. 7 was a coin of Nero of the Year 11, and of the type listed as no. 165 in *BMC, Alexandria*. Its weight was 12.91 grams. The analysis was done at the Chemical Institute of the University of Leipzig and was published by W. Giesecke, *Das Ptolemäergeld*, p. 94. The summation includes 0.49% of other components, which are given as calcium, 0.21%, chlorine, 0.17%, silica, 0.11%, and phosphate, a trace.
- e. Nos. 8 and 9 were coins of Vespasian of the Year 2 and of the type listed as no. 393 in J. G. Milne, *Catalogue of Alexandrian Coins* (Oxford, 1933). No. 8 weighed 12.26 grams, but no. 9 had the unusually low weight of 7.06 grams because of extensive internal corrosion. Both had a diameter of 24 to 25 millimeters. These coins were analyzed by W. H. Deebel and the results were published by E. R. Caley, *Chemical Composition of Parthian Coins*, *NNM*, No. 129, (New York, 1955), p. 60.
- f. No. 10 was a coin of Claudius II. The analysis is cited by J. Hammer, *Der Feingehalt der griechischen und römischen Münzen*, p. 114.
- g. Nos. 11, 12, and 13 represent coins of Claudius II of the Years 1, 2, and 3, respectively. The samples prepared for analysis were actually composites consisting of 12 coins of each year. The analyses were published by A. Markl, *NZ*, XXXIII (1901), p. 54.
- h. No. 14 was a coin of Diocletian. The analysis is cited by J. Hammer, along with that of no. 10.
- i. No. 15 was a coin of Diocletian of the Years 6 and of the type listed as no. 2500 in *BMC, Alexandria*. It was analyzed by W. F. Brazener and the results were published by R. Mond and O. H. Myers, *The Bucheum* (London, 1934), Vol. I, p. 120.

Since no chemical analyses have been made of coins of the emperors between Vespasian and Claudius II, no information has been available on the composition of the tetradrachms of a large and important part of the series. These various deficiencies of previous analyses seem sufficient to justify the present publication of a series of new analyses of Alexandrian tetradrachms.

Descriptive information about the coins that were analyzed is shown in Table II. Some of the coins were low in weight because of wear or mechanical damage, but not because of internal corrosion. All were sufficiently legible for positive identification. The numbers in the last column refer to the serial numbers in J. G. Milne, *Catalogue of Alexandrian Coins*.

The samples of metal for analysis were prepared by filing away the outside metal from about half of each coin until the exposed metal appeared to be homogeneous and free from corrosion products. The clean metal was then divided into four pieces which weighed about a gram each. Two of these pieces were each analyzed for silver, gold, copper, tin, lead, iron, nickel, and zinc. Sometimes the remaining pieces were used for confirmatory determinations. The analytical procedure that was used has previously been outlined.² All these analyses were executed under the direction of the author by Mr. David F. Desmond as an essential part of a thesis submitted for the degree Master of Science at The Ohio State University.

TABLE II

LIST OF COINS ANALYZED

<i>Coin No.</i>	<i>Emperor</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Diameter Millimeters</i>	<i>Weight Grams</i>	<i>Milne No.</i>
1	Claudius	3	21-23	10.8	84-86
2	Nero	5	24-25	11.2	186
3	Nero	13	22-24	12.2	248
4	Galba	1	24-26	10.3	310
5	Vespasian	2	23-25	9.7	393-394
6	Hadrian	5	22-23	12.0	980
7	Hadrian	9	23-25	10.9	1097
8	Antonius Pius	5	22	12.6	1704
9	Commodus	22	24	13.1	2633
10	Commodus	30	24-26	12.2	2694
11	Commodus	30	23	8.9	2696
12	Maximinus	4	24-25	11.9	3278
13	Aurelian	4	18-19	7.2	4391-4392
14	Aurelian	4	20	9.9	4398

The results of the analyses are shown in Table III. Each figure in the table is an average of two closely agreeing determinations, with the exception, of course, of the totals. The closeness of these totals to 100.00% indicates that the analyses were very nearly complete. However, very small amounts of nonmetallic impuri-

² E. R. Caley, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-7.

ties, such as oxygen, were probably present in most of the coins, and very small amounts of metallic impurities, such as antimony, were probably also present in some of them. In view of the probable presence of these undetermined components, perhaps amounting to as much as 0.10% in total proportion, the average total of 99.88% seems very satisfactory.

TABLE III

NEW ANALYSES OF ALEXANDRIAN TETRADRACHMS

<i>Coin No.</i>	<i>Silver %</i>	<i>Gold %</i>	<i>Copper %</i>	<i>Tin %</i>	<i>Lead %</i>	<i>Iron %</i>	<i>Nickel %</i>	<i>Zinc %</i>	<i>Total %</i>
1	23.04	0.14	76.26	0.14	0.28	0.03	0.02	0.02	99.93
2	18.08	0.14	81.38	0.08	0.14	0.06	0.04	0.04	99.96
3	18.09	0.12	80.58	0.06	0.47	0.55	0.03	0.02	99.92
4	16.83	0.10	82.53	0.12	0.18	0.06	0.03	0.09	99.94
5	17.62	0.07	81.75	0.12	0.14	0.08	0.02	0.08	99.88
6	15.62	0.14	83.90	0.03	0.05	0.05	0.02	0.09	99.90
7	16.32	0.09	83.15	0.07	0.10	0.05	0.03	0.08	99.89
8	18.07	0.07	81.28	0.02	0.17	0.09	0.04	0.06	99.80
9	7.58	0.11	90.87	0.26	0.50	0.25	0.12	0.09	99.78
10	11.21	0.05	87.58	0.32	0.52	0.08	0.10	0.04	99.90
11	3.91	0.05	94.99	0.25	0.47	0.06	0.06	0.06	99.85
12	6.88	0.06	92.14	0.13	0.32	0.07	0.29	0.03	99.92
13	1.37	0.04	88.96	3.47	5.35	0.10	0.06	0.44	99.79
14	1.43	0.05	90.18	3.08	4.70	0.11	0.05	0.26	99.86

Except for the radical decrease in silver content in the later coins, the corresponding increase in copper content, and the presence of much higher proportions of tin and lead in the two latest coins, a marked similarity in chemical composition is indicated by the results listed in Table III. In contrast to the reported findings of all previous analyses, gold, lead, iron, nickel, and zinc were each found to be present in all the coins, and very likely these same metals are always present in Alexandrian tetradrachms generally.

All, or nearly all, the gold found in these coins was very probably introduced as an impurity in the silver, as is usual in ancient silver coins. The general tendency of the gold content to decrease as the silver content decreases is an indication of

this association of the gold with the silver. Also indicative, perhaps, of this same association is the general similarity of the ratios of gold to silver in the coins of similar silver content, as is shown in Table IV. The considerably higher ratios in the tetradrachms of very low silver content (Nos. 13 and 14) would seem to indicate that some of the very small proportion of gold in these coins was introduced along with the metal used for debasement.

TABLE IV
RATIO OF GOLD TO SILVER IN ALEXANDRIAN TETRADRACHMS

<i>Coin No.</i>	<i>Silver %</i>	<i>Gold %</i>	<i>Ratio of Gold to Silver</i>
1	23.04	0.14	0.006
2	18.08	0.14	0.008
3	18.09	0.12	0.007
4	16.83	0.10	0.006
5	17.62	0.07	0.004
6	15.62	0.14	0.009
7	16.32	0.09	0.006
8	18.07	0.07	0.004
9	7.58	0.11	0.015
10	11.21	0.05	0.004
11	3.91	0.05	0.013
12	6.88	0.06	0.009
13	1.37	0.04	0.029
14	1.43	0.05	0.035

Much, and perhaps most, of the lead in the tetradrachms struck prior to the time of the radical decrease in silver content was associated with the silver as an impurity. The presence of lead as a usual impurity in ancient silver in general has been established by many analyses. The proportion of lead thus associated with the silver has been found to vary widely, in accordance apparently with the degree of care that was exercised in the cupellation of the argentiferous lead from which the refined silver was obtained. Therefore, the somewhat erratic variation in the percentages of lead, even in the coins of similar silver content, is not surprising. Some of this variation may be due to different proportions of lead being

associated with the copper as an impurity. Very little of the lead that occurs in relatively high proportion in the last two coins could have been associated with the silver. This lead was evidently introduced into the coinage alloy almost entirely from bronze used for debasement.

All, or nearly all, the tin, iron, nickel, and zinc found in these coins was very probably associated with the copper. Tin, nickel, and zinc are usually not present in any significant proportion in ancient silver of high fineness, though iron is sometimes present in very small proportion. Like the lead, the relatively high proportions of tin in the two latest coins must have come almost entirely from bronze. Although the iron, nickel, and zinc must be considered to be mere accidental impurities, some regularity in their proportions is evident. In the group of coins struck prior to the radical decreases in silver content, the proportion of nickel is fairly constant, and the proportion of zinc only a little less so. In the most debased coins the proportions of nickel and zinc are erratic, as might be expected.

Because of this association of the gold and much of the lead with the silver, and the tin, iron, nickel, and zinc with the copper, it is possible to estimate from the analytical data, by a method which has already been described,³ the probable composition of the copper that was originally alloyed with the silver in the preparation of the coinage metal from which these tetradrachms were struck, with the exception of the most debased coins. One uncertainty that arises here is the estimation of the proportion of lead that was associated with the silver and the proportion that was associated with the copper. In coins of very high fineness, all the lead is clearly associated with the silver, but as the fineness decreases there is an increasing probability that increasing proportions will be associated with the copper. The figures in Table V were calculated on the assumption that half the lead was associated with the silver and half with the copper. Trial calculations based on the assumptions that either one-fourth or three-fourths of the lead was associated with the copper gave figures that did not differ significantly from those shown in the table. The serial numbers of this table correspond to those of the coins that were analyzed. The general similarity of the calculated compositions in Table V is remarkable. This indicates that copper of nearly uniform quality was used over a long period, amounting apparently to some two centuries, in the manufacture of the special alloy for Alexandrian tetradrachms. For its time, the quality of this copper is remarkably high. In fact, metal of this quality is rarely encountered in actual copper objects of similar date, even in specimens of the *As*,

³ E. R. Caley, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-31.

which is said by some writers on ancient numismatics to have been struck in pure copper,⁴ though careful analyses show that this was never true. According to the results of such analyses,⁵ the proportion of copper in this coin does not reach 99.74%, the maximum listed in Table V. In the great majority of specimens the proportion falls below 99.30%, the average proportion of Table V, and in about half of them the proportion falls below the minimum of 98.90%.

TABLE V

PROBABLE COMPOSITION OF THE COPPER USED IN THE PREPARATION OF THE ALLOY
FOR ALEXANDRIAN TETRADRACHMS

<i>Serial No.</i>	<i>Copper %</i>	<i>Tin %</i>	<i>Lead %</i>	<i>Iron %</i>	<i>Nickel %</i>	<i>Zinc %</i>
1	99.54	0.18	0.18	0.04	0.03	0.03
2	99.64	0.10	0.09	0.07	0.05	0.05
3	98.90	0.07	0.29	0.68	0.04	0.02
4	99.53	0.14	0.11	0.07	0.04	0.11
5	99.55	0.15	0.08	0.10	0.02	0.10
6	99.74	0.04	0.04	0.06	0.02	0.10
7	99.66	0.08	0.06	0.06	0.04	0.10
8	99.64	0.02	0.11	0.11	0.05	0.07
9	98.94	0.28	0.27	0.27	0.13	0.10
10	99.09	0.36	0.29	0.09	0.11	0.05
11	99.30	0.26	0.25	0.06	0.06	0.06
12	99.27	0.14	0.17	0.08	0.31	0.03
Max.	99.74	0.36	0.29	0.68	0.31	0.11
Min.	98.90	0.02	0.04	0.04	0.02	0.03
Av.	99.30	0.15	0.16	0.14	0.08	0.07

⁴ E. g. G. F. Hill, *A. Handbook of Greek and Roman Coins* (London, 1899), p. 16. Such statements are apparently based on the analyses of Commaïlle, in which the copper content of some early specimens of this coin is given as 100.00%.

⁵ Analyses of 15 specimens of the *As* of high copper content published by E. von Bibra, *Die Bronzen und Kupferlegierungen der alten und ältesten Völker* (Erlangen, 1869), pp. 52-55; H. Mattingly, *BMCRE*, Vol. III, (London, 1936), p. xxii, and E. R. Caley, *Composition of Ancient Greek Bronze Coins* (Philadelphia, 1939), p. 107, show the following percentages in descending order: 99.65, 99.60, 99.24, 99.13, 99.05, 99.01, 98.98, 98.84, 98.53, 98.14, 97.94, 97.93, 97.90, 97.80, 97.62.

In general, the results show that the metal for Alexandrian tetradrachms over most of the period of issue was made by alloying nearly pure silver with nearly pure copper, by alloying a silver alloy prepared in this way with more copper of similar high quality, by remelting worn tetradrachms struck from metal originally prepared in either of these ways, or by some combination of these methods. The metal for Alexandrian tetradrachms during this period could not have been made by alloying silver with bronze, especially bronze of the composition used for the contemporaneous Alexandrian bronze coins, for these, as shown by the data of Table VI, usually contained high to moderate proportions of lead as well as moderate to low proportions of tin. In other words, the worn bronze coins were never melted with worn tetradrachms in the preparation of metal for the issue of new tetradrachms, except, perhaps, during the last part of the period of issue when the most debased tetradrachms were struck. The results of the analyses of coins 13 and 15 of Table I and 13 and 14 of Table III show that bronze from some source was used in making the metal for these extremely debased coins. Worn Alexandrian bronze coins may well have been the most convenient source.

The results for silver content listed in Table III provide, for much of the period of issue, more accurate and more comprehensive information on the fineness of Alexandrian tetradrachms than was available before. Aside from the frequent lack of description of the coins that were analyzed or assayed, the many results of separate determinations published by Dattari and others are somewhat inadequate because the weights of the coins taken for analysis or assay are not often given. About a third of the results published by Dattari are expressed as weights of silver without stating the weights of the coins, so that the corresponding percentages of silver are unknown. His other results are indeed expressed in percentages, but by reason of the lack of this same information the corresponding weights of silver in the coins are unknown. However, these unknown percentages or weights may be estimated with little likelihood of serious error from the average or normal weights⁶ of the tetradrachms of the several emperors. On the same basis, the weights of silver found in the coins analyzed in the present investigation may be corrected to the probable original weights.⁷

⁶ The best list of average weights, and the one used in the computations, is that published by L. C. West and A. C. Johnson, *op. cit.*, pp. 172-173.

⁷ Very exact weights that would have needed no correction could have been obtained, of course, if only uncirculated or extremely fine coins had been taken for analysis, but for obvious reasons such coins are rarely available as samples for the analyst.

TABLE VI

COMPOSITION OF SOME ALEXANDRIAN BRONZE COINS

<i>Coin No.</i>	<i>Emperor</i>	<i>Copper %</i>	<i>Tin %</i>	<i>Lead %</i>	<i>Iron %</i>	<i>Nickel %</i>	<i>Zinc %</i>	<i>Total %</i>
1	Claudius	83.70	4.63	10.65	0.16	—	0.24	99.38
2	Vespasian	72.40	6.68	20.10	0.28	—	0.24	99.70
3	Trajan	65.68	8.50	21.89	0.03	0.02	0.05	96.30
4	Hadrian	63.66	6.09	30.00	0.01	0.02	trace	100.00
5	Antoninus Pius	83.38	2.66	13.15	0.10	—	0.16	99.45

Notes to Table VI

Nos. 1, 2, and 5 were analyzed by W. F. Brazener and the results were published by R. Mond and O. H. Myers, *The Bucheum*, Vol. I, p. 119. Nos. 3 and 4 were analyzed by P. J. Elving and S. R. Ginsburg and the results were published by E. R. Caley, *The Composition of Ancient Greek Bronze Coins*, p. 101. The low summation of No. 3 is due to extensive oxidation.

Table VII was constructed largely on the basis of such estimates or corrections. It shows the silver content of those tetradrachms of which two or more examples from the issue of any one emperor have now been analyzed or assayed. A few of the published results have not been used in the construction of this table. According to the results of some assays as cited by Hammer,⁸ a large fraction of the tetradrachms of Claudius have been found to contain 25.1% of silver, but the proportions of silver in the other coins are not given, nor the number of coins of either sort analyzed. Hence, the results could not properly be used for the table. One high result for the silver content of a tetradrachm of Vespasian, listed as No. 9 of Table I, has not been used for a reason previously stated.

⁸ J. Hammer, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

TABLE VII

SILVER CONTENT OF ALEXANDRIAN TETRADRACHMS

<i>Emperor</i>	<i>No. of Coins Analyzed</i>	<i>Silver Content %</i>	<i>Silver Content Grams</i>
Tiberius	5	High = 61.1 Low = 28.7 Av. = 43.8	High = 5.06 Low = 3.34 Av. = 3.90
Claudius	2	High = 23.0 Low = 17.3 Av. = 20.2	High = 2.92 Low = 2.20 Av. = 2.56
Nero	8	High = 18.6 Low = 15.5 Av. = 17.4	High = 2.42 Low = 2.02 Av. = 2.27
Vespasian	4	High = 18.1 Low = 15.5 Av. = 17.3	High = 2.34 Low = 2.00 Av. = 2.24
Hadrian	6	High = 18.3 Low = 15.6 Av. = 16.7	High = 2.34 Low = 2.00 Av. = 2.14
Antoninus Pius	4	High = 18.3 Low = 14.2 Av. = 17.0	High = 2.32 Low = 1.82 Av. = 2.16
Marcus Aurelius	4	High = 16.0 Low = 4.0 Av. = 8.1	High = 1.98 Low = 0.50 Av. = 1.00
Commodus	6	High = 17.0 Low = 3.9 Av. = 11.6	High = 2.00 Low = 0.46 Av. = 1.37

TABLE VII (*Continued*)

<i>Emperor</i>	<i>No. of Coins Analyzed</i>	<i>Silver Content %</i>	<i>Silver Content Grams</i>
Septimius Severus	2	High = 10.7 Low = 9.5 Av. = 10.1	High = 1.24 Low = 1.10 Av. = 1.17
Severus Alexander	2	High = 6.0 Low = 5.6 Av. = 5.8	High = 0.73 Low = 0.68 Av. = 0.71
Maximinus	2	High = 6.9 Low = 5.0 Av. = 6.0	High = 0.86 Low = 0.62 Av. = 0.74
Gordian III	2	High = 6.5 Low = 5.5 Av. = 6.0	High = 0.81 Low = 0.68 Av. = 0.74
Claudius II	5	High = 3.8 Low = 2.1 Av. = 2.7	High = 0.37 Low = 0.20 Av. = 0.26
Aurelian	4	High = 2.1 Low = 1.4 Av. = 1.7	High = 0.19 Low = 0.13 Av. = 0.16
Diocletian	9	High = 1.8 Low = 0.0 Av. = 0.5	High = 0.13 Low = 0.00 Av. = 0.04

In general, the data in Table VII show that the silver content of Alexandriae tetradrachms fell by successive stages during the long period of issue until at the end the coins were completely debased. Since the coins issued under Tiberius

were largely experimental in character and the issue of the Alexandrian tetradrachm as a standardized coin really began with the reign of Claudius,⁹ the sharp drop in silver content immediately after the reign of Tiberius is perhaps not very significant. Nor does the small decrease in silver content from the coins of Claudius to those of Nero seem very significant. What is both significant and remarkable is the almost constant level of silver content, both by percentage and by weight, that was maintained in the Alexandrian tetradrachms from the reign of Nero to that of Antoninus Pius, inclusive, a period of issue that amounted to a century. The silver content of the coins of emperors of this long period other than those listed in Table VII, and of which only single coins have as yet been analyzed, is at this same level, as may be seen from Table VIII. The average proportion of silver in all the coins of this period that have so far been analyzed is 17.1%. In view of the considerable probability that some of these coins were appreciably corroded and that as a consequence the determined proportions of silver are a few tenths of a per cent above those originally present, the real average proportion in the coins as issued was very probably somewhere between 16.5% and 17.0%. To express it in another way, then, these coins contained on the average one-sixth of their weight of silver.

TABLE VIII

SILVER CONTENT OF SINGLE COINS OF CERTAIN EMPERORS

<i>Emperor</i>	<i>Silver</i> %	<i>Silver</i> <i>Grams</i>
Galba	16.8	2.16
Otho	16.4	2.07
Titus	16.2	2.13
Nerva	17.0	2.21
Trajan	17.4	2.21
Elagabalus	7.5	0.92
Gordian I	7.5	0.97
Philip	5.0	0.61
Trajan Decius	7.0	0.88
Gallienus	4.0	0.40

⁹ L. C. West and A. C. Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

In view of the common use of the one to six ratio in Greek monetary systems, specifically in the relationship of the obol to the drachm, the choice of this particular proportion is not surprising, and it certainly appears to have been intentional. The closeness of the extremes to the averages, as shown in Table VII, indicates that the control of metallurgical operations in the mint at Alexandria was remarkably good during the period when this standard proportion was maintained.

The first deviation from this long maintained standard proportion occurred during the reign of Marcus Aurelius, and there was little improvement during the reign of Commodus. Though some of the coins of both emperors still contained one-sixth of their weight of silver, others contained only about a fourth as much. Very likely the coins of higher fineness were struck from metal obtained by remelting worn coins of earlier reigns and those of lower fineness from newly made coinage alloy. Though the data in Table VII seem to indicate that there was some attempt at improvement during the reign of Septimius Severus, these data are derived from the examination of only two coins and could be misleading. However this may be, the coins of most of the emperors of the first half of the third century were obviously struck on a fairly uniform lower standard of fineness, as is shown by the relevant data in Tables VII and VIII. The average proportion of silver in all the coins of the period from Elagabalus to Trajan Decius, inclusive, that have so far been analyzed is 6.3%. To express it in another way, these coins contained on the average one-sixteenth of their weight of silver. Very soon after the middle of the third century the fineness of Alexandrian tetradrachms began to decline very rapidly, and the ultimate in debasement was reached during the reign of Diocletian when some of the coins contained no silver at all.

THE COINAGE AND CHRONOLOGY OF A.D. 238

R. A. G. CARSON

The second quarter of the third century A.D., when emperors rose and fell with bewildering rapidity, bristles with chronological difficulties. It is a period for which we possess almost no record of the exact dates of the reigns of the various emperors and, indeed, even contemporaries must have been confused by the overlaps occasioned by the co-existence for varying periods of both the recognised emperor and his challenger. The supreme example of these chaotic conditions is the year 238 which saw no less than six emperors of Rome, though fortunately there were never more than three holders of the title Augustus at any one given moment. Even from the accounts of the ancient historians, despite confusion in the sequence of events and in the names of the protagonists, there emerges with reasonable clarity the general picture of the happenings of the year.

At the beginning of 238 Maximinus, still sole emperor, was wintering at Sirmium in the Balkans. Sometime in early spring, however, Gordian, the proconsul of Africa, was acclaimed emperor and associated with himself as Augustus his son, Gordian the younger. Though defeated by Maximinus' procurator of Numidia after only a few weeks of reign, the Gordiani had been recognised as Augusti at Rome by a senate only too glad to throw off allegiance to Maximinus. When the news of their defeat and death reached Rome, the Senate, aware that the news of its support of the Gordians was already on its way to Maximinus, appointed two of their own number, Balbinus and Pupienus, as emperors to resist Maximinus. Gordian III, the grandson of the elder of the Gordians was, in response to popular

pressure, associated with them as Caesar. Maximinus marched into Italy but, delayed by the stubborn resistance of Aquileia, was assassinated by his army. The two senatorial emperors, were, however, murdered only some weeks later and Gordian III was acclaimed as Augustus, the sixth emperor of the year.

The detailed chronology of 238 cannot be reconstructed solely from the ancient accounts which report only the duration of reigns and produce figures which usually vary from account to account. Though there has been no lack of response to the challenge of the difficult chronology of this year,¹ it seems not inappropriate in a question where much of the evidence is numismatic to offer another solution here and to examine the pattern of coinage which fits the chronological scheme.

Not least of the difficulties in the present problem has been the establishment of a bracket of fixed dates before and after 238 covering a manageable period of time. The dates of the reign of Maximinus have not been well attested, for his *dies imperii* depended largely on a calculation forward from that of Severus Alexander.² Until quite recently this latter date also could be arrived at only by calculating from a variety of factors, but the *Feriale Duranum*, the calendar discovered in the excavations at Dura-Europos in 1931-2, contains the explicit entry that the *dies imperii* of Severus Alexander in 222 was *iii idus martius*, 13th March.³ The duration of the reign of Severus Alexander is, unfortunately, a shade less certain, but for once the *Historia Augusta* probably reports the exact truth. His reign is there given as 13 years and 9 days⁴ while Eutropius⁵ says 13 years and 8 days and Eusebius⁶ gives only the round figure of 13 years. The Chronographer of 354⁷ reports the reign as lasting 13 years, 8 months and 9 days, but as the extra 8 months would involve amongst other things a fifteenth year for Alexander at Alexandria which the coins show not to be so, these extra months can fairly safely be regarded as an intrusion. A reign of 13 years, 9 days is, then, vouched for with an unusual degree of unanimity. The assassination of Severus Alexander and the *dies imperii* of Maximinus, therefore, was 22nd March, 235.

¹ For details of earlier discussions of the problem see Prescott W. Townsend, "The Chronology of the year 238 A.D.", *Yale Classical Studies*, I, p. 232, n. 1. To this should be added the discussion by C. E. Van Sickle in *Classical Philology*, 1927, pp. 416-7, and 1929, pp. 285ff.

² *CIL*, VI, 2001 suggests that Maximinus was recognised at Rome on 25th March.

³ *Yale Classical Studies*, VII, p. 85.

⁴ *SHA*, 60.1.

⁵ 8.23.

⁶ *Hist. Eccl.* vi. 28.

⁷ *MGH Auct. Antiquiss.*, t. IX, p. 147.

It is now possible to establish one more or less accurate date in 238, for Herodian reports that Maximinus was completing his third year when the Gordiani revolted in Africa.⁸ The date, therefore, must be round about 22nd March, 238. This, then is the upper end of the date bracket for the events of 238 and the discussion must now move to the establishment of the other end of the bracket.

The lower end of the bracket is even further away for it is only with Philip's *dies imperii* in 244 that we again reach a date on which reliance can be placed. An altar dedication by soldiers of the Legio II Parthica, at the time in Italy, to the *Victoria Redux* of Philip bears the date 23rd July, 244.⁹ Although the date of the accession of Gordian III in 238 is a matter of controversy and will be fully discussed below, there is general agreement that it must fall between mid-summer and the end of July—beginning of August, 238. Both the Alexandrian coins and the record of the number of times the tribunician power was held make it clear that Gordian's reign lasted at least 5 full years and some part of a sixth year. Since Eusebius reports Gordian's reign as of six full years,¹⁰ it is unlikely that 23rd July, 238 on the altar dedication can refer to Philip's actual return to Rome or even that the news of his accession had been received in Rome by that date.

This date, 23rd July, might well be Philip's *dies imperii*, an explanation that does no violence to other known factors in the calculation of his regnal dates.¹¹ It would, however, be a gross example of the circular argument to proceed to the conclusion that Gordian III's date of succession in 238 was also 23rd July. This particular *dies imperii* is, in fact, the nodal point in the chronology of 238, for once this is established there is a reasonable amount of specific information from which other dates can be calculated.

Some space must first be devoted to the reckoning of dates in the reign of Gordian III, for these have a bearing on determining, to a degree, the conclusion of the reign at least. The problem is that presented by Gordian's tribunician dates for here the evidence of the coins and of inscriptions is at variance. From inscriptions it appears that the tribunician dating was employed in its usual way, that is that Gordian was TRP from his accession until the end of 238. From two

⁸ VII, 4.1.

⁹ *ILS*, 505.

¹⁰ *Hist. Eccl.*, VI, 34.

¹¹ There is no evidence later than Commodus that the tribunician year ran from 10th December to 9th December. In the third century it seems to have come to coincide with the calendar year. Cf. H. Mattingly, "Tribunicia Potestate", in *JRS*, 1930, pp. 78ff.

inscriptions, one on a statue base linking TRP II with the date 4th February, 239,¹² and the other a diploma linking TRP IV with 7th January, 241,¹³ it is concluded that Gordian's tribunician year ran from 1st January. His first tribunician year, recorded on inscriptions but not on coins must have run for the portion of a year between his accession and the end of 238 and his second and subsequent year from 1st January.

On the other hand, coins produce dates TRP III COS and TRP III COS II.¹⁴ Since Gordian assumed the consulship for the second time on 1st January, 241, the coin evidence would indicate that the tribunician year did not change on 1st January. For this reason Mattingly has concluded that Gordian's tribunician year was reckoned in an exceptional manner; in Mattingly's phrase *a die in diem*, that is from the date of his accession.¹⁵ The evidence of inscriptions and coins contradict each other and Mattingly argued that the coins, which were just as much official documents as inscriptions and were being produced in Rome, were to be believed in preference to the inscriptions. This, however, leaves unresolved a number of difficulties. It involves the jettisoning without explanation of these two inscriptions and the adoption of a form of reckoning of tribunician dates which is exceptional in this period. A count of tribunician years on an *a die in diem* basis means that Gordian had a reign of something more than six full years. However early Gordian's accession is put in the limited period, mid-summer to end of July–beginning August 238, a count of more than six full years of reign comes very near to coinciding with 23rd July, 244, by which date an inscription attests Philip as already Augustus. Even if this date is regarded in its most favourable light for this theory as a record of Philip's *dies imperii* and not of his actual presence in Italy, an *a die in diem* reckoning of Gordian's tribunician years leaves perilously little time for his seventh tribunician year. The coins show that this was something more than notional. At Rome Gordian's *aes* coinage with TRP VII is no more than scarce: the silver with this date is reported as rare and is listed in RIC in isolation.¹⁶ This, however, is not all the silver coinage of this issue, for almost certainly a number of types included in the Fifth Issue A.D. 243–244 of the arrangement in RIC¹⁷ are, from the shortened form of the reverse

¹² *Eph. Epigr.*, VII, 1210.

¹³ *CIL*, III, DLXXXVIII, p. 200.

¹⁴ *RIC*, IV, 3, Gordian, Nos. 69, 87, 91.

¹⁵ *Id.*, pp. 2–3.

¹⁶ *Id.*, Gordian, Nos. 339, 167A.

¹⁷ *Id.*, Gordian, Nos. 140–156.

legend, to be regarded as late and to be grouped as an issue with the dated type. Gordian's last issue in silver from Rome is this:

<i>Reverse Type</i>	<i>RIC Ref.</i>	<i>Numbers in Dorchester Hoard</i> ¹⁸
FELICIT TEMP	I40	198
FORT REDVX	I43	212
MARS PROPVG	I45	164
PM TRP VII COS II Mars }	I67 A	
PROVID AVG	I48	219
SECVRIT PERP	I51	226
VICTOR AETER	I54	169

Relevant to the duration of Gordian's last tribunician year is the evidence of the mint at Antioch. The five specimens of the silver with date TRP VII in the Dorchester Hoard at the other end of the Empire suggests that the issue was quite substantial. Since Antioch was considerably closer to Zaitha in Mesopotamia, where Gordian was assassinated and succeeded by Philip, than Rome was and thus received the news earlier, the mint there must have ceased production of Gordian's TRP VII coins very soon after 23rd July, 244 which, as we have seen, is the latest date possible for Philip's accession. An *a die in diem* count would leave almost only a matter of days for a quite substantial coin issue.

The difficulties created by the dates on the coins, on the other hand, are not to be dismissed lightly for the difficult combination of dates is vouched for by a comparatively large number of specimens.

<i>Reverse Type</i>	<i>RIC Ref.</i>	<i>Dorchester Hoard</i>
PM TRP III COS PP Gordian	69	29
PM TRP III COS II PP Gordian	91	48
PM TRP III COS II PP Apollo	87	41
PM TRP IIII COS II PP Gordian	92	353
PM TRP IIII COS II PP Apollo	88	333

¹⁸ NC, 1939, pp. 21ff.

The disparity between the issues with TRP III and those with TRP IIII only serves to show that the latter does not require any support from the former in forming an issue even though they share COS II as a common element. The coins with TRP III are all of one issue and something more than half include COS II. Since the *a die in diem* reckoning which would accommodate this combination creates more difficulties than it resolves, these dated coins must all fall within the tribunician year III, that is A.D. 240 from 1st January onwards. The explanation must be along the lines originally suggested by Voetter¹⁹ and followed by Pink²⁰ that the mint at Rome aware, towards the end of 240, that Gordian would be consul on the following year, anticipated the change to COS II in his titles.

The substance of the above argument in its application to the present discussion is that by accepting the beginning of Gordian's seventh tribunician year on 1st January, 244, July 23rd, 244, is seen to be no longer an impossibly early date for Philip. It could even accommodate the report in Eusebius²¹ that at Easter 244 Philip, already emperor, and, presumably on his way to Rome, was refused entrance to the church at Antioch. It is not necessary to take this report seriously: a similar story is related of Numerian and Decius.²² Indeed, the bulk of Gordian's coinage associated with the issue in 244 requires that Philip's accession be in the latter rather than the earlier half of the year. Philip's Alexandrian years show that the fact of his accession was known at Alexandria before 28th August, 244 and the amount of Alexandrian coinage of his first year suggests that it was an appreciable time before that date. The six full years ascribed to Gordian by the Chronographer of 354, reckoned from whatever exact date in the only possible period for his accession in 238, together with the specific reporting of a date associated with *Victoria Redux* for Philip, makes that date, 23rd July, a strong claimant to be Philip's *dies imperii*. To bring the discussion back to 238, we can still assert no more than that Gordian's *dies imperii* was somewhere not far removed from that same date, 23rd July in 238.

The only specific date in 238 which is mentioned by the ancient authorities is 9th July which is described in the *Historia Augusta*²³ as the date of the proclamation of Balbinus and Pupienus as Augusti and of Gordian III as Caesar. This

¹⁹ NZ, 1894, pp. 400-401.

²⁰ NZ, 1935, pp. 24-5.

²¹ *Hist. Eccl.*, VI, 34.

²² Philostorgius, VII, 8.

²³ *SHA, Max. et Balb.*, I.1.

is palpably too late, for at the same time their reign is stated to be 99 days but there are no Alexandrian coins of a second year for their reign. The ingenious suggestion by Van Sickle²⁴ that the compiler of this section of the *Historia* mistook the date of election for the date of the death of Balbinus and Pupienus will not stand. As will appear below, this would leave too little time for all the events between the death of Maximinus and the fall of the two senatorial emperors. The date of Gordian III's *dies imperii* must be deduced from other evidence.

Alexandrian coins of Gordian as Augustus begin in quantity with year B but, despite the denial in Pauly-Wissowa, there are coins for him as Augustus with year A.²⁵ That they are very rare indicates a short-lived issue and, when allowance is made for the preparation of dies and for the news of his accession to reach Alexandria, it is clear that the beginning of the reign was only some few weeks before the end of the Alexandrian year on 28th August. The evidence of papyri of the critical period from Egypt is also said to have a bearing on the possible date. Of two from the Fayum one, dated 8th September,²⁶ still has Balbinus and Pupienus as Augusti and Gordian as Caesar, whereas the second,²⁷ dated 21st September, names Gordian as sole Augustus. Of two tax returns from Oxyrhynchus, one,²⁸ covering the period 25th July to 23rd August, names Balbinus and Pupienus as Augusti and Gordian as Caesar, but the second,²⁹ for the period 29th August to 27th September, gives Gordian as sole Augustus. All that these papyri demonstrate is, surely, how slowly news of events percolated in Egypt. Calculations based on these dates and on the probable travel time of news between Oxyrhynchus or Fayum and Rome are of dubious value and unnecessary, for the coins assure us that Gordian's accession was known in Alexandria some appreciable time before 28th August.

Inscriptions unfortunately shed little light on this problem. A commemorative inscription³⁰ from Rome which includes the name of a M. Aurel who is described as Auggg lib. has the date 11th May, 238. The assumption that Auggg refers to Balbinus, Pupienus and Gordian III is unwarranted. The freedman's name,

²⁴ *Class. Phil.*, 1927, pp. 416-7.

²⁵ Dattari, *Numi Augg. Alexandrini* (Cairo, 1901), nos. 4699, 4708. Another specimen in *BM*, acquired subsequent to the publication of the Catalogue (PLATE XIV, 14).

²⁶ Wessely, *Stud. Pal.* XX, p. 44, n. 51.

²⁷ *Id.*, I, 23.

²⁸ *P. Oxy.* 1433.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ *ILS*, 1928.

M. Aurelius, makes it clear that the emperors, whose freedman he was, were Septimius Severus, Caracalla and Geta. It can, therefore, not be argued that the reign of Balbinus and Pupienus had begun by 11th May, 238. Another, but fragmentary, inscription from the records of the *Fratres Arvales* contains a reference to the *vota decennalia* of Gordian,³¹ vows which we know from the coins to have been taken early in his reign. Since the fragment begins with the incomplete date *vi idu*, it has been suggested the the missing month is August and that Gordian's accession was therefore before 8th August. Except for the general idea that *vota decennalia* at this period are likely to come early in the reign there seems to be no more justification for suggesting August rather than September or October. The *Aug. N* of a third inscription³² combining reference to a single Augustus with the date 23rd June, 238, would seem to be decisive but, unfortunately, of the two critical words everything after A in Aug is conjectural and N itself is an uncertain reading.

Since the *Historia Augusta* relates the assassination of Balbinus and Pupienus to the occasion of *Ludi scaenici*³³ and Herodian³⁴ to that of the ἀγῶν ὁ τῶν Καπετωλίων efforts have been made to identify the particular games concerned. Van Sickle,³⁵ arguing for his date of 9th July, suggests that they were the *Ludi Apollinares*, which took place between 6th and 13th July while Seeck³⁶ identifies them as games, but not necessarily the Capitoline games, which the Calendar of Philocalus records on 22nd July. The argument of any specific date for the assassination of the two emperors and the proclamation of Gordian will not necessarily fall simply because no record exists of the celebration of games on that particular day, for many games must now lack record. The games in question were presumably special games in celebration of the victory over Maximinus.

A date which has an important bearing on the establishment of Gordian's *dies imperii* is that of the death of Maximinus in front of Aquileia. As has been shown above the date of Maximinus' accession is reasonably firmly established as 22nd March, 235. The Chronographer of 354 records his reign as 3 years, 4 months and 2 days³⁷ but this figure must be suspect. To place the death of

³¹ *CIL*, VI, 2113, cf. Henzen, *Acta Fratrum Arvalium*, pp. CCXXIII and 106.

³² *CIL*, III, 4820. See especially the comment.

³³ *SHA*, *Max. et Balb.*, XIV, 2.

³⁴ VIII, 8.3.

³⁵ *Class. Phil.*, 1929, p. 288.

³⁶ Seeck, *Rhein. Mus.*, 1886, pp. 168-9.

³⁷ *MGH Auct. Antiquiss.*, t. IX p. 147.

Maximinus on 24th July leaves far too little time for all the events which took place between this date and a date towards the beginning of August, by which as the Alexandrian coins demonstrate, Gordian must have become sole Augustus. The news of the assassination of Maximinus at Aquileia had first to be brought to Pupienus who was at Ravenna. From there he moved to Aquileia where some time must have been consumed in taking over Maximinus' army and making new dispositions for it. The return journey to Rome from Aquileia cannot have taken less than about two weeks if Pupienus was accompanied by part of his force as he almost certainly was. Seeck³⁸ has argued on the basis of a common manuscript error – IIII for III –, that Maximinus' reign was in fact 3 years, 3 months and 2 days, a figure which would fix his death on 24th June. The period between this date and a date somewhere towards the beginning of August accommodates comfortably the events just enumerated.

A return must now be made to the earlier end of the date bracket which has been established, namely the revolt of the Gordiani in Africa which, if Herodian is accepted literally, took place on 22nd March. It has been calculated that it would require about ten days for the news to travel from Thysdrus in North Africa to Rome and for the senate to abjure Maximinus and proclaim the Gordiani. There is some confirmation of a date about the beginning of April for the proclamation of the two Gordiani at Rome in the mention by the *Historia Augusta*³⁹ of an eclipse which was taken as an indication that Gordian (presumably Gordian III) would not reign long. As the two eclipses in southern Europe in 238 took place on 2nd April and 25th September⁴⁰ they cannot refer to Gordian III, for the former date is too early for his accession as Caesar and the latter too late for his proclamation as Augustus. The *Historia Augusta*, not unexpectedly, has obviously associated the accession of the wrong Gordian with the eclipse which must refer to the proclamation at Rome of Gordian I and II. As a date for this event, 1st April meets the requirements both of the report in Herodian and the story of the eclipse.

The reign of the two Gordians, variously reported as twenty and twenty-two days,⁴¹ is to be reckoned as the length of their official recognition at Rome, that

³⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 166.

³⁹ *SHA, Gord.*, XXIII, 2.

⁴⁰ Ginzel, *Spezieller Kanon der Sonnen- und Mondfinsternisse für das Ländergebiet der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, pp. 83, 207.

⁴¹ Zonaras, XII, 17 III, p. 127.

is, between their proclamation there on 1st April and, on the news of their death, the proclamation of Balbinus and Pupienus, say on 22nd April. Very soon afterwards Gordian III was associated as Caesar with the two Augusti. These emperors are reported to have had a reign, in round numbers, of three months; Pupienus is credited in one account with a hundred days⁴² and Balbinus in another with ninety-nine days.⁴³ If we accept this latter as the highest common number for the joint reign, Balbinus and Pupienus were assassinated and Gordian acclaimed as sole emperor on 29th July.

It is now possible to subject to further tests the date which was suggested above for the death of Maximinus. When the news of the revolt of the Gordians reached Rome and they were proclaimed Augusti, Maximinus was at Sirmium, distant some 700 miles. Though news of such urgency would travel more than the fifty miles per day which it has been calculated was the rate for routine despatches,⁴⁴ the journey, still in early spring and including the traverse of the Julian Alps, will have taken at least ten days. We know that it was not till the fourth day after receiving the news that Maximinus with his army set out for Italy.⁴⁵ An estimate of the duration of the journey must be largely guesswork but an army with all its train would do well to average 15 miles a day, particularly on this occasion, for Herodian comments on its slowness and the difficulties of the Alpine passes with the snow still persisting.⁴⁶ Even worse, on the march between Emona and Aquileia further delay was caused by the river Isonzo, swollen by the snow now beginning to melt.⁴⁷ Since the march made under these conditions from Sirmium to Aquileia was about 400 miles, it must have been towards the end of May before Maximinus arrived outside Aquileia, which commanded by Crispinus and Menophilus, members of the vigintivirate, was holding out for Balbinus and Pupienus. It could well have taken some three weeks of siege both to denude the surrounding countryside of provisions and reduce the army to starvation and to screw up the courage of the soldiers to defy and assassinate a strong commander such as Maximinus. A date 24th June gives time enough, but not too much for this programme and also for the happenings between the death of Maximinus and the accession of Gordian on 29th July.

⁴² *Chron. Pash.*, SHB, I, 501.

⁴³ *MGH*, IX, 147.

⁴⁴ *JRS*, 1925, pp. 6off.

⁴⁵ Herodian, VII, 8.1.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, VII, 8.10.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, VIII, 4.2.

The evidence of the dates of Gordian's rescripts in the Codex Justinianus is not very conclusive. The series runs 22nd June, 16th and 23rd July, 3rd, 6th, 20th, 21st August,⁴⁸ etc. Of these the first depends solely on Holoander⁴⁹ and it is not necessary to balk at the July dates which fall before the accession date suggested above, for confusion in rescript datings at the beginning of a reign is more the rule than the exception. Yet another date VII, 43,2-iv Kal April, (29th March) has usually been explained as a confusion with the older Gordians. It may be no more than coincidence that the emendation to iv Kal Aug., long ago suggested,⁵⁰ is exactly the date of Gordian's accession which has been arrived at independently.

The chronology which has been arrived at for 238 can now be set out :

22nd March	Gordian I proclaimed at Thysdrus and associates with himself his son Gordian II.
1 April	The two Gordians recognised at Rome.
12th April	Death of Gordian II and suicide of Gordian I.
22nd April	Proclamation of Balbinus and Pupienus. Gordian III associated with them as Caesar.
24th June	Death of Maximinus.
29th July	Accession of Gordian III.

With this scheme of dating established it is now possible to examine the pattern of the coin issues of the year.

MAXIMINUS

1st January–30th March

An analysis of the coinage of Maximinus reveals that it consists basically of one dated and five undated types. The repetition of the identical type with dates from TRP up to TRP IIII supplies the key to the arrangement of this coinage as four successive issues, one per year. The distribution of the undated type is facilitated by the change in Maximinus' obverse legend and the variations in portraiture. These criteria work well for the establishment of issue 1 in 235 and the greater proportion of issue 2 in 236. That it was towards the end of this issue in 236 that the obverse legend was changed from IMP MAXIMINVS PIVS AVG to MAXIMINVS

⁴⁸ *Cod. Just.* II, 10.2; IX, 1.8; V, 51.5; VI, 3.2; II, 22.2; VIII, 28.6; VIII, 28.6.

⁴⁹ Seeck, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

⁵⁰ Clinton, *Fasti Romani*, I, p. 253.

PIVS AVG GERM is made clear from the statistics of the dated denarius of this issue in five major hoards:⁵¹ with the first obverse, 140; with the second, 24.

From this point late in issue 2 until the end of the reign, the sole criterion of the division of the undated types over issue is the portrait and while it is possible to distinguish portraits on actual coins, no hoard report as yet has drawn these fine distinctions. By applying the proportions obtained from the hoard statistics of dated types to the undated it is possible to obtain some conception of the relative volume of the successive issues. Since it is almost exclusively hoards of silver coins which have been recorded, the discussion of the issue is necessarily based on the silver issues. In the later issues of Maximinus there was little gold issued and its attribution to a specific issue is a question of inspection and judgement. The *aes* coinage, however, is plentiful and almost certainly every silver issue was accompanied by parallel sestertii and in many cases by *asses* and even dupondii.

Denarii of Maximinus from Hoards

Obv. MAXIMINVS PIVS AVG GERM

<i>Reverse Type</i>	<i>Hoard Total</i>	<i>Divided in proportion over issues</i>		
		2	3	4
PM TRP II COS PP	24	24	—	—
PM TRP III COS PP	11	—	11	—
PM TRP IIII COS PP	1	—	—	1
FIDES MILITVM	44	28	11	1
PAX AVGVSTI	23	16	8	1
PROVIDENTIA AVG	100	66	22	11
SALVS AVGVSTI	5	3	1	—
VICTORIA AVG	4	4	—	—
VICTORIA GERM } *	24	—	22	2

PLATE XIII, 1-6

* The change in the Victory type and legend coincides with the division between issues 2 and 3.

⁵¹ "Le Trésor Numismatique de Reka Devnia", in *Annuaire du Musée National Bulgare*, t. V (1934, supplement); "Elveden Treasure Trove", in *NC*, 1954 pp. 204ff.; "Münzfunde aus Bulgarien, I. Ein Fund römischer Silberdenaren", in *NZ*, 1918, pp. 43ff.; "Der Kölner Münzschatzfund vom Jahre 1909", in *Schriften der Röm. und Germ. Abt. des Wallraf-Richartz Museums der Stadt Köln*, Heft 1, 1935; "Roman coins found at Brickendonbury, Herts.", in *NC*, 1896, pp. 191ff.



COINAGE AND CHRONOLOGY OF A. D. 238

Maximinus, 1-6; Gordian I and II, 7-12; Balbinus and Pupienus, 13-18.



1



2



3



4



5



6



7



8



9



10



11



12



13



14



COINAGE AND CHRONOLOGY OF A. D. 238
Balbinus and Pupienus, 1-7; Gordian III, 8-14.

It must be remembered that the figures for issue 2 in this table represent only a proportion of the total issue. It is clear, then, that Maximinus' coinage after plentiful issues in 235 and 236 was sharply reduced in volume in 237 and the last issue, issue 4 between 1st January and 30th March 238, was so exiguous that it scarcely made its impact felt in hoards. Since Voetter,⁵² the only person to deal with this coinage in detail, believed that the revolt of the Gordiani took place in the spring 237, he not only found this scarcity of the later coinage of Maximinus not unexpected, but he was reduced to supposing some mint other than Rome responsible for the coins with date TRP IIII and those associated with them. While there are now no grounds for supposing that Maximinus did not officially control the mint of Rome up to the proclamation of the Gordiani at the beginning of April, this relatively tiny issue in a period of no less than three months rouses a suspicion of the true state of affairs in early 238. Was it mere coincidence that an uprising took place in Africa where the elder Gordian, one of the Senate's most eminent figures, was proconsul? The unexpected resolution and speed of action of the senate when the news of the proclamation of the Gordians reached Rome suggests that the event was not completely unexpected. A conspiracy against Maximinus in the early months of 238 may be reflected in the reduced coin issue at this time. Admittedly the mint was now very much the emperor's mint; but the mint was in Rome and the emperor was in Sirmium 700 miles away.

GORDIAN I AND II

1st-22nd April

Despite the possibility of pre-knowledge of the Gordians' revolt, such an overt act as the issue of coins in their name is unlikely to have taken place before the revolt. That the coins are missing from almost every hoard is consistent with an issue which lasted only three weeks though there must always be some reservation on the score of the abstraction from hoards of such well known varieties. Even the great Reka Devnia hoard produced only 1 denarius for each emperor: for Gordian I, *Securitas Augg* (C. 10); for Gordian II, *Victoria Augg* (C. 12).

The Gordiani were joint emperors and the six *officinae* of the mint which can be distinguished were shared between them.

⁵² NZ, 1894, pp. 387-390.

<i>Reverse Type</i>	<i>Gordian I</i>		<i>Gordian II</i>	
	Æ	Æ	Æ	Æ
PM TRP COS PP Emperor	20	7	—	2
ROMAE AETERNAE	23	4	—	33
SECVRITAS AVGG	10	18	—	—
PROVIDENTIA AVGG	—	12	15	5
VICTORIA AVGG	1	19	10	6
VIRTUS AVGG	—	7	20	18

PLATE XIII, 7-12

The coins of this brief reign are so rare that it is not possible to compile statistics from hoards to determine substantive types but once the obvious hybrids and incorrectly reported coins are excluded, there are left only six substantive types, the expected production of the six *officinae* of the mint.

The statistics above have been compiled from the representation of these emperors in the public collections of Europe and America and suggest that the *officinae* were shared by the emperors in two different ways. The statistics of the silver coinage make it clear that three *officinae* were at work for each emperor. This clear division is constantly obscured by the difficulty of distinguishing between the portraits of father and son, almost the sole method of distinction, since the obverse legends of both are identical. Another more objective test has been discovered, valid in all instances so far observed in the silver coinage, namely that the die axis for Gordian I is consistently ↑, for Gordian II consistently ↓. By the application of this criterion to doubtful specimens it becomes quite clear that the division of the *officinae* for the silver coinage is three for each emperor.

The arrangements for the production of the *aes* coinage are not so clear. Even when allowance is made for the misattribution of a number of doubtful specimens, seen only in photographs or casts (the useful criterion of die axis does not apply to the bronze coinage) each of the six types is attested for both emperors in varying proportions. In a number of instances the proportion in favour of one emperor is overwhelming and it is remarkable that in some cases the type in *aes* in which one of the emperors predominates is not struck for him at all in silver. Even a cursory examination of the die material shows that there are reverse dies common to both

emperors and the detailed examination of dies of the series which is contemplated may yet reveal that the basic division is three reverse types for each emperor and that the picture is, at the moment, confused by what are, in reality, mules.

BALBINUS AND PUPIENUS. GORDIAN III AS CAESAR

23rd April–29th July

This coinage is again shared by two emperors of equal status and again the *officinae*, at least for silver, are divided equally between them. There is ample confirmation of this in the later issue of antoniniani where each emperor has three types peculiar to himself.

There was a small special "proclamation issue" in the name of both emperors at the beginning of the reign, consisting of two types, LIBERALITAS AVGVSTORVM both with the standing figure of Liberalitas (Æ, Æ) and with the distribution scene (Æ only) and VOTIS DECENNALIBVS. This latter type is well attested in *aes* for both emperors but is not recorded in silver for Pupienus. Doubts have been cast on the denarius of Balbinus with this type but two specimens are on record, both from a different pair of dies.

Issue I

In this issue the silver coin was still the denarius. From the evidence of such few hoards as contained denarii of these emperors it is reasonably certain that, in silver at least, there were only three substantive types for each emperor. Such coins as do exist (but not with hoard provenances) of one emperor with the reverse appropriate to the other, are most probably hybrids.

BALBINUS		PUPIENUS	
<i>Reverse Type</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Reverse Type</i>	<i>No.</i>
PM TRP COS II PP Emperor	3	CONCORDIA AVGG	I
PROVIDENTIA DEORVM	6	PAX PVBLICA	I
VICTORIA AVGG	7	PM TRP COS II PP Felicitas	I

PLATE XIII, 13–18

Scarce as the representation is, it is consistent as far as the evidence goes. The distribution of the types in *aes* cannot, unfortunately, be established from hoards. It can, however, be assessed from collection material as in the case of the Gordians above. I am particularly indebted to Mr. A. M. Woodward for putting at my disposal the results of his analysis of dies of this *aes* coinage which reveal that, in practically all the types, the two emperors have reverse dies in common and that in most types the obverse dies for one emperor greatly exceed those of the other. In silver, where one of the emperors has only a rare piece with a reverse proper to the other, such a coin can be regarded as a hybrid, but the distribution of the dies renders this not so likely in the case of the *aes* coinage. The figures so far available for these types are as follows:

<i>Reverse Type</i>	<i>Total Number of Rev. dies</i>	<i>Rev. dies of Balbinus only</i>	<i>Rev. dies of Pupienus only</i>	<i>Rev. dies shared</i>
PM TRP COS II PP Emperor	22	14	4	4
PROVIDENTIA DEORVM	15	9	2	6
VICTORIA AVGG	23	4	13	6
PM TRP COS II PP Felicitas	1	—	—	1
CONCORDIA AVGG	18	3	5	10
PAX PVBLICA	17	—	16	1

Though the general impression supports the division into three *officinae* for each emperor, the analysis raises a number of objections. The only type which conforms to expectations is *Pax Publica*. In the case of the dated type with emperor, *Providentia Deorum* and *Concordia Augg* the balance is just in favour of the expected emperor, while the dated type with Felicitas is, despite the standard works of reference, so excessively rare that it seems not to be a substantive type. *Victoria Augg* though apparently a type in silver for Balbinus, has the majority of its dies linked with obverses of Pupienus. The most that can be said from the present state of the evidence is that there is a tendency in the *aes* coinage to give a preponderance in each *officina* to the emperor exclusively for whom that *officina* produced the silver type.

The coinage of Gordian III as Caesar was not sufficiently copious to require a separate *officina* and its true place is probably with the "proclamation issue".

Although the coin with type *Liberalitas* of Gordian as Caesar is suspect, there may have been genuine pieces. At any rate, the later *Liberalitas* issues show that Gordian reckoned as his first *Liberalitas* that which occurred in his Caesarship and which must have been at the same time as that of Balbinus and Pupienus at the very beginning of the reign.

Issue 2

The usual ground for stating that this issue, where silver coinage is of double denarii or antoninianii, is the second issue is that the obverse of some of Pupienus' antoniniani have the obverse legend IMP CAES PVPIENVS MAXIMVS AVG and Maximus has been mistakenly held to be an honorific assumed by Pupienus after the defeat of Maximinus.⁵³ It is, however, the logical economic sequence of events to place the issue of antoniniani later in the reign. The first issue of denarii, as hoard statistics show, was relatively short lived and for the hurried preparations for the campaign against Maximinus a return was made to the inflationary double-denarius of Elagabalus and Caracalla. Although the interpretation of coin types has of late, in some hands, verged on the clairvoyant, no imagination is required to see in the clasped hands, common to all six types, and in the insistence on mutual trust a plain reflection of the desperate need for unity in the face of the advance into Italy of Maximinus.

BALBINUS		PUPIENUS		
<i>Reverse Type</i>	<i>No. in hoards</i>	<i>Reverse Type</i>	<i>No. in hoards</i>	
			<i>obv. A.</i>	<i>obv. B.</i>
CONCORDIA AVGG	17	AMOR MVTVVS AVGG	9	5
FIDES MVTVA AVGG	9	CARITAS MVTVA AVGG	1	13
PIETAS MVTVA AVGG	5	PATRES SENATVS	4	8

Plate XIV, 1-7

The statistics of the coins of Pupienus show that of the two portions of this issue, the latter, where Pupienus has the additional name Maximus, was the

⁵³ A statue base from Ephesus with a dedication to Pupienus when he was proconsul of Asia before he became emperor gives his names as Marcus Clodius Pupienus Maximus, cf. *Festschrift Gomperz* (Vienna, 1902), pp. 233ff.

larger. It may, in fact, be the case that the beginning of the second portion of the issue does begin roughly with the assassination of Maximinus on 28th July for a good supply of coinage was required by the two emperors both to retain the loyalty of their own troops and to secure the support of those who had formed the army of Maximinus.

It does not seem necessary to attach to this issue a number of denarii as one arrangement has supposed.⁵⁴ If denarii did form part of this issue they must have been confined to the earlier part for none are found with Pupienus' obverse legend containing Maximus. The reason for including denarii here was presumably an attempt to reserve strictly the parallelism between silver and *aes*, for *aes* coinage of Pupienus is found associated with the title which includes Maximus. The conclusion from this must be that the *aes* coinage of issue 1 continued during issue 2, but since Balbinus has no change in his title in the course of issue 2, it is, as yet, impossible to distinguish the *aes* of his two issues.

GORDIAN III

Issue 1 29th July–31st December

Despite the declarations of mutual trust on the coins there was jealous friction between the two emperors and resentment against Pupienus' German bodyguard on the part of the praetorians. This came to a head on 29th July when the praetorians seized the persons of the two emperors to remove them to their camp. When they in turn were attacked by the Germans they murdered Balbinus and Pupienus and declared as Augustus the young Gordian III.

There is little doubt as to the composition of Gordian's first issue.⁵⁵ His first tribunician year is not recorded on the coinage of Rome, but his second (TRP II), beginning, as has been seen, on 1st January 239, clearly marks off his second issue.⁵⁶ A group of coins, the product of six *officinae*, is patently earlier than the second issue. It has the same types, but with descriptive instead of dated legends, and cannot be accommodated after the second issue. Furthermore, the obverse portraits of this group retain the characteristics of either Balbinus or Pupienus.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ Pink, *NZ*, 1935, p. 24.

⁵⁵ *RIC*, IV, 3, Gordian, Nos. 1–60.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, Nos. 15–20.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

<i>Reverse Type Æ</i>	<i>No. in Dorchester Hoard</i>
FIDES MILITVM	129
IOVI CONSERVATORI	104
PAX AVGVSTI	127
PROVIDENTIA AVG	114
VICTORIA AVG	120
VIRTVS AVG	132

PLATE XIV, 8-14

These fairly large figures of antoniniani in the Dorchester Hoard as compared with an average of 35 per type in the second issue is a further argument for the priority of this present issue. For the expedient reason of maintaining the loyalty of the troops who had declared the emperor, a substantial first issue was a prime requirement. This issue, as befits a first issue, is particularly complete, for corresponding aurei are found for every type and in the *aes* coinage there is a sestertius of every type, an *as* of all but one and also a number of dupondii.

This, then, concludes the coin issues of the year. Only on some specific points does the evidence of the coins have a direct bearing on establishing the chronology of 238 but the sequence of issues which has been established by this discussion and, even more, the extent of the issues lends strong corroboration to the chronology of the year which has been arrived at from other evidence.

LA NIKE FUNEBRE DELLE MONETE DI ELIS¹

ETTORE GABRICI

Nella interpretazione dei tipi monetali di Elis dobbiamo lasciarci guidare dalla classificazione che Charles T. Seltman ci ha proposto nel suo pregevole studio sulle monete del tempio di Olimpia, la quale, benché abbia, come tutti i lavori numismatici congeneri, qualche punto discutibile, non per altro che per eventuali interruzioni della "sequenza", ci assicura l'esatta impostazione delle linee generali di una cronologia che può servire di base a qualsiasi ricerca storico-archeologica.²

L'esame di questa serie monetale mi ha indotto al convincimento, che l'inizio di essa non può, per ragioni tecniche, discendere fino al 471 a.C., come pensò lo Head, e che deve collocarsi intorno alla fine del secolo VI a.C. per l'affinità con altre serie parallele, quelle di Egina, di Eubea, della Beozia.

E' molto caratteristica l'area incusa circolare, che del resto le monete arcaiche di Elis alternano, fin dalle più antiche emissioni, con l'area incavata rettangolare. La nostra indagine storico-archeologica potrà quindi spaziarsi nei limiti di un periodo iniziale che abbraccia almeno cinquant'anni prima della distruzione di Pisa (471 a.C.).

Per l'argomento che mi propongo di trattare non occorre che io mi spinga molto

¹ Il presente articolo muove direttamente dallo esame e dalla classificazione dei tipi monetali. I testi antichi e i numerosi studi intorno alla Nike li ho tenuti presenti come orientamento delle idee da me espresse. Rimando il lettore agli articoli speciali del Lessico del Roscher sulla voci Gorgones, Erinys, Iris, Harpyia, Psyke, Furiae, Nike, Okeanos, che mi astengo dal citare nel testo.

² C. T. Seltman, *The Temple-Coins of Olympia* (Cambridge, 1921).

addentro, in ordine di tempo, nello esame della serie monetale di Elis; basterà che io la percorra fino ai principî del secolo IV a.C., mettendo in rilievo la successione dei tipi che serviranno di base alle mie argomentazioni.

Un primo gruppo mette in evidenza l'aquila e il fulmine in un disegno esuberante di linee grosse e forme massose. In mezzo a questi due segni simbolici si fa strada la figura alata femminile gradiente o corrente con in mano una corona. Nella serie che é classificata intorno alla metà del secolo V a.C. la figura alata non sempre é nell'atteggiamento della corsa arcaica, ma é seduta su di un cippo in vari atteggiamenti più o meno graziosi, spesso ispirati ad una profonda mestizia.

Circa la fine del secolo V a.C. la figura alata più non compare nella rassegna. Un altro tipo, che possiamo ritenere della maggiore importanza, é la figura di Zeus, della quale mette conto di seguire le diverse fasi. Nella sua prima apparizione (Seltman, Tav. II, AB, XI) ha lo atteggiamento arcaico del dio che scaglia il fulmine sostenendo con la sinistra l'aquila. La leggenda di questo didrammo $\Lambda\Omega\text{K}\text{I}\text{T}\Lambda\Lambda\Lambda\text{O}$ costituisce insieme con la figura uno dei capisaldi della cronologia. Giusta la interpretazione da me proposta,³ la forma aggettivale neutra, sostantivata é da intendersi nel significato che hanno le simili forme Arkadikon, Delphikon, Neopolitikon, Panormitikon, Symmachikon ecc., cioè di "adunata olimpica" o meglio "convegno olimpico" nel senso etnico della parola. La moneta, secondo il mio avviso, fu coniata nel 471 a.C. dopo che la popolazione di Elis ebbe affermato la sua piena sovranità nel territorio di Olimpia contestato dai Pisani. Di questo didrammo conosciamo altri esemplari.

Il secondo tipo di Zeus ci presenta il nume seduto su di uno sgabello a quattro piedi; con la destra abbassata sul ginocchio stringe il fulmine, nella sinistra levata in alto ha lo scettro; ha chioma abbondante e barba; accanto gli sta l'aquila volante (Seltman, III, AZ). Una variante ce lo fa vedere in altro atteggiamento delle braccia; quello di sinistra é abbassato e stringe lo scettro, quello di destra spinto in avanti regge l'aquila con le ali aperte (Seltman, III, BA). Le due monete risultano riferibili al ventennio 452-432 a.C.

In un terzo momento non più compare la figura intera; gl'incisori si studiano di riprodurre i caratteri iconografici del dio, che dobbiamo necessariamente avvicinare al tipo dello Zeus fidiaco ed al quale alcuni esemplari di accurata incisione ci richiamano (Seltman, VI, CA).

Questa serie assai numerosa occupa un periodo di circa 80 anni, dal 421 al 343 a.C., durante il quale si manifestano due segni da prendere in considerazione

³ *Bollettino numismatico napoletano*, anno XXXVII, 1952.

per la cronologia, cioè a dire la presenza dell'aquila prima con la sola testa, dipoi con la figura intera, contrapposta alla testa di Zeus; il secondo segno consiste nella scomparsa di ogni altro tipo monetale, che non sia uno dei simboli di Zeus (aquila, fulmine). In questa serie il lato principale, che é quello della incudine, presenta unicamente la testa di Zeus o quella di Hera.

Tale é l'alternativa dei tipi che si seguono in tutta la monetazione di Elis fra gli ultimi decenni del secolo VI a.C. e l'anno 146 a.C. che segna la fine dell'attività di questa zecca col principio della dominazione romana. In questo lungo periodo di tempo, esaminando i tipi monetali, abbiamo potuto constatare, che il culto di Zeus espresso in origine dalle figure simboliche dell'aquila e del fulmine, si andò affermando nella maniera più esclusiva fino a prevalere definitivamente. Resta quindi a risolvere il quesito riguardante la durata del tipo femminile alato, che in un certo tempo scompare; e questo tempo va definito entro i limiti dell'ultimo ventennio del secolo V a.C. Intorno a questa figura femminile si raccoglie tutto l'interesse della presente Memoria. Nessun dubbio che essa debba definirsi una Nike, ma é proprio sul concetto racchiuso nel suo nome che intendo richiamare l'attenzione del numismatico e dello archeologo.

L'ambiente, nel quale questa rappresentazione si sviluppò, é definito nella tradizione classica come luogo di convegno per commemorare l'eroe defunto. Questo eroe é Pelope, il vincitore di Enomao, intorno alla cui tomba il mondo degli efebi aspiranti alla vittoria agonistica conveniva per onorarne il ricordo con solennità di culto ed esercitazioni ginniche o artistiche, premio di riconoscimento della virtù dell'eroe defunto.⁴ Il rito, come attesta Pindaro, compivasi in prossimità del sepolcro. Era quindi manifestazione di lutto ed esaltazione di virtù ad un tempo. Tale fu il motivo che fu stimolo alla istituzione dei giuochi olimpici. La figura alata gradiente o nella movenza artificiosa dell'arte arcaica é in moto per deporre la corona sulla tomba. L'artista del secolo V a.C. volle raggiungere un'espressione più umana e rendere il sentimento della figura alata, presentandola adagiata sul candido sepolcro nella rilassatezza delle sue forze fisiche e coprendo con le grandi ali il luogo sacro.

In questa fase dell'arte, che ormai disponeva di tutte le risorse per raggiungere la manifestazione di un sentimento ancor più interno, fu creato il motivo della donna afflitta, che é una delle maggiori conquiste dell'arte antica.

La Nike é tutt'altro che lieta; raccolta nel pensiero che la solennità del momento le impone, reclina il capo e lo sorregge con la mano. Devesi pur riconoscere, che

⁴ Rohde, *Psyche*, pp. 141 sg. Pind., *Olymp.* X, 24. Roscher, *Lexicon*, III, 844.

queste figure che presento, di pieno secolo V a.C., e che sono le più espressive fra tutte le altre della serie olimpica, sfuggirono finora all'attenzione degli studiosi. Esse non sono immagini di chi compie un atto di intimo godimento, ma di chi compie una missione funebre, e come tale deve ammonirci ad esser cauti, allorché siamo a indagare sulla genesi di creazione del tipo di Nike, per forma e contenuto ideologico, nell'arte greca. In guisa che la Nike afflitta partecipa della importanza artistica che nella storia dell'arte ha il sarcofago delle "donne piangenti" e di tutte quelle figure che manifestano il loro contenuto ideologico mediante la inclinazione del capo, corrispondente alla curvatura del torso. Questo motivo fu poi applicato nell'arte romana alla figura del prigioniero di guerra.⁵

Da questa indagine consegue inoltre, che la scomparsa della figura alata nella serie delle monete di Elis, la quale risulta avvenuta nell'ultimo ventennio del secolo V a.C., ci fornisce un altro caposaldo della cronologia, sul quale possiamo calcolare, che il rito funebre in onore di Pelope dovè in quel periodo avere una parte secondaria nelle feste olimpiche col prevalere del culto di Zeus, se non fu proprio soppresso.

Questo é altresì indizio di uno sviluppo ulteriore che, il concetto di Nike raggiunse nel maggior fiorire della religione greca, per il quale alla concezione limitata, in istretta connessione con l'idea della tomba, subentrò un periodo, in cui questo essere superiore assunse una individualità propria.

Credo di potere anche affermare che, quantunque la grande arte greca, a partire dal secolo VI a.C., siasi creato il tipo della Nike (Nike di Delos) e che questo sia stato messo in evidenza anche nella più antica ceramica (quella di Cirene), tuttavia lo storico dell'arte non riesce a conciliare i dati letterarii con quelli risultanti dalle rappresentazioni figurate. E ben mi rendo conto di taluni apprezzamenti fatti dal Bulle nel suo articolo sulla Nike,⁶ dov'egli afferma che la pittura severa rimase quasi estranea alla rappresentazione figurata della Nike e che in sostanza la creazione di questo tipo é dovuta più alla elaborazione dell'arte che ad un procedimento logico di astrazione della poesia e della letteratura in genere. Per comprendere il contenuto vero originario del concetto di Vittoria bisognerà rifarsi alla mentalità dei popoli primitivi, ai quali faceva difetto ogni concezione astratta e non formulavano che concetti concreti.

La Vittoria come concezione assoluta, indipendente dalla natura della tenzone che la determina, richiede maturità di mente. La genesi di questa concezione astratta muove dal fatto concreto primitivo della reale, effettiva superiorità nei

⁵ Winter, *Kunstgeschichte in Bildern*, p. 284 (Medea e le figlie di Pelia); p. 313 (sarcofago delle afflitte); Richter, *Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*², fig. 211, 212. ⁶ Roscher, *Lexicon*, III, p. 320.

due termini contrastanti di chi vince e chi soccombe. Da tale necessità logica consegue, che nell'uomo primitivo la Vittoria non é procuratrice di buon risultato, ma compensatrice di valore eroico riconosciuto, di cui si vedono gli effetti. Di modo che la Vittoria é premio concreto dell'eroe scomparso non già espressione di un concetto astratto. In tal senso la compresero i popoli primitivi, presso i quali il culto dell'eroe coincide con quello degli antenati progenitori della stirpe.

La Vittoria che onora la memoria di Pelope ad Olimpia rende omaggio all'eroe estinto e compie un rito funebre. In conseguenza di tale considerazione, quando noi leggiamo nelle descrizioni odierne delle monete di Elis, che la figura femminile alata é la Nike, senza altro aggettivo o predicato, siamo indotti allo errore di poter confondere il concetto di una Nike "funebre" con quello di una Nike "assertrice" di superiorità intesa nel senso odierno.

La Nike adunque delle monete di Elis é esponente di un antichissimo culto popolare, dal quale procedono tutte le analoghe concezioni di esseri che sono in rapporto col mondo sotterraneo ed é munita, come questi, di ali. Così intesa, si comprende com'essa sia ignota alla letteratura omerica e abbia il suo posto nella genealogia esiodea. Né essa in origine ebbe alcun rapporto con Zeus, del quale fu dipoi attributo preminente, allorché nel culto olimpico il concetto di una Nike, quale esecutrice di una funzione funebre, si offuscò non essendo essa più rispondente alla originaria sua concezione.

La grande arte del secolo V a.C. la volle tutta per sè, allorché la nuova immagine della Nike di Peonio dié vita alla statua del tempio di Zeus in Olimpia e il bassorilievo delle figure alate cinse la balaustrata del tempietto della Vittoria senz'ali sull'acropoli di Atene.

L'attributo delle ali spetta alla Nike in quanto essa nella genealogia dei Titani é una emanazione di Stige come tutti quegli altri esseri funesti ai mortali (Erinni, Sirene, Furie ecc.) che l'arte antica concepì come figure alate.

Pare quindi evidente che la Nike sia risultato di una secolare evoluzione, prima che, verso la fine del secolo V a.C., pervenisse al concetto "universale" di una superiorità conquistata col mezzo delle armi o con la valentia nel campo delle arti, della letteratura, degli esercizi ginnici.

Tale concezione assurse al massimo grado in Grecia dopo le guerre persiane col trionfo dello elemento ionico rappresentato da Atene.

Restando nell'ambito dell'arte monetale, propongo di esaminare nei suoi particolari il tipo di Nike delle seguenti monete di Elis, da me scelte come le più indicate a confermare quanto ho dianzi esposto.

*Fig. 1**Fig. 2**Fig. 3**Fig. 4**Fig. 5*

Fig. 1; gr. 12, 11. Berlino. Nike funebre gradiente a destra con ali aperte; indossa chitone con maniche corte, che si solleva con la destra abbassata; cintura alla vita e chioma raccolta sotto l'occipite; nella mano sinistra sollevata stringe una corona. (faccia secondaria della moneta).

Da Seltman, *op. cit.*, II, AC, ακ.

Fig. 2; gr. 12,20. Parigi. AAEION. Nike funebre seduta su di un cippo poggiando la gamba destra sull'altra; indossa chitone con maniche corte; é raccolta in se stessa con espressione di tristezza; puntellasi il capo col braccio sinistro, il cui gomito tocca il ginocchio destro; le sue grandi ali aperte scendono distese a protezione del sepolcro; nella destra abbassata stringe una corona; il tutto in area incavata rettangolare (faccia secondaria della moneta).

Da Seltman, *op. cit.*, IV, BF, γβ.

Fig. 3; gr. 11,85. AAEION. La Nike funebre in simile atteggiamento di abbandono e di tristezza col capo reclinato e sorretto dal braccio sinistro; ali aperte e distese sul sepolcro in segno di protezione; nella destra ha un ramo; l'area rettangolare é più profonda (faccia secondaria della moneta).

Dal catalogo di vendita Benson, XVIII, 558.

Alle precedenti monete voglio aggiungere i disegni di due didrammi di Gortina con simile espressione di cordoglio della ninfa Europa dopo il rapimento.

Fig. 4; gr. 12. Parigi. Europa adagiata a sin. su tronco di platano fra i rami con movimento di estremo abbandono; veste chitone senza maniche; ha il capo inclinato e sorretto dal braccio destro, il cui gomito poggia sulla coscia destra; col braccio sinistro sostiene il peso del corpo inclinato. Altri particolari si tralasciano. (Lato principale della moneta).

Da Svoronos, *Numismatique de la Crète ancienne*, XIII, 4. Stuttgart.

Fig. 5. Europa adagiata a destra su tronco di platano dai molti rami; della veste si distingue qualche tratto; le gambe stanno penzoloni fuori del tronco; la posa é triste, il corpo in abbandono; si regge il capo inclinato che sostiene col braccio sinistro, il cui gomito si puntella sulla coscia sinistra; il braccio destro sostiene il peso del torso inclinato.

Da Svoronos, *op. cit.*, XIII, 22.⁷

⁷ Per la illustrazione di queste due ultime monete rinvio alla Memoria di Jahn, "Die Entfernung der Europa", *Denkmäler der Wien. Akad., Philol. Hist. Klass*, 1870, e ad Overbeck, *Griechische Kunstmythologie*, 2, I, pp. 420-465, Tav. VI, fig. 4.

Dal fin quì detto emergono come corollario due constatazioni positive: 1) che la Nike delle monete di Olimpia non abbandonò mai, fino a quando non scomparve del tutto, la sua caratteristica di Vittoria funebre e 2) che il concetto evoluto, nel senso di Vittoria atletica, agonistica o bellica, fu elaborato fuori del puro campo religioso dall'arte greca, e che il nuovo concetto, prima che il motivo artistico della nuova divinità si generalizzasse nel mondo greco, restò per alcun tempo una entità di contenuto ideologico senza forma concreta.

Va pure rilevato, che alla concezione di una Nike atletica elaborarono con grande fortuna gl'incisori dei tetradrammi di Siracusa dopo la vittoria di Gelone ad Olimpia (488 a.C.), inondando delle loro quadrighe tutta la monetazione siciliana.

E se nella moneta di Sibari,⁸ che fu forse coniata da profughi sibariti dopo la rovina della loro città, in segno di violenta reazione al vincitore, come fecero quelli scampati a Laos, leggiamo solo il nome Nika, questa pura e semplice espressione alfabetica é da imputare all'alta antichità della moneta.

E il didrammo di Terina, che reca impressa la figura di una Nike senz'ali⁹ ed é classificabile circa il 480 a.C., dimostrerebbe appunto, che al tipo di una Nike alata l'arte monetale greca in Occidente non era ancora pervenuta.

⁸ Garrucci, *Monete dell'Italia antica*, Tav. CVIII, 5.

⁹ Regling, *Terina*, Tav. II, α.

NOTES ON THE DANISH MINT-MASTERS IN THE MIDDLE AGES BEFORE 1377¹

GEORG GALSTER

The first Danish coin with legends mentioning king and moneyer dates from Sven Tveskæg (Forkbeard). The moneyer in question is a man by the name of Godwine, presumably the same who also struck coins for the Swedish King Olav Skatkonung (Scat-king), at a time when King Æthelræd's coin of the CRVX-type was still current, probably shortly before the year 1000. Godwine perhaps originated in Lincoln, seeing that also several other moneyers from this town entered

¹ Hauberg mentions 1377 as the last year in which the coinage was in conformity with the old Danish computation. The coin-issue of Lund in this year is mentioned in the Hanseatic Recess of May 30, 1378. For the Hanseatic Cities, which from 1370 to 1385 held the most important Scania castles in pawn, i.e., Helsingborg and Falsterbo with the adjacent hundreds, forbade the use of the new copper coins. Hauberg is probably right in asserting that this sign of life was the last one. In three monographs Hauberg has given the names of most of the mint-masters who are mentioned in the sequel:

"Myntforhold og Udmyntninger i Danmark indtil 1146", *D. Kgl. Danske Vidensk. Selsk. Skr.*, 6. R., *hist. og filos. Afd.*, V, 1 (1900), quoted as *Hauberg I*.

"Danmarks Myntvæsen i Tidsrummet 1146-1241", *Ibidem*, V, 3 (1906), quoted as *Hauberg II*.

"Danmarks Myntvæsen og Mynter i Tidsrummet 1241-1377", *Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie*, 1884, pp. 217-374, quoted as *Hauberg III*.

His statements are, however, in many cases incomplete and inexact, for which reason a new examination of the source material presumably will not be inappropriate. Cf. W. Jesse, "Probleme und Aufgaben der Münzmeisterforschung", *Hamburger Beiträge zur Numismatik*, Heft 9/10, 1955/56, pp. 30-60.

the service of the Swedish king.² Unfortunately, he did not follow the prevailing English coin-custom according to which the designation of the mint should be added to his own name, and accordingly we do not know the place where he struck his coins. Sven Forkbeard's coinage is, however, a unique phenomenon, and to the present day only about five specimens have been handed down in hoards.

	Cnut the Great	Hardecnut	Magnus	Sven Estr.	Harald Hen	Cnut the Saint	Olaf Hunger	Eric Ejegod	Niels	Eric Emun	Eric Lam	Total
<i>Lund</i>	24	34	35	163	28	32	9	3	3	2		333
<i>Borgeby</i>				1		1						2
<i>Thumatorp</i>				1	1	1						3
<i>Roskilde</i>	3	5	3	19	2	14	1	3	18	3	1	72
<i>Gori (?)</i>		1	1									2
<i>Ringsted</i>	1					2	1	1				5
<i>Slagelse</i>	2	2	1	1	1	3	1					11
<i>Odense</i>	1		3	3		2						9
<i>Toftum (?)</i>			1									1
<i>Viborg</i>	5	1		17	2	7	1		2			35
<i>Ålborg</i>		2				4						6
<i>Ørbæk</i>	2	2										4
<i>Randers</i>						4		2				6
<i>Århus</i>		1	1									2
<i>Ribe</i>	1			2								3
<i>Slesvig</i>			3	3								6
	39	48	48	210	34	70	13	9	23	5	1	500

The Danish coinage was not organized until about 1020 by Cnut the Great, after Anglo-Saxon pattern and with Anglo-Saxon moneyers. The coins from Cnut the Great to Erik Lam (Lamb), that is, from the period about 1020–1146, usually mention the name of the mint-official responsible for the right value of the coin. We disregard here the great number of coins with illegible legends, which bear witness to the fact that the die-sinkers were often analphabets, who did not

² *Hauberg I*, pp. 41–44. —*Numismatiska Meddelanden*, XXVIII (Stockholm, 1935), pp. 22–27.

quite know how to copy the model given them by literate clergymen. There occurs such an extraordinarily large number of names – e.g. from Sven Estridsen's reign (1047–74) alone at the principal mint of Lund more than 160 different names – that they cannot possibly all have been mint-masters in the sense of later times, even if they often (by means of abbreviations: MO, MON and the like) designate themselves as *monetarii*. A schedule is offered here of the number of *monetarii* from the Danish mints; still it ought to be observed that several names occur more than once, the persons in question having worked during a period with more than one regent.³

We know nothing about the relations between the king and his moneyers in the rather numerous Danish mints – 16 in all were known at the time – but they were presumably men possessing a certain fortune, capable of living up to the responsibility resting on them. As might be expected, the Anglo-Saxon names predominate. The forms of the names often point to men from the old Danish Northern England, the Danelaw, and only gradually were the Anglo-Saxon moneyers succeeded by men with Danish names. Also many of the Danish names disclose Anglo-Saxon influence, for instance Osgod for Asgot, Thorstan for Thorsten, Outhencar for Othencar, Svava for Svavi, etc. In several cases it is possible to point out the dialect from the Danelaw. In the same way various personal names, for instance Sumerleth, are characteristic of the old Danish domain.⁴ The Norman conquest did not completely cut off the connection with England. A great number of Anglo-Saxons, no doubt especially people from the Danelaw, took refuge in Denmark. On the other hand, it is almost impossible to point out with any certainty, German personal names (perhaps with the exception of Meinolf in Lund during the reign of Sven Estridsen).

Among the hundreds of names there is none that can be identified with the moneyers known from the written tradition. These, who all date from the period after about 1100, will be dealt with in the following pages.

³ *Hauberg I*, pp. 93–104. – *Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie*, 1934, p. 33.

⁴ Kr. Hald, "Om Personnavnene i de danske Møntindskrifter", *Studier tilegnede Verner Dahlerup*, 1934, pp. 182–187.

<i>Lund</i>	<i>Roskilde</i>	<i>Odense</i>	<i>Ribe</i>	<i>Uncertain mint</i>
Haquinus dead ca. 1200	Gerardus 1157-62			Anketillus 7 years between 1094-1123 Nicolaus Johan- nis de Sancto Albano 30 years between 1202-34
	Johannes ca. 1252-64	Henricus Sømær dead before 1285	Henricus dead before 1273	
	Somarus ca. 1291- ca. 1300			
	Petrus Pram - 1293 -			
Michael -1323-	Johannes Franz ca. 1302-16		Herman Hagmot -1310-	
Strango Johan- nis 1329-36	Folsekin Jacobsen 1330-31		Papæ Myntær ca. 1326-30	
Petrus Henrici -1353-				

The first name occurring is the goldsmith *Anketil*. He is mentioned by the well-known chronicler Mattheus Parisiensis from the monastery of St. Alban (died 1259) in his *Gesta Abbatum Monasterii sancti Albani*, which covers the period from the foundation of the monastery by King Offa in 783 to the year 1255. Mattheus gives a detailed description of the magnificent shrine made for St. Alban by the goldsmith Anketil. It was begun in the year 1123, when Geoffrey was abbot (1119-46), and finished in 1129, and on August 2nd of the latter year the solemn *translatio* of the saint took place. The chronicler names Anketil as his authority for a story to the following effect: The relics of St. Alban were stolen by the Danish vikings who plundered the monastery when Wulnoth was Abbot, that is, in the 9th century; subsequently they were placed in the conventual church of Owense (Odense) on the island of Luna (Funen) in Dacia (Denmark), and finally they were

in a miraculous way stolen again and brought back to England by the sacristan Egwin. The section of interest to us reads as follows:

Memoratus autem Anketillus, monachus et aurifaber, quandoque in Daciam venerat, ad Regis Dacorum mandatum et supplicationem, ad quippiam operis eidem faciendum. Ubi per septennium moram continuans, regiis præerat operibus aurifabrilibus, monetæ custos et summus trapezita. In verbis enim, et operibus, fidelis inventus est, et acceptus.

Hic cum repatriasset, amicos et consanguineos, de licentia Regis, domini sui, visurus, et honestatem religiosam claustrum Sancti Albani vidisset, placuit ei ibidem morari, habitum sumens religionis. De ejus fida relatione, et certa affirmatione, didicimus, quod secundum Danorum libros historiales, quos "Chronica" dicimus, tempore Wlnothi, Abbatis hujus ecclesiæ, cum Danorum rabies omnia obstantia feraliter obrueret, quidam eorundem ossa Beati Albani rapuerunt, et rapta, quasi prædam pretiosissimam, in partes suas detulerunt, et in feretro, ad hoc facto, reposuerunt. Sed qualiter reportarentur, in historia ejusdem Abbatis præscribitur. Feretro igitur perfecto, Translationi Abbas Gaufridus, prout in sequentibus dicitur, diligenter insistebat.⁵

This account is improbable on several points.

After the conquest of England by the Normans many Anglo-Saxons set their hope in Denmark and expected liberation by the Danish kings. In 1069 Sven Estridsen sent his brother Asbjørn, accompanied by his sons Harold and Cnut, on an expedition to England, but Asbjørn found William the Conqueror too strong, and consequently let himself be bought off with a large sum of money. An expedition led by the king's son Cnut in 1074 was just as fruitless. It only resulted in a massacre in the Danelaw which had sided with the Danes. As Cnut is said to have brought back the relics of St. Alban,⁶ it must have happened during one of the expeditions in 1069 or 1074 – not in the 9th century, since the bones in question were of no interest to the vikings who were heathen at that time. At his royal residence in Odense Cnut erected a church dedicated to St. Alban; on the altar he placed relics of St. Alban and St. Oswald. These relics only consisted of a few rather small bones, and Cnut's biographer Ælnoth uses the expression *capsulæ* (boxes) about their receptacles.⁷

In 1085 Cnut summoned his men to arms for the recapture and liberation of England, but he was detained in Sleswic by a threat of attack by the Emperor

⁵ *Gesta abbatum monasterii sancti Albani*, ed H. Th. Riley (London, 1867), pp. 84–85.

⁶ *Passio sancti Kanuti regis et martyris*. M. Cl. Gertz: *Knud den Helliges Martyrhistorie*, Festschrift udgivet af Københavns Universitet 1907, pp. 18–19. – *Vitae Sanctorum Danorum* (København, 1908), p. 69.

⁷ *Vitae Sanct. Dan.*, p. 120.

Henry IV, and the 1000 ships that lay ready to sail in the Lymfjord had to be sent home. King Cnut's eagerness to augment the income of the church by tithes from the peasants led to revolt. He was killed in St. Alban's church in Odense together with his brother Benedict and 17 housecarls. The ecclesiastics told about miracles at his tomb in the church, and in 1195 he was solemnly taken out of the grave. His brother King Eric Ejegod (Ever-Good) endeavoured to have him (and no doubt also their brother Benedict) canonized. This was confirmed by the pope for King Cnut in 1101. On April 19 in this year a solemn shricing took place in a magnificently executed reliquary. The stone church begun by King Cnut was now dedicated to St. Cnut, and in connection with this church Eric Ejegod founded a Benedictine monastery to which he summoned 12 monks from Evesham. Anketil probably came to Denmark already in the 1090's, and possibly it was he who executed the two shrines that were finished in 1101 and which are still found in St. Cnut's Church in Odense. At the time of the Reformation in 1536 they were, however, bereft of their splendid gilt metal mountings.

It is strange that Ælnoth, who about 1120 wrote an account of the martyrdom of St. Cnut in which he also described the magnificent shrine, did not mention his countryman as its artist. He was himself an Anglo-Saxon and had been living for 24 years in Denmark, when he wrote about the new national saint of the Danes. Nor does he know anything at all about the story concerning the theft of St. Alban's relics. As to Mattheus's reference to the Danish "chronica", it is wrong, too. None of the Danish annals, all of which are of a much later date than the time of Anketil, reveal any knowledge of this monkish fiction, which must be due to an oral and distorted tradition.

Bearing in mind Mattheus's uncritical description of the variable accounts of St. Alban's relics one hundred years before his own time, it is natural to ask what credence can be given to his statement about Anketil's activity in the Danish mint.

The Danish kings who must be meant are Eric Ejegod (1095-1103) and Niels (1104-34). Mattheus evidently imagines that the Danish coinage was more centralized than was actually the case, for both at the time about 1250 and about 1120 the coinage was heterogeneous in the three "lands": Jutland, Sealand and Scania. And what does he mean by the expressions "*monetæ custos et summus trapezita*", which hardly are compatible with Danish conditions? The pioneer of Danish numismatics P. Hauberg has assented to the translation "*øverste Myntmester*" ("supreme mint-master") given by the archaeologist Henry Petersen who

wrote about the shrines in Odense.⁸ Such a "supreme mint-master" for all Denmark is, however, inconceivable in the Middle Ages before the 15th century. If Mattheus had been in possession of exact information, he would not have used the vague expressions. "Monetæ custos" should probably rather be interpreted as a kind of superintendent of the mint, something in the way of assayer or accountant. "Summus trapezita" must be translated as "supreme exchanger" if actually Mattheus, who hardly was conversant with Greek, did use the word in its original sense. It is very likely that already at the time of King Niels a banking-stall was a necessary appurtenance of the mint, where silver in many sorts of foreign coin had to be changed and re-coined. Here an experienced goldsmith like Anketil may have been of great importance.

The next question arising concerns the place in Denmark which was the scene of Anketil's activity. For obvious reasons Odense should be thought of first and foremost. As above mentioned this town had a Benedictine monastery, founded by Eric Ejegod with English monks in connection with St. Alban's church. Furthermore, the extant coins prove that Odense was possessed of a mint from Cnut the Great to Cnut the Saint, whereas no coins from Odense are known from the subsequent kings.

Finally, considering that Mattheus quotes Anketil as his authority for events in Odense, it would be natural to assume that he lived here like so many others of his countrymen.

An examination of the coins handed down to the present time reveals that already during the latter part of King Oluf's reign the coins of Lund, Denmark's most important mint, underwent a conspicuous change. The blanks became larger and thinner, and little by little the stamps disclosed a certain influence from the contemporary English coins. This evolution was continued under the Kings Eric Ejegod and Niels.

The oldest of these coins from Lund presents on the reverse two busts wearing the same pointed cap or crown as that of the royal portrait on the obverse. It would be natural to interpret these anonymous pictures as the two brothers Cnut and Benedict, whose saintly renown was spread early among the people. The difficulty involved is that King Oluf had no reason to be friendly towards his brother and presumably opposed his canonization. On the other hand, no other explication can be advanced; consequently it may be thought that the king had

⁸ *Hauberg I*, p. 92. — "St. Albans Relikvier i Odense", *Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie*, 1886, p. 390.

overlooked the coin-images which were prescribed the mint-masters by the ecclesiastics of Lund. Similar pictures are found on coins from Lund dating from the reign of Eric Ejegod.⁹

Subsequently the reverses of the coins both from Roskilde and Lund display ornamental representations of the cross that evidently enough are inspired by the contemporary English coin-pictures. If Anketil did actually introduce certain novelties in Danish coinage, he must have come to Denmark already at the end of Oluf Hunger's reign, having worked first at the mint of Lund, later on at that of Roskilde. At the same time he must have been working on the shrines in Odense which were completed in 1101. If the statement that he lived in Denmark for 7 years is correct, this stay may be dated to the period 1094-1101. It must, however, be emphasized that all these suggestions are only loose hypotheses. Actually we do not know any particulars about the time he was living in Denmark, except that it was prior to the year 1123; nor are we in possession of any certain knowledge concerning his work as goldsmith or mint-master. Presumably his name is the equivalent of the usual Scandinavian Arnketil, which is found for example on many Anglo-Saxon coins, especially from York, and so he was possibly of Danish parentage.

After an interval of about fifty years, in 1157, another mint-master mentioned by name is finally met with in the tradition. In Roskilde, the ancient metropolis of Sealand, there existed already early in the 12th century a rather numerous colony of German merchants and artisans, united in a special guild. Already in 1133 we hear about their drawing down upon themselves the enmity of the pretender Harald Kesja, on whose orders they were ill-treated and maimed. Later on, at the beginning of the year 1157, an open fight arose between the fraternity of the native citizens of Roskilde and the foreign "guests". According to Saxo the former did not content themselves with devastating the guild of the guests, but in their rage they even laid hands on the king's mint-master, and not only did they level his house to the ground, but they also stole all his goods. King Waldemar, who had just won the sovereignty after conquering his rival Sven Ericsen on Græthe Heath (October 23rd), now arrived on the scene with a strong army in order to punish this assault on a man in the royal service. Roskilde was the most important mint of the realm next to Lund and provided the king with a considerable income. The envoys of the citizens succeeded, however, in appeasing the king by means

⁹ *Hauberg I*, tab. XII, Oluf Hunger, no. 4; Erik Ejegod, nos. 1-3, 5, pp. 56, 229 sq.

of a pecuniary fine.¹⁰ And in all probability the mintmaster's house was soon rebuilt.

The mint-master's name occurs a single time in another context. He was called *Gerhard*: therefore a German, to judge from the name, and as such exposed to the citizens' violence during the tumult of 1157. In a letter dated Søborg Dec. 10th (iiiij^{to} jdus decembris), presumably 1162, Bishop Absalon and his relative Sune Ebbesen noted down a letter according to which King Waldemar conveyed a village, Steinholt, to the friars of Esrom against an acknowledgement of 4 mark of silver: "Hec omnia facta sunt in stuba Gerardi monetarij".¹¹ The expression *in stuba* instead of the more usual *in domo* appears rather strange. It probably alludes to the fact that the house was furnished with a stove instead of an open hearth. Here then the mint-master and his distinguished visitors found warmth and comfort on the cold winter days. It does not appear clearly from the letter whether King Waldemar himself was present, but as witnesses, there are mentioned his chaplain Radulfus who just at this time became bishop of Ribe, Sune Ebbesen, Bishop Absalon's cousin, and five other prominent men. Gerhard's role on this occasion was probably rather that of a kind of banker, than that of a mint-master. This is not strange, since in medieval Denmark banking activity was closely connected with the office of mint-master.

Towards the close of the 12th century the name of a mint-master is again met with, *Hakon* or Hagen, who no doubt worked in Lund. In the necrologium of Lund's chapter, the following sentence was entered under the date of June 19th: "Obiit Haquinus monetarius".¹² He must accordingly have been a wealthy man who by means of rather a large endowment to the church secured the privilege of having a mass said every year on the anniversary of his death for the salvation of his soul. The entry was made towards 1200, but according to custom the year of his death was not recorded. Unfortunately we do not know anything about him; but judging from his name he was of Scandinavian and presumably Danish descent.

During the reign of Waldemar Sejr (the Victorious) (1202-41) the names of a couple of mint-masters or, at any rate, persons connected with some mint or other in Denmark, are mentioned. Now again our authority is the above-mentioned

¹⁰ *Saxonis Gesta Danorum*, ed. J. Olrik & H. Ræder, I (Hauniae, 1931), p. 412.

¹¹ *Codex Esromensis*, ed. O. Nielsen (København, 1880), p. 97.

¹² *Libri Memoriales Capituli Lundensis*, ed. C. Weeke (København, 1884), p. 158.

English annalist Mattheus of St. Alban's who this time refers to contemporary informants regarding the strange account of the changeable destiny of St. Alban's relics:

Hujus historialis eventus seriem ego, frater Matthæus Parisiensis, duxi litteris commendare, ne iterum, incuria vel vetustate, a memoria hominum deleatur. Quam etiam accepi a viris fidelibus et discretis, et fidedignis, qui Daciam, in famulatu Domini Regis Daciæ, multis annis inhabitaverunt, qui de pago Beati Albani erant oriundi vel educandi; Odone, videlicet, ejusdem regis thesaurario et trapezita, Magistro Johanne de Sancto Albano aurifabro incomparabili; qui etiam, amator Martyris devotus et specialis, exterius feretrum, quod "capsidem" vocamus, fabricavit, solemne ejusdem Martyris domicilium; filio quoque ejusdem Johannis, Nicolao de Sancto Albano, qui quandoque cuneum et monetam dicti regis Daciæ triginta annis custodivit; qui Rex, dictus "Aldemarus", plus quam quadraginta annis regnavit. Ipse Nicolaus etiam Domini Regis Anglorum postea monetam et cuneum custodivit.¹³

The strange story about St. Alban's relics may here be disregarded. Of real interest in this connection are the three Englishmen who are said to have gained knowledge in Denmark (in Odense?) about incidents alleged to have taken place a hundred years earlier. These events have left no traces in Danish chronicles or annals, nor does the Danish tradition tell anything about the three men. Odo, who is described as the king's "*thesaurarius et trapezita*", must have been treasurer and money-changer, as it is very dubious that *trapezita* should designate the post of mint-master. Employments like *thesaurarius* and *trapezita* are unknown in Denmark, and consequently it is uncertain what kind of office a foreigner like Odo actually occupied. He is presumably identical with Odo Parvus, who is mentioned in England as "*custos monetæ*" in the 8th year of the reign of Richard the Lion-hearted, that is, 1197, and as "*custos monetæ et cambi*" in the 9th year of John Lackland's reign, namely 1208.¹⁴ He must accordingly have come to Denmark after that time.

Master John executed the magnificent exterior shrine, described at great length by Mattheus, during the period of office of Abbot Simon (1166–83). Consequently he may already have come to Denmark during the reign of Cnut VI (1182–1202). Many tasks could await him at the rich cathedrals and the king's court, but it is impossible to ascribe any definite work to his activity.

Under King Waldemar ("Aldemarus"), who is said to have reigned for more than 40 years but who was actually king for only 39 years (1202–41), John's son, Nicholas of St. Alban's is also said to have occupied a position of great

¹³ *Gesta abbatum monasterii sancti Albani*, p. 19.

¹⁴ Rogers Ruding, *Annals of the Coinage of Britain*, Vol. I (London, 1819), pp. 66, 67 and 153.

trust at the mint (one of the mints) in Denmark. An office like *custos cuneum et monetæ* is in reality unknown in Denmark; the English annalist plainly draws parallels from the more organized English coinage. It may, accordingly, be presumed that Nicholas was mint-master at one or more of the most important mints, Lund, Roskilde or Ribe. His name (Nicole) is found on short-cross and long-cross pennies struck in London and Canterbury, probably from the year 1235, and in 1242 he is mentioned in English documents as occupying a superior position, *custos monetæ*, at these two principal mints. Numerous pennies from the two places bear his name. He died about 1252.¹⁵

It is impossible to point out any amelioration of the Danish coinage as a result of Nicole's activity; the coins of Jutland were on the contrary debased. The vast empire, which the king attempted to create by his conquests to the south of the Baltic and in Balticum, and which was dissolved in 1223, when the king through deceit was taken prisoner by a German vassal, made great demands on the king's utilization of the mints, and matters became still worse, when the huge ransom of about 40.000 marks of silver had to be raised. The pecuniary distress of the realm appears clearly from a letter to Pope Gregory IX in 1231, written by Archbishop Uffe on the occasion of his transmission of the Peter-pence: "— summam ipsam non sine magno rerum dispendio fecimus congregari; nam, cum argentum et aurum nostrum hostes nostri possideant in detrimentum animarum suarum, compulsi sumus liquefacere cupream monetam nostram et eligere inde argenti modicam portionem".¹⁶

In the stamps of certain coins from Jutland, presumably struck in Ribe, it is possible to discern an imitation of the reverse types of the short-cross pennies with double-lined cross and .: or stars in the angles.¹⁷ In 1234, however, there occurred a decisive alteration with regard to the mint of Ribe, where now the king appropriated to himself also that half of the income from the mint which until then had been the property of the bishop.¹⁸ Just about that time Nicole probably returned to England.

¹⁵ L. A. Lawrence, "The Long-cross Coinage of Henry III and Edward I", *BNJ*, vol. IX (1913), pp. 159 sq., vol. X (1914), p. 71. — Idem, "The Short-cross Coinage, 1180 to 1247", *op.cit.*, vol. XI (1915), p. 75. — Idem, "More Chronology of the Short-cross Period", *NC*, 4. ser., vol. XVI, (1916) p. 366.

¹⁶ *Mecklenburgisches Urkundenbuch*, X, no. 7162.

¹⁷ "Influence of the English Coin-types on the Danish in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries", *NC*, 4. ser., vol. XVI, p. 266, pl. IX 14-16.

¹⁸ *Samling af Adkomster, Indtægtsangivelser og kirkelige Vedtægter for Ribe Domkapitel og Bispestol, nedskrevet 1290-1518, kaldet "Oldemoder"* (*Avia Ripensis*), ed. O. Nielsen (København, 1869), p. 5.

The next mint-master mentioned in the written tradition is *Johannes* (Jens or Hans) in Roskilde. Prior to the lawsuit carried on before the papal court by Archbishop Jacob Erlandsen against King Christopher, the plaintiff lodged a long series of complaints against the king. Among other things he blamed Christopher for the debasement of the coin, and furthermore he indignantly called attention to a sum of 100 mark of pure silver and 200 mark of old pennies, which he had lent the king from the Peter-pence to be sent to the Pope. Thus in a letter addressed to the king – evidently dating from the year 1256 – the archbishop says as follows: “Quod litteras vestras aperte datas Johanni Roskildis monetario, ut dictas centum marcas argenti puri sibi solveret, revocastis per secretas.”¹⁹

As already seen, the mint-master was also a sort of banker, who according to the king's instructions undertook disbursements. We now learn that the king had annulled a cheque issued previously (1252–54) to the archbishop who was then still bishop of Roskilde (1249–54).

It was presumably the same mint-master that according to the will of the Countess Ingerd of Regenstein, dated Roskilde 1257, was to receive 2 mark penninge,²⁰ probably a small outstanding debt to the mint-master in question. He must have died in 1264 at the latest, for on the day to St. Lucy (December 13th) in this year the Provost (exactor) Eilard von Oberghe certifies together with citizens in Roskilde that his heirs (heredes Johannis monetarii) have conveyed a site, on which the Sisters of St. Agnes had their domicile, to the Beguine-sisters Elysiby and Tybikkæ.²¹

Presumably in the year 1273 a deceased mint-master *Henric* in Ribe is mentioned, who for 60 mark had pawned his estate in Landting, Ejsing parish, Ginding hundred, to the elected Bishop T (i.e. Tucho, Tyge). The letter, which was drawn up by the aldermen of Ribe, runs as follows:

Omnibus presens scriptum cernentibus consules ciuitatis Ripensis in domino salutem. Nouerint uniuersi, quod presentes fuimus quando domina Auæ post mortem Henrici mone-

¹⁹ *Acta processus litium inter regem Danorum et archiepiscopum Lundensem*, ed. Alfred Krarup et William Norvin (Hauniae, 1932), p. 22. – The mention of a mint-master Johannes in Ribe 1257, *Hauberg III*, p. 244 is due to a mistake by P. F. Suhm: *Historie af Danmark*, 10. tome (København, 1809), p. 385, whose source is Petrus Terpager: *Ripæ Cimbricæ... descriptio* (Flensburgi, 1736), p. 965: “Magister Johannes, Monetarius R Christophori I Roskildie habitabat.” — Magister, viz. magister monetæ.

²⁰ *Testamenter fra Danmarks Middelalder indtil 1450*, ed. Kr. Erslev (København, 1901), p. 7: “Item duas marcas monetario”. *Diplomatarium-Danicum*, 2. R., 1. Bd., 1250–1265 (København, 1938), no. 240.

²¹ *Dipl. Dan.*, 2 R., I, no. 334.

tarii mariti sui curiam, quam possedit idem Henricus maritus eius, in manus uenerabilis patris domini T. electi Ripensis libere resignauit, quia recognouit dictum maritum suum in multo maiori defecisse de pecunia ipsi domino electo promissa de moneta sua, quam ualet ipsa curia, quam quidem curiam sepedictus H. maritus suus eidem domino T. electo coram nobis prius et pluribus aliis fidedignis pro moneta sua cum omnibus attinenciis eiusdem curie et aliis bonis suis mobilibus et immobilibus obligauit, ac eciam recongnouit dominum T. electum Ripensem illius curie uerum possessorem, renunciando totum ius, quod in dicta curia dinoscebatur habuisse. In cuius rei testimonium presentes litteras sigillo ciuitatis nostre fecimus sigillari ad cautelam. Presentes fuerunt huic facto, cum pluribus aliis fidedignis, domini Grummo prepositus Slæswicensis, N. archydiaconus Ripensis, Riko sacerdos, magister Iacobus de Fartorp, magister Johannes Hwith, magister Petrus, Wido sacerdos, canonici Ripenses, Nicholaus Thruthsun, Paulus Hwith, aduocatus Ripensis, quorum sigilla presentibus sunt appensa.²²

According to the most natural interpretation this letter seems to indicate "moneta sua" as the bishop's mint rather than that of the mint-master. It ought to be borne in mind, however, that at this time the bishop had no share in the mint of Ribe, since in 1234 he had through barter given up half the revenue of the mint enjoyed by him until then. By letter of July 6, 1234, King Waldemar II handed over to him instead the plough-tax from the Syssels (provinces) of Har, Almind and Varde in his diocese as well as the revenue from the towns of Varde and Lemvig. The mint of Ribe was accordingly the exclusive property of the king, until in a letter of March 6, 1280, Eric Klipping gave back half of the mint to Bishop Tyge. The attribution of the letter to an earlier bishop elect T., e.g. Tuvo who became bishop elect in Ribe in 1214, would present too great chronological difficulties. T. must needs, then, indicate Tyge who succeeded Bishop Esger after his death on February 14, 1273. Of the witnesses Nicholaus Trudson died in 1275. — Consequently the most probable explanation is that Henric some years earlier had taken over the mint of Ribe against a rent in cash to the king, that on account of this affair he had borrowed 60 mark, either from the then Canon Tyge or from the bishop of Ribe against a mortgage in his above-mentioned estate, and that death overtook him before he was able to repay the debt from "his" mint. Another possibility has been suggested by Axel Ernst, drawing attention to King Abel's letter of April 4, 1252, according to which Esger, the bishop of Ribe, was to receive a yearly compensation from the plough-tax of 50 mark;²³ the sum in

²² *Samling af Adkomster, Indtægtsangivelser og kirkelige Vedtægter for Ribe Domkapitel og Bispestol*, ed. O. Nielsen, p. 18. — *Dipl. Dan.*, 2. R., 2. Bd., 1266–1280 (København, 1941), no. 206.

²³ *Dipl. Dan.*, 2. R., I, no. 60. — Axel Ernst, "Bidrag til Ribe Mønts Historie", *Nordisk Numismatisk Årsskrift*, 1948, p. 6.

question would naturally be paid by the mint-master, and it may have been this payment which caused him to be in arrears. He probably died shortly before the letter was written, and subsequently his widow relinquished her claims upon the mortgaged estate as settlement of his debt. The widow is called "domina", which may indicate that she was regarded as a noblewoman, and as landed proprietor Henric may possibly have belonged to a noble family from Jutland.

A mint-master by the name of *Henric Sømær* is mentioned in Odense. At the parliamentum (Danehof) in Nyborg in 1285 King Eric presented the Grey Friars in Odense with a piece of land, which stretched "usque ad fundum Henrici Sømær, quondam monetarij Othoniensis".²⁴ It is impossible to tell when Henric Sømær held office in Odense. The mint of Odense is presumably meant when in 1229 Waldemar II among other things gave his daughter-in-law Eleonore one half of Funen and "medietatem monete ejusdem terre" together with the whole town of Odense.²⁵ On her death in 1231 the fief reverted to the crown. At this time the mint of Odense must have been active, and the same was probably also the case later on, even though it is impossible with any degree of certainty to point out coins originating from this mint in the 13th-14th centuries. The mint-master is called Henric in the same way as the almost contemporary mint-master of Ribe, but it is dubious whether they are identical. The surname of Sømær is no doubt the Danish "Sommer".

A mint-master also called *Somar* appears later on in Roskilde. He is mentioned in the record of judgments of Jens Krag, bishop of Roskilde, on the occasion of his appearance in the episcopal court on April 6th, 1293. The passage in question reads as follows:

Anno eodem VIII idus aprilis, comparente Somaro monetario Roskildensi coram dicto episcopo confitebatur expresse coram eo, quod statuit cambium alibi, quam Roskildis, uidelicet Slaulosie et alias. Item noluit, quod monetarius domini episcopi funderet denarios prius monetatos Roskildis. Item quando monetarius domini Roskildensis exhibebat se ad tenendum expensas, et faciendum sicut solitum fuit de cambio in Falstria, non fuit admissus. Nam dixit dictus Somarius, quod non cuderentur ibi, uidelicet in Falstria, nisi denarii Sialendenses, cuius oppositum dicebat Petrus dictus Pram tunc presens existens, quia cudebantur ibi denarii non habentes superscripcionem denarii Sialendenses, quod dictus Somarius negare non potuit ullo modo. Item quod istis duobus annis numquam dixit episcopo

²⁴ *Dipl. Dan.*, 2. R., 2. Bd., no. 138.

²⁵ *Nordalbingische Studien*, 1. Bd. (Kiel, 1844), p. 84.

de moneta aliquid prius, quam ad tres dies ante quam moneta deberet cudi: et quod habuit denarios alibi monetatos, quam Roskildis antequam fuerunt elucidati. Presentibus dominis, M. decano Roskildensi, archydyacono Gerardo, Petro Saxonis, Conrado Franz, Nicholao Uplanning, et aliis clericis et laicis, in quorum presencia episcopus dictum S. monetarium monuit pluries, ut ecclesiam Roskildensem redderet indempnem, que partem monete sue, quasi totaliter hoc anno amiserat ex causis superius expressis, et ad hoc faciendum indulsit sibi terminum XV. dierum mediate sequencium.²⁶

The bishop of Roskilde was of old proprietor of one third of the mint and as proved by the quotation above, he had leased out his rights to a special mint-master who had difficulty in holding his own with the king's official. The latter, whose name was Somar, had established exchange stalls in other places than Roskilde: in Slagelse and elsewhere. The yearly exchange of old coins against new ones was of great importance in those days. It is stated later on during Eric Menved's reign (1316) that two new pennies were given for three old ones, a good business, then, for the regent who had the privilege of issuing money, and who moreover debased the new coin, with the result that about this time it consisted of almost pure copper. In addition there was exchange of foreign coin and silver. The rate of exchange probably varied a good deal. In 1296 one mark of silver was valued at $6\frac{2}{3}$ mark pennies in current copper coin.²⁷ The coins from Sealand and Jutland were equally bad, those from Scania a little better.

Furthermore Somar did not allow the Bishop's mint-master to melt down pennies struck previously in Roskilde and, contrary to common practice, he was not permitted by him to keep an exchange-stall in Falster. This island (like Låland) was part of the diocese of Funen, but the Sealand coins were current here, and accordingly the bishop of Roskilde laid claim also to the third part of the coin-revenue from Falster. The passage quoted above is the sole testimony to coining activity in Falster. On the other hand, in 1306 and 1328 mint-masters and coinages are mentioned in Saksøbing, a town situated in Låland.²⁸ Somar declared that only Sealand pennies were struck in Falster; on the contrary, the bishop's mint-master Peder Pram asserted that the pennies struck in Falster bore a stamp (*superscriptio*) other than the Sealand ones, which fact Somar could not deny. The stamps have unfortunately not been described, and it is not possible among the numerous stamps of these miserable "civil war coins" to point out the Falster pennies in question. Finally during "these two years" Somar had not said

²⁶ *Dipl. Dan.*, 2. R., 4. Bd., 1291-1298 (København, 1942), no. 100.

²⁷ *Hauberg III*, pp. 222, 255.

²⁸ *Hauberg III*, p. 234.

anything to the bishop's mint-master till three days before the new coinage was going to be struck, and he had pennies struck elsewhere before they were proclaimed in Roskilde. According to an old regulation the new coinage after being proclaimed in the Landsting was to begin its circulation from the Sunday before Michaelmas-day and not earlier.²⁹ By publishing the new stamps as late as possible Somar had prevented the episcopal mint-master from issuing his part of the coinage in due time. The bishop put down the loss suffered by him through Somar's different transactions at a whole year's income from the mint, which he accordingly enjoined upon Somar to make good within 15 days. The two years mentioned may possibly allude to Jens Krag's episcopate which, however, began in 1290, as his predecessor Ingvar Hjort died on April 23rd in this year. Perhaps, then, the expression rather means that Somar was not installed in his office till the year 1291, or that he did not begin the vexations of his colleague until this year.

In 1309 Somar was called "quondam monetarius Roskildensis", when on August 20th his property in Roskilde was adjudged to his son Johannes.³⁰ Consequently his death must have taken place before the said year.

Six years prior to his death, Somar had acquired a piece of land with houses and bath-room, adjoining and to the west of his own house and situated in Dionysii parish in Roskilde. The wife (or widow) of a certain man called Krok, *domina* Christina, had in Roskilde city court given him a deed of conveyance for the property in question. A certain Laurids Holbæk brought claims forward which, however, were disallowed definitely by a royal letter dated Nyborg July 24, 1313.³¹

Johannes Somerson was a canon of Roskilde; in 1321 in the city court he conveyed the above-mentioned property to St. Clara's nunnery for the salvation of his soul and those of his ancestors.³² We may hope, then, that the transgressions committed by the old mint-master against the bishop and his mint-master were expiated through this act of benevolence.

On the same day as the case against Somar the mint-master was under discussion, another case was submitted to the court which was also connected with the leasing of the episcopal part of the Roskilde mint:

²⁹ *Hauberg III*, p. 221.

³⁰ *Dipl. Dan.*, 2. R., 6. Bd., 1306-1312 (København, 1948), no. 198.

³¹ *Dipl. Dan.*, 2. R., 7. Bd., 1313-1317 (København, 1956), nos. 67-71.

³² *Dipl. Dan.*, 2. R., 8. Bd., 1318-1322 (København, 1953), no. 378.

Anno, ut supra, comparens Johannes Franz VIII. idus aprilis confitebatur expresse, se dixisse in presencia domini episcopi quod si Gyncikæ conduceret monetam episcopi Roskildensis non deberet esse securus de uita sua.³³

Additional mention of this case is not found. Gynzike is quite unknown, but according to his name, he seems to have been of German origin (Gynzike is, like Guncelin, a diminutive form of Gunzo). On the other hand *Johannes Franz* reappears in 1302, now as the king's mint-master in Roskilde, where he presumably succeeded Somar. We meet him in a letter of May 6th in this year, in which he in conjunction with two other persons certifies a contract made between the St. Clara Sisters in Roskilde and Klaus the tile-maker.³⁴

On October 2, 1306, Johannes Franz conveyed on behalf of his wife the whole of the estate in Vinninge, Sværdborg parish, Hammer hundred, which he had bought of the Knight Torbern Jonsen Galen, to the king's chamberlain, the Knight Niels Bild.³⁵ – He is not called mint-master on this occasion, but later on he is mentioned by this title.

On September 20, 1310, the citizens of Lund decided to erect three altars in expiation of a murder; one of these was to be an altar to the Three Holy Kings in the episcopal church of St. Lucius in Roskilde. For a fixed sum Johannes Franz undertook to build the altar in question, to furnish it with a missal and further equipment, and to secure for it an annual income of 60 mark of Sealand pennies. Accordingly he conveyed to the altar landed property in the villages of Snostrup, Skævinge, Hvessinge and Vallensbæk. When these estates proved insufficient for the procurement of the 60 mark stipulated, his heirs were forced to add some more property in Kamstrup in the year succeeding his death.³⁶

Johannes Franz died on October 14, 1316, his wife Christine on June 6, 1326. Their anniversaries were celebrated in Lund's cathedral, as Johannes Franz had conveyed to the chapter a farm in Akarp, Fjælie parish, Torne hundred, which yearly brought in 10 mark of Scania money.³⁷

In 1310 a mint-master of Ribe called *Herman Haghmot* is mentioned. On July 2nd aldermen and citizens of the town testify to his having sold half of a piece of land to Lars Schoolmaster.

³³ *Dipl. Dan.*, 2. R., 4. Bd., no. 101.

³⁴ *Dipl. Dan.*, 2. R., 5. Bd., 1299–1305 (København, 1943), no. 201.

³⁵ *Dipl. Dan.*, 2. R., 6. Bd., 1306–1312 (København, 1948), no. 27.

³⁶ *Dipl. Dan.*, 2. R., 7. Bd., 1313–1317 (København, 1956), nos. 507 and 508.

³⁷ *Libri memoriales*, pp. 262 and 146.

... consules ceterique ciues Ripenses... notum facimus uniuersis, quod Hermannus dictus Haghmot monetarius domino Laurencio scholastico nostre ciuitatis medietatem fundi iacentis a scolis uersus orientem directe ex opposito, in quo idem dominus Laurencius residet, uendidit et in placito nostro scotauit...³⁸

As for the rest, nothing is known about the mint-master in question.

In 1323 the mint-master in Lund, *Michael* (Danish Mikkel) is mentioned in a memorandum dated Søborg, November 24th. According to this memorandum King Christopher II paid of his debts to his vassal Wizlaw III of Rugen, who moreover held in pledge the island of Møn with the important castle of Stegeborg

Hec persoluta sunt domino Wizlao principi a domino Cristoforo Danorum Slauorumque rege. Primo ex parte terre Meønie anno domini m^o. ccc^o. XXIII^o. in profesto beate Katherine uirginis domino Thi. Speckin Seoburgh m. marce Scanienses et eodem die ibidem c. marce puri argenti. Item de monetario Lundensi scilicet a Michaele m. marce Scaniensium. Summa V^c. marce puri argenti.³⁹

In this passage it is again seen that the money was passed for payment directly from the mint to the creditor. Even though Møn was part of the land and coin district of Sealand, the debt was paid in Scania coinage, which still, as against Sealand coinage contained some silver. It also turns out that 5 Scania mark were equivalent to 1 mark of silver. In other respects the mint-master Michael is unknown.

In a letter of June 20, 1346, a piece of land in Ribe is mentioned, bordering on the site of the former mint and situated between Sanct Hansgade and Skolegade, where the late *Papæ Myntær* lived:

... Consules ceterique ciues Ripensis civitatis, salutem in Domino sempiternam. Notum facimus universis tam presentibus, quam futuris, quod sub Anno Dni M.CCC.XL. sexto, tertia feria proxima ante natiuitatem beati Johannis Baptiste, in nostro placito communi Claus Skirmær conciuis noster personaliter constitutus, exhibitori presentium Dno Ketillo Sacerdoti, quendam fundum ad boream iuxta fundum, quo, fabrica monetariorum quondam constructa erat, immediate situm, cujus vnus finis ad platheam beati Johannis & alter finis ad platheam scolarum extenditur, in quo Papæ Myntær quondam residebat, jure vendicionis titulo perscotauit...⁴⁰

³⁸ *Dipl. Dan.*, 2. R., 6. Bd., no. 274.

³⁹ *Dipl. Dan.*, 2. R., 9 Bd., 1323-1327 (København, 1946), no. 79.

⁴⁰ Petrus Terpager, *Ripæ Cimbricae seu urbis Ripensis in Cimbria sitæ descriptio* (Flensburgi, 1736), p. 696.

At this time the coining activity in Ribe had for long been a thing of the past. The cessation of the coinage must for several reasons have taken place in the interregnum, between 1332 and 1340, when the realm was divided between various pawnees: The Swedish King Magnus Eriksen Smek had received Scania; Sealand with the adjacent islands belonged to Count Johan the Gentle of Holstein, whereas Kiel, and Jutland with Funen was subject to "the Bald Count", Gert of Holstein-Rendsburg. The activity of Papae Mønter was prior to 1332, and we are in the extraordinary situation of being able to point to one of his coins which indicates a more precise dating. Papae Mønter evidently belonged to the same noble family as the provincial judge Jens Pape, on whom Eric Menved had conferred a third of Jutland as fief. In company with other noblemen of Jutland he goaded the peasants on to revolt against the king, and in 1314 the Viborg Lands-ting condemned him to lose life and property. Subsequently he sided with the king's brother Christopher (II) and other of the king's enemies. From a letter of April 20, 1318, we know his seal: chevron in shield. The identical device is found again on the reverse of a coin, the obverse of which bears a V beneath a strange crown resembling a cock's comb (Fig. 1). This can only allude to the 11 years old Duke Waldemar Eriksen of South Jutland, who one June 7, 1326, as king elect issued his charter in Viborg, but already in February 1330 renounced his royalty. It was accordingly about this time that Papae Myntaer carried on his occupation as mint-master in Ribe. The young king Waldemar had on July 5, 1326, given the Lord High Constable, Ludvig Albertsen Eberstein, various fiefs including the city of Ribe and its mint; he, however, died already on May 29, 1328, and even during the preceding period a coin with the above mentioned stamp might have been struck.⁴¹

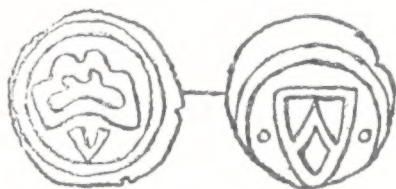


Fig. 1.

In a couple of old archive-registers we find under the years 1330 and 1331 the name of the mint-master in Roskilde: *Folsekin Jacobsen*. The Knight Jacob Flep

⁴¹ "Ribe Mønt", *Fra Ribe Amt* 1947, pp. 600 sqq., fig. 28. — Axel Ernst, "Bidrag til Ribe Mønts Historie", *Nordisk Numismatisk Årsskrift*, 1948, p. 8.

pawned to him for 66½ mark of pure silver all his property in Radsted, Hjelm, Krenkerup, Høot and Skaløre in Låland. The next year Folsekin gave up the whole of this property to his brother-in-law Daniel.⁴² Thereafter he is not heard of, until the heirs of a former mint-master Folsekin in Odense, are mentioned in a will signed on December 12, 1359, by the schoolmaster Peder Nielsen (Petrus Nicholai scholasticus) in Lund.

...Item scolis Lundensibus Grecismum glosatum, michi pro ij solidis grossorum inpigneratum, ita quod tutores ecclesie proprietatem ejusdem libri dictis scolis acquirant de heredibus cujusdam Føltekini quondam monetarii Ottoniensis cum ij aliis parvis voluminibus actorum...⁴³

The name is differently spelt in the four passages: Felsekin Jacopsen mynttemestere y Roschildt, Falsicino Jacobssen, Felckin Jacopsen, and Føltekini quondam monetarii Ottoniensis. There can, however, be no doubt that it is the same man. The name is German, Volcekin. His activity at the mint in Odense after 1331 must have been of short duration. Funen in 1330 was a fief belonging to Count Gert of Holstein who enjoyed all the royal privileges, and so the count pledged Hindsgavl to Henneke Hummerbüttel together with half of Funen and all rights, among these also the mint.⁴⁴ It is, by the way, curious to see the mint-master as owner of books like those mentioned above, which, it is to be hoped, were of greater use to the schoolmaster in Lund.

In 1361 a mint-master is mentioned in Roskilde: *Jens Eskilsen*, when on November 25th another citizen in Roskilde, Peder Jensen Brun, conveyed to him an estate with a stone-house to the east of All-Saints' Churchyard:

Petrus Johannis dictus Brun civis Roskildensis. Notum facio, me discr. viro et honesto Johanni Eskilssen monetario Roskildensi curiam meam cum domo lapidea juxta cimiterium ecclesie omnium sanctorum ad orientem sitam scoto et resigno. Sig. meum cum sig. discr. virr. Johannis Michaelis et Gynzekini Gynzelinson, concivium meorum. Datum in die Katerine.⁴⁵

In common with coinages of the other mints of Denmark to the west of the Sound, that of Roskilde had been discontinued during the interregnum of 1332-40. In 1355 King Waldemar Atterdag intended to resume the coining activity. He

⁴² *Dipl. Dan.*, 2. R., 10 Bd., 1328-1332 (København, 1948), nos. 269, 270 and 341.

⁴³ *Testamenter*, ed. Erslev (see n. 20), p. 126.

⁴⁴ *Dipl. Dan.*, 2. R., 10 Bd.

⁴⁵ *Repertorium diplomaticum Regni Danici mediævalis*, 2. Bd. (København, 1896), no. 2649.

applied for advice to a diplomatic mission from the Hanseatic cities;⁴⁶ on October 28th he discussed the matter with his men at the royal residence in Vrangstrup, and subsequently the Landsting in Ringsted voted a tax of 6 grotes on each head of cattle, to be paid on December 6th and February 2nd. In 1356, then, the new coinage was issued and proved a disappointment to those who had set their hopes on silver coins. It turned out to be only a paltry copper coinage, "a worse for a better".⁴⁷ Subsequently we hear nothing about coinage in Roskilde, but the passage mentioned above proves that the mint of this town did still work in 1361, as otherwise the mint-master Jens Eskilsen would have been named *quondam*.

The "stone-house, in Our Lady's parish in Roskilde, in which formerly the mint-master lived", is mentioned later on in a deed of conveyance dated May 2, 1416⁴⁸.

Jens Eskilsen was married to Grete, who after his death (before 1378) married a citizen of Malmø, Iver Nielsen. The anniversaries of Jens Eskilsen, Iver Nielsen, and Grete were celebrated on June 7th with just as great solemnity as the anniversary of the Archbishop Magnus Nielsen. The expenses for the anniversaries in question were to come from an estate with stone-house in Malmø, which Iver Nielsen and Grete had owned and sold in 1378-79 to the then Dean Magnus Nielsen.⁴⁹

Strange Jonsen (Strango Johannis or Jonæssun) originated in Sealand like Jens Eskilsen mentioned above. He appears for the first time when a certain Tyge Bly (Tuko Blygh) on March 6, 1323, in return for a loan of 200 mark of new Sealand pennies pledges to him his landed properties in Svogerslev, Sømme hundred; the two hides of land in question were assessed at 13 øre in all.⁵⁰ On February 1, 1328, he also lent 300 mark of current pennies and 20 mark of pure silver of Cologne standard to a certain Henrik Clausen against pawn and mortgage on all his personal property and real estate in Vesby. In this letter Strange Jonsen is expressly named a native of Svogerslev (Strangoni Jønssun de Swauersleef). The letter which was issued in Roskilde, was attested by the above-mentioned Canon Somari among other witnesses.⁵¹

⁴⁶ Harald Berg, "Den rostockska sändebudsberättelsen om Valdemar Atterdags förhandlingar med Magnus Eriksson", *Skandia*, III (Lund, 1930), pp. 106-116.

⁴⁷ *Chronica Sialandie. Annales Danici medii ævi*, ed. Ellen Jørgensen (København, 1920), p. 180.

⁴⁸ *Repertorium*, 3. Bd. (København, 1906), no. 5584.

⁴⁹ *Libri memoriales*, p. 147.

⁵⁰ *Dipl. Dan.*, 2. R., 9 Bd., no. 11.

⁵¹ *Dipl. Dan.*, 2. R., 10 Bd., no. 4.

In the next year Strange Jonsen came upon the scene as mint-master in Lund. On March 3, 1329, he conveyed an estate in Lund, which he had bought of a citizen, Ingvar, to the chapter in Lund in order to save his own and his wife Cecilie's souls. Their anniversary was to be celebrated by means of the 4 mark of new Scania pennies which constituted the annual proceeds from the estate.

... Strango Jønessun monetarius Lundensis... Nouerint uniuersi me in remedium animarum mee et Cecilie uxoris mee dilecte curiam meam Lundis in parrochia beati Bothulphi Lundis sitam, quam habui de Ingwaro ciue Lundensi iusto empcionis titulo, honorabilibus uiris dominis capitulo Lundensi legasse, scotasse ac in manus tradidisse... anniuersaria nostra cum quatuor marchis denariorum nouorum Scaniensium de dicta curia ...⁵²

In a letter of January 1330 he appeared again, but now he described himself as a former mint-master in Lund: "Strango Junissun, condam Lundensis monetarius." He and (his sister?) "Mæræte uxor olim Beroris cum duobus suis filiis" convey, in confirming the will of their relative, the Canon Jens Ulstrup (Johannes Vlsthorp), an estate in Svogerslev to St. Clare's Nunnery in Roskilde. This estate brought in a clear annual profit of two mark of copper pennies.⁵³

Next year he was again mint-master in Lund. On August 20, 1331, together with another person he issued a certified copy of the Knight Gregers Tuesen's letter of April 17, 1330.⁵⁴ And he was still mint-master in 1336, when together with his son Niels and two others he attested a letter dated Lund May 20, 1336, issued by the Lord High Constable Sivert Sivertsen pledging landed property in Odsherred for 100 mark of silver.⁵⁵ Strange Jonsen also appeared as a witness later on, in 1340, 1343 and 1353, but now only as a citizen of Lund.⁵⁶ He died in this town in 1358, and his anniversary was celebrated in Lund on January 8th. His wife Cecilie was mentioned in 1334 and 1346, her anniversary was celebrated on April 26th. Their son, Niels Strangesen was mentioned in letters of 1336 and 1353.⁵⁷ Strange Jonsen carried a coat of arms: a shield with an antler and a star (Fig. 2).⁵⁸

⁵² *Dipl. Dan.*, 2. R., 10 Bd., no. 105.

⁵³ *Dipl. Dan.*, 2. R., 10 Bd., no. 195.

⁵⁴ *Dipl. Dan.*, 2. R., 10 Bd., no. 323.

⁵⁵ *Dipl. Dan.*, 2. R., 11 Bd., 1333-1336 (København, 1950), no. 296.

⁵⁶ Malmø, 1340, 11. sept., *Dipl. Dan.*, 3. R., 1. Bd. (København, 1957), no. 67. - Malmø, 1343, 24. nov., *ibid.* no. 400. - Lund, 1353, 2. nov.

⁵⁷ *Libri memoriales*, pp. 67 sq.

⁵⁸ Henry Petersen, *Danske adelige Sigiller fra det XIII og XIV Aarhundrede* (København, 1897), no. 414.

The name of yet another mint-master in Lund, *Peder Henriksen* (Petrus Hinrici) occurs in a will made on March 11, 1353, by Tyge Turesen (Tucho Turonis), called Malmøgh, who was a canon in Lund: "Item P. Hinrici monetario ij amphoras slyndythæ et i cornu." Whereas horn and jars are well-known objects, the contents of the jars (slyndythæ) are puzzling. At the end of the will the mint-master is called by his name in full as executor testamenti together with two other persons.⁵⁹ Apart from that nothing is known about this mint-master.



Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.

An otherwise unknown mint-master seems to be mentioned on a silver buckle (Fig. 3) found 1823 in Bodilsker, Bornholm (National Museum, Copenhagen, Inv. no. MLXVIIIa). Engraved in eight flaps around the buckle are tools for minting: hook, two tongs, two hammers, two underdies and an upperdie. To judge from the inscription: *THE DRICVS. FRATER. MONETARII. AMOR. VINCIT. OMNIA*, the buckler may be a gift to an unknown mint-master from his brother, the mint-master in question perhaps functioning in Lund about 1300. This brother Didrik was evidently a man of classical erudition who knew his Vergil.⁶⁰

Here the sketchy narrative of the short series of Danish mint-masters mentioned by name from the time when coinage was issued in conformity with the old Danish computation (1 mark = 8 øre = 240 or 288 pennies), comes to an end.

⁵⁹ *Testamenter*, ed. Erslev, pp. 114 sq.

⁶⁰ *Omnia vincit Amor*, see *Eclogue X*, ed. Loeb (London, 1953), p. 74.

When Queen Margrethe resumed the minting of Danish coins after 1396, it was the Lubec computation (1 mark = 16 skilling = 192 pennies) that was used, and the mint-masters at work in the 15th century, are fairly well-known as they have been dealt with in several monographs.⁶¹

⁶¹ "Das Münzmeistergeschlecht Comhaer", *Berliner Münzblätter*, Neue Folge, XLIII Jahrg., Nos. 242-246, Febr.-Juni 1922, pp. 299-300, 352-353, 365-367. - "Møntmesterslægten Comhaer", *Moneta, Meddelanden från Skånes Numismatiska Förening*, 1. Bd. (Lund, 1932), pp. 15-26. - Erik Person, "Myntmästerna i Malmö 1444-1512", *Numismatisk Förenings Medlemsblad*, XII, Okt. 1930, pp. 85-90. Erik Person, "Några anteckningar om Malmösläkten Dringenberg", *Malmö Fornminnesförenings Årsskrift*, 1934, pp. 91-106.

VON DER NUMISMATIK ZUR GELDGESCHICHTE

HANS GEBHART

Die Wandlung, welche in neuerer Zeit die Numismatik aus einer Disziplin der Altertumskunde zur Wissenschaft der Geldgeschichte hinführt, ist unverkennbar. Diese Wandlung steht, geben wir uns keiner Täuschung hin, heute noch nicht als fertige Tatsache vor uns. Sie ist vielmehr immer noch eine Forderung, der wir offengestanden noch nicht genügt haben. Besser wäre es vielleicht, nicht so sehr von einer Wandlung, sondern vielmehr von einer Wendung zur Geldgeschichte hin zu sprechen. Manches gute Beispiel gerade aus der letzten Zeit ließe sich dafür anführen. An der Entschiedenheit des Wollens fehlt es kaum. Es sollte aber auch zu denken geben, daß die geldgeschichtlich wirklich bedeutsamen Werke der jüngsten Zeit nicht aus unseren Provinzen kommen. Ich verweise hier nur auf die Arbeiten von Gerloff¹ und die vorzüglichen englischen Untersuchungen in den Bereichen des primitiven Geldes.² Freilich, die Ansatzpunkte dieser Arbeiten liegen nicht zufällig in den Randgebieten der Geldbereiche, vor und neben der klassischen Geldform der Münze, sie wurden aber methodisch vorbildlich – und das ist das Entscheidende – bis zum Wesen des Geldes hin geführt. Der zentrale Raum der Geldgeschichte in den Stadtkulturen aber ist nach wie vor nur spärlich

¹ Wilhelm Gerloff, *Die Entstehung des Geldes und die Anfänge des Geldwesens* (Frankfurt/M., 1947). Derselbe, *Geld und Gesellschaft* (Frankfurt/M., 1952).

² A. Kingston Quiggin, *A Survey of Primitive Money* (London, 1949). Paul Einzig, *Primitive Money* (London, 1949).

erleuchtet. Seine Erhellung ist unsere eigentliche Aufgabe. Für ihre Bewältigung fehlen aber weithin die Voraussetzungen.

Die öffentlichen Fachsammlungen und Institute als die vor allem in Frage kommenden Arbeitsstätten sind weder materiell noch personell, wie die Dinge nun einmal liegen, für die große Aufgabe der Geldgeschichte gerüstet und eingerichtet.

Was aber daneben und darüber hinaus vor allem an Quellenmaterial fehlt, wird klar, wenn wir uns einen Augenblick und nur im groben die gestellten Aufgaben vergegenwärtigen.

Die Aufgabe der Geldgeschichte ist, kurz gesagt, das Geld geschichtlich in allen seinen Erscheinungsformen sowohl als in seinen sozialen und wirtschaftlichen Funktionen zu untersuchen. Hier wird man sich vor allem scharf von den nur theoretischen Bemühungen um das Wesen des Geldes absetzen müssen. Geldgeschichte, wie wir sie meinen, wird immer von den Erscheinungsformen des Geldes auszugehen haben. Münzen, Geldurkunden, Papiergeld, Natural- und Schmuckgeld sind seine hauptsächlichsten Kategorien. Daraufhin gesehen, erscheinen unsere Sammlungen nur einseitig entwickelt. Der planmäßige Ausbau nach allen Seiten hin wird also die nächste Forderung sein. Die damit zusammenhängende Arbeit muß notwendig und zunächst auf Sammlung, Sichtung und Ordnung abgestellt werden.

Darüber hinaus wird aber die Forschung sich letztlich der Bewältigung des Materials in einer von innen her entwickelten "Gestaltenlehre des Geldes" nicht entziehen können.

Was nun weiterhin die Funktionen des Geldes etwa als Wirtschafts-, Tausch-, Preisausdrucks-, Rechnungs-, Zahlungsmittel, als Kaufmacht und ihre geschichtliche Erfassung betrifft, so fehlen hier einer ins Große gerichteten geldhistorischen Forschung die breiten archivalischen Grundlagen.

Nach der Gliederung des Stoffes würden sich etwa folgende archivalische Sachgruppen und Aufgaben ergeben:

1. Die Sammlung von Gesetzen, Verordnungen und Rechtsquellen für das Geld- und Münzwesen, jeweils nach Räumen getrennt und ihre handliche Zurichtung in Tabellenform.
2. Sammlung von Probationen, Kursnotierungen, Wechselkursen u.s.f. und zwar wiederum getrennt nach Räumen und auch nach der Herkunft aus staatlichen oder privaten Bezirken.

3. Die Sammlung von Preismaterial, ein weites und weithin ungenügend bebautes Feld.

Hier werden zwei Hauptquellen zu berücksichtigen sein:

- a) Isolierte Preisnachrichten aus der Literatur, aus Urkunden, Briefen, Familienpapieren. Einiges ist bereits bekannt, mehr noch aber bedarf der systematischen Ausgrabung.
 - b) Die Register einer Anzahl von Einrichtungen, wie Hospitäler, Rechnungskammern auch privater größerer Haushalte, die regelmäßig Käufe tätigten und über mehr oder weniger lange Perioden verzeichneten.
4. Mit der eben aufgezeichneten Sachgruppe eng zusammenhängend ist die Sammlung aller Maßeinheiten aufzugeben, also aller Raum-, Flächen- und Gewichtsmaße und deren Rückführung auf exakte Einheiten moderner Prägung.
 5. In einer weiteren Gruppe wären dann die Nachrichten über die Organisation der Geldinstitute und Münzstätten, der Zahlungs- und Wechselmodalitäten, der Edelmetallversorgung zusammenzutragen.
 6. Registrierung der Rechnungsarten und Rechenbehelfe.
 7. Schließlich wäre ein Münz- und Geldfundarchiv anzugliedern.

Das wäre, im Groben skizziert und im Einzelnen variabel und ergänzungsfähig, die Fundierung, von der aus jede weiterbauende Auswertung und Darstellung erst möglich wird.

Es liegt auf der Hand, daß sie nur in geldgeschichtlichen Instituten zu leisten ist. Ein solches Institut wäre, sachlich und praktisch gesehen, am besten in engem räumlichen Zusammenhang mit einer bereits bestehenden Münz- und Geldsammlung, die als tragende Archivgruppe anzusehen ist, und deren wissenschaftlichen Apparat zu entwickeln.

Nun zu den personellen Erfordernissen: Für dieses Institut ist ein Numismatiker und Geldhistoriker zu stellen. Daneben müßte versucht werden, von der Seite der Wirtschaftsgeschichte oder der Volkswirtschaftslehre eine historisch gestimmte Kraft zu gewinnen, die das entwickelte begriffliche Rüstzeug der Nationalökonomie in die gemeinsame Arbeit miteinbrächte, um damit die fruchtbare Begegnung zweier Nachbardisziplinen zu ermöglichen, nach der wir bisher vergeblich trachteten.

Wäre auf solche Weise die Leitung besetzt, müßten für die Einrichtung der einzelnen Sachgruppen die entsprechenden Spezialkräfte gewonnen werden.

Mit der geldgeschichtlichen Intensivierung unserer Arbeit wird nicht nur ein neuer Gesichtspunkt der Forschung erreicht, oder, quantitativ gesehen, ein neuer Raum des Wissens erschlossen, es bahnt sich gleichzeitig damit vielmehr eine Wesensänderung unseres historischen Denkens an. Mit dem Schritt von der Numismatik zur Geldgeschichte vollziehen wir nämlich im Einklang mit einem großen geistesgeschichtlichen Prozeß die Wendung von einer sich an äußerliche Zeugnisse haltenden Gelehrsamkeit zu einer besonderen Form des Erkennens. Nicht Geringeres geschieht hier, als daß geschichtliche Anschauung in lebendige und wirkende Erkenntnis umgesetzt wird. Ich darf mich dabei auf die Worte des Historikers und Geschichtsphilosophen Benedetto Croce berufen, der die Situation wie folgt beschreibt:

“Wir sind das Produkt der Vergangenheit und leben in die Vergangenheit getaucht, die von allen Seiten auf uns lastet. Wie sollen wir zu einem neuen Leben schreiten und unser Wirken gestalten ohne aus der Vergangenheit zu treten, ohne uns über sie zu stellen? Und wie sollen wir die Vergangenheit überwinden, wenn wir in ihr sind und sie in uns ist? Nur ein Weg bleibt aus diesem Kreis: Der Weg des Denkens, der die Verbindung mit der Vergangenheit nicht zerreißt, sich aber geistig über sie erhebt und sie in Kenntnis verwandelt. Der Vergangenheit muß ins Antlitz geblickt werden; ohne Metapher: die Vergangenheit muß auf ein gedankliches Problem zurückgeführt werden und dieses durch eine wahre Aussage gelöst werden, die ihrerseits die geistige Voraussetzung für unsere neue Tat und unser neues Leben sein wird ...”

Wir müssen uns klar machen, nur in den Nöten unseres Daseins, in den Kämpfen unserer Welt, entsteht das Bedürfnis nach Geschichte und damit nach Forschung und Einsicht mit dem Ziel, dieses Leben zu bewältigen.

Die Leute des Museums, des Sammelns geraten leicht in die Gefahr zu Hochstaplern des Rohstoffs der Geschichte zu werden. Sie sollten niemals den äußerst lebendigen Anlaß ihrer Existenz vergessen. Die Wissenschaften sind in eine Zone der Verantwortung gerückt, in der sich die neutrale Distanz des Nur-Wissens nicht mehr leisten können. Mit jedem Wissen, mit jeder Erkenntnis muß heute ein Nerv des Tuns und des Lebens gereizt werden. Denn dieses Dasein, in dem sich unermessliche Umwälzungen vorbereiten, ruft zu aktiven Entscheidungen auf, die nur mit echter geschichtlicher Einsicht getroffen werden können. Nicht zuletzt ist unser soziales Dasein, unsere Gesellschaftsordnung von dieser Umwälzung betroffen. Es ist kein Zweifel, daß Geld eine soziale Erscheinung erster Ordnung ist. Wilhelm Gerloff hat eben in seinem außerordentlichen Werk “Geld und Gesell-

schaft" die Grundlagen einer gesellschaftlichen Theorie des Geldes gelegt. Man hat bei der Würdigung dieses Buches, in dem das historische Denken als integrale Form des Erkennens wirksam ist, wieder einmal darauf hingewiesen, wie wenig das Phänomen des Geldes geschichtlich erfaßt und begriffen wird. Es ist unleugbar, daß die Erscheinung Geld und sein Wesen und Wirken selbst in den Intelligenzschichten nur nebelhafte Vorstellungen, Unsicherheit und Hilflosigkeit auslöst. Der Wirklichkeit des Geldes, seinen hervorragenden sozialen und wirtschaftlichen Funktionen in der geschichtlichen, sich zur Erkenntnis erhebenden Schau zu begegnen, die Gesetzmäßigkeit seines Wesens zu fassen und damit das Vergangene als lebendig wirkendes Element in das Gegenwärtige aufzunehmen, ist eine Verpflichtung, die nicht ernst genommen werden kann. Hier ist die Möglichkeit für unsere Wissenschaft gegeben, auf einem wesentlichen Teilgebiet die immer gefährlicher werdende Diskrepanz zwischen hoch entwickelter materieller Kultur und der nachhinkenden Entwicklung unserer sozialen Formen und Einrichtungen zu überbrücken. Es geht kurz gesagt, ernstlich darum, unsere Gesellschaftsorganisation der durch die Technik völlig veränderten Welt anzupassen.

Von Jean Paul Sartre ist ein Essay erschienen: "Was ist Literatur?" Er kommt darin auf die Numismatik zu sprechen und fragt: "Warum sollte man seine Zeit und sein Geld auf den Erwerb von Münzen verwenden, wenn man nicht von der Freundschaft der Männer, von der Liebe der Frauen und der Macht abgekommen wäre?"

Im Zusammenhang mit seiner Philosophie sieht er also in der Numismatik eine Flucht vor dem Leben, eine Verführung, in ausgesparten Räumen einsame Feste zu feiern, ja, er sieht in ihr "das Wesen der destruktiven Vollendung".

Jedem, der es sich leisten zu können glaubt, mag ein solch edles und menschenbildendes Idyll vergönnt sein. In dem Bezirk der reinen Wissenschaft ist es nicht erlaubt. Hier muß Klarheit herrschen über das strenge Gebot der Stunde, das uns zum Leben hinweist. Es heißt für unsere Wissenschaft "Geldgeschichte" im weitesten und lebendigsten Sinn des Wortes – als Beitrag zu unserer Existenz-erhellung.

LES PLUS ANCIENS TARIFS MONÉTAIRES ILLUSTRÉS DES PAYS-BAS

H. ENNO VAN GELDER

Dès le 14^e siècle les ordonnances monétaires des princes régnant dans les Pays-Bas étaient souvent accompagnées d'un tarif spécifiant les cours des monnaies antérieures et étrangères qui circulaient dans leur territoire. Les ducs de Bourgogne de la maison de Valois, qui, dès 1433 réunirent sous leur sceptre la plupart des provinces, le Brabant, la Flandre, le Hainaut, la Hollande etc., continuèrent cette tradition: on connaît une longue série de tarifs monétaires promulgués au cours du 15^e siècle. En général ces tarifs se contentent d'énumérer les espèces tolérées avec indication de la valeur libératoire en termes de la monnaie la plus récente, en ajoutant que les espèces non mentionnées doivent être considérées comme défendues. Tant que la circulation se limitait à un nombre restreint de types monétaires la publication de ces listes, qui étaient lues à haute voix devant les églises et les hôtels de ville, semblait suffire à tous les besoins.

Mais vers la fin du 15^e siècle le nombre croissant d'espèces de tous pays qui pénétraient dans la circulation des Pays-Bas, à cette époque l'un des carrefours les plus fréquentés du commerce européen, exigeait de nouvelles méthodes pour assurer la police monétaire. C'est dans ces circonstances que l'invention de la typographie ouvrait de nouvelles perspectives. D'abord elle facilitait la multiplication des tarifs monétaires sans crainte d'erreur ou d'abréviation de la part des autorités locales. On connaît des feuilles imprimées *in-plano* contenant les

tarifs publiés par le gouvernement de l'archiduc Philippe le Beau en 1485, en 1487, en 1495 et en 1499.¹ Sans doute cette série, dont chaque élément n'est connu que dans un seul exemplaire, est incomplète. Les édits monétaires se succédaient dans ces décades d'inflation et de déflation alternantes² d'un rythme accéléré et il n'y a aucune raison de penser que ces six textes eussent été jugés plus importants que les autres. Ces feuilles, qui ne contiennent que la liste des monnaies tolérées, étaient destinées à l'affichage et remplaçaient la publication par lecture à haute voix. À part la nouvelle technique de multiplication, ces placards n'apportent pas une innovation de principe.

De plus on connaît un joli bouquin imprimé par Matthieu Goes à Anvers, qui contient le texte complet de l'ordonnance monétaire de 1489: pour la première fois un texte de législation monétaire est reproduit, non plus par transcription manuscrite, mais à l'aide du nouvel art de la typographie. En outre, ce livre apporte une innovation importante. En conformité des usages de l'époque des incunables, le texte est illustré avec des gravures en bois, reproduisant les nouvelles monnaies introduites par l'ordonnance. Il semble que cette innovation est due à l'initiative de l'imprimeur, parceque le texte n'y renvoie pas.

Les autorités n'ont pas tardé d'ailleurs à se rendre compte des possibilités pratiques de l'imprimerie, qui allaient renouveler bientôt les procédés de publication des édits monétaires. On s'aperçoit que, en 1499, les Généraux des Monnaies des Pays-Bas, qui étaient responsables de l'exécution des ordonnances monétaires, ont tiré tous les avantages de la technique nouvelle.

L'ordonnance de 12 décembre 1499, avec deux ordres exécutifs de 1500, codifie dans un seul texte les efforts du gouvernement de Philippe le Beau pour retourner à la monnaie forte, qui, en effet, ont eu du succès. Le système de 1499 est resté en vigueur pratiquement jusqu'en 1548, bien qu'il ait subi mainte modification de détail. Aussi, les Généraux-mâtres ont pris toutes les précautions possibles pour assurer l'application générale du texte et ils n'ont point négligé les possibilités offertes par la typographie.

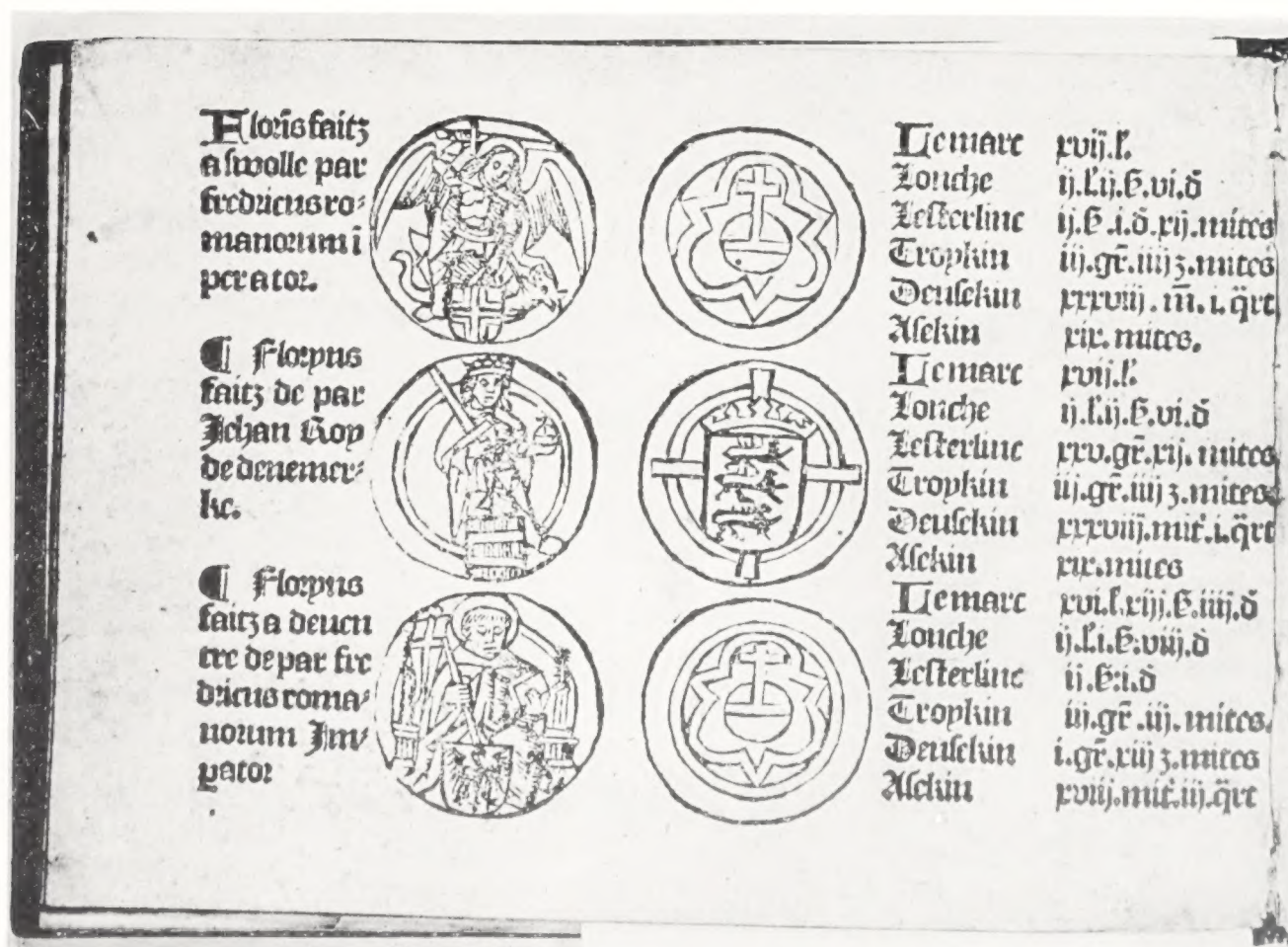
D'abord, comme plusieurs tarifs antérieurs, la liste des espèces tolérées qui fait partie de cette ordonnance, fut imprimée comme placard destiné à l'affichage.

¹ Pour les références bibliographiques des textes cités voir Annexe IV.

² Sur la politique monétaire de l'époque: A. de Witte, *Histoire monétaire des comtes de Louvain, ducs de Brabant, etc.*, II (Anvers, 1896); H. Enno van Gelder, "De muntpolitiek van Philips de Schone 1482-1494", dans *Jaarboek Kon. Ned. Genootschap voor Munt- en Penningkunde* 38 (1951), pp. 42-54; G. Pusch, *Staatliche Münz- und Geldpolitik in den Niederlanden ... besonders unter Kaiser Karl V.* (München, 1932).



F° 16vo Six des neuf "bons florins des électeurs"



F° 4vo Trois florins défendus avec indication de la "droite valeur"

Pour la première fois ce placard est muni d'une série de gravures des monnaies : le texte de l'ordonnance dit explicitement :

pour éviter les fraudes et abuz qui ont esté à cause de plusieurs et divers florins d'Alemaigne contrefaiz ausdis bons florins, l'on mettra les figures desdits bons florins qui auront cours, empreinte, laquelle empreinte sera mise aux portaulx des églises, des maisons eschevinales et autres lieux publiques.³

En effet le placard porte les figures de neuf florins d'or allemands, dont la circulation est admise à l'exclusion de tous les autres : il y a des florins des archevêques de Mayence, de Trêves et de Cologne, de l'Electeur palatin, du duc de Saxe, du marquis de Brandebourg et de la monnaie impériale de Francfort. En outre, on trouve des gravures des douzains et des dizains de France, qui à cause de la similitude de leur dessins, étaient confondus malgré leur valeur différente.

A côté de ce placard, on connaît plusieurs "manuels de la circulation" en forme de petits livres in-8^o de 24 ou de 48 pages, toujours illustrés de gravures en bois. Ils ont été imprimés par de différents imprimeurs anversoïis, qui en partie se sont servis des mêmes bois. Du point de vue de l'histoire monétaire il est fastidieux de rechercher la filiation exacte de ces éditions qui se sont succédées dans une brève période, puisqu'il est hors de doute qu'elles ont été compilées d'après un seul prototype, sur l'ordre ou au moins sous l'inspiration des Généraux des Monnaies.

La première édition de ce manuel basé sur l'ordonnance du 12 décembre 1499 doit dater de l'année 1500, puisqu'il tient compte d'un ordre exécutif émané en février 1500 (1499 style de Pâques), et non pas d'une ordonnance supplémentaire du 26 décembre 1500. Le manuel ne donne pas le texte intégral de l'ordonnance, comme le fait l'édition de 1489 citée plus haut, mais il contient des extraits et des renseignements supplémentaires adaptés aux besoins de ceux qui maniaient les monnaies, en premier lieu les changeurs professionnels.

D'après l'édition française, parue chez Adriaen van Liesvelt à Anvers en novembre 1500,⁴ on en peut donner l'analyse suivante (les éditions néerlandaises, plus nombreuses et en partie antérieures n'en diffèrent que par la langue et par des détails sans importance) :

f^o 1 r^o S'ensuyvent les ressamblances des empreintes des deniers d'or et d'argent, que l'on forge doresnavant en toutes les monoyes [et] de monseigneur l'archiduc, du mesme poix et alloy comme ilz ont esté non obstant l'altération du coing, ordonnée de par mondict seigneur au moix de frebvrier en l'an M.CCCC.iiii^{xx}.xix.

³ Cité par L. Deschamps de Pas, *RN*, N. S. 15 (1874-7), p. 96.

⁴ Annexe IV, n^o 10d.

Suivent les noms et les gravures des monnaies qui seront frappés dans tous les ateliers néerlandais de Philippe le Beau (à ce moment Anvers et Maestricht en Brabant, Bruges en Flandre, Dordrecht en Hollande et Namur au Namurois) : ces nouveaux types ne diffèrent que légèrement de ceux en usage depuis 1496, et seront frappés sous le nom de Philippe jusqu'en 1506 et sous celui de son successeur, l'archiduc Charles (plus tard l'empereur Charles V) jusqu'en 1520.

f^o 2 r^o Pour ce et affin que chacun, quelque estat ou condicion qu'il soit, puisse de mieulx et de plus asseurement avoir la vraye valeur de leurs deniers d'or, légiers et aultres, défenduz et réputez pour billon, l'on a ycy mis et ordoonnée au plus près que bonnement est possible, la vraye valeur du marck, de l'onche et de l'esterlinc de diverses sortes de deniers d'or dont on treuve communément plus, laquelle value e(s)t réformée comme s'ensuit au moy de décembre en l'an Mil.iii^e. iii^{xx}. xix.

Premièrement les nobles d'Angleterre, le toyson d'or, ducats d'Italie, rijders, crusades et aultre semblable or, vault : le marc xxii l. vii s.xi d., l'onche II l. xv s.xi d. xxi m., L'esterlinc xxxiii gr. xiiii mites etc.

Ce tarif spécial, appelé tout court "la droite valeur", est destiné à mettre en vigueur une disposition de l'ordonnance qui prescrit de porter chez les changu'ers toutes les monnaies dont la circulation était interdite. Du fait même que leur circulation n'était pas admise, leur valeur ne pouvait pas être exprimée en patards : au contraire, elles furent payées au poids et le prix d'une certaine quantité dépendait uniquement de l'aloi. On aurait pu se contenter d'indiquer pour chaque espèce l'aloi constaté officiellement, mais on a préféré faciliter l'emploi en calculant d'après cet aloi le prix en argent courant que les changeurs seraient obligés à payer au public. Cette disposition fortifiait la position du public vis à vis des changeurs. Plus tard on a même prescrit que les changeurs devaient étaler sur leur table un exemplaire de cette liste, certifié par les Généraux des Monnaies.

En comparant les prix du marc cités avec les prix de l'or et de l'argent pur mentionnés dans les instructions contemporaines on peut retrouver les alois en carats et en grains que les Généraux ont dû constater au cours de leur essais et qu'ils ont pris comme base de leurs calculs.⁵

Comme les monnaies défendues autant que les exemplaires rognés, usés ou mutilés autrement des types admis devaient être portés chez les changeurs, la liste comprend toutes les espèces de monnaies qui se rencontraient dans la circulation et en donne le prix de rachat, et, implicitement, le titre de l'or et de l'argent. Ainsi elle donne un tableau compréhensif de la circulation dans les Pays-Bas, et non pas

⁵ Voir Annexes II et III.

un choix arbitraire, comme les tarifs qui se limitent aux types, dont le gouvernement approuve la circulation pour quelque raison que ce soit.

La plupart des espèces énumérées étaient bien connues et ne demandaient pas d'autre définition que leur nom usuel; mais une série de 13 florins d'or était censée ne pas être suffisamment connue pour qu'on puisse se contenter d'une simple nomenclature: ils sont illustrés de gravures sur bois, parfois même sans aucune indication de leur nom ou de leur provenance. Curieusement, dans ces gravures-ci, on a jugé superflu d'inscrire les légendes circulaires, qui figurent bien dans l'autre série de gravures représentant les bons florins tolérés.

Les 13 florins gravés sont tous de fabrication récente: ils proviennent des territoires néerlandais, qui n'étaient pas soumis au pouvoir des ducs de Bourgogne (les évêchés de Liège et d'Utrecht et le duché de Gueldres), et des principautés allemandes adjacentes. Ainsi, l'idée d'illustrer de gravures les tarifs monétaires semble être née de la difficulté de faire la distinction entre les "bons florins des électeurs" et les imitations de titre inférieur qui étaient frappées notamment dans la région des Pays-Bas. D'ailleurs, la même question des florins d'or a provoqué les plus anciennes gravures dans les placards allemands, qui parurent dans les mêmes années.⁶

fo 15 r^o De par L'archiduc d'Austrice, duc de Burgoigne, de Lothier, de Brabant, de Stier, de Carinte, du Carniole etc., comte de Flandres, de Habsburch, de Tyrol, d'Artoys etc. est ordonné que les deniers d'or et d'argent cy après déclaréz auront cours ès pays de mondict seigneur, ensuyvant le contenu des ordonnances derrenièrement et depuis naguères faictes et publiées le xxiiii jour de décembre en l'an Mil.iiii^c.iiii^{xx}.et xix.

Premièrement le toyson d'or, que l'on a forgé et forge par cha, de liiii au marc: viii s.iiii d.gr. Etc.

Suit la liste des espèces dont le cours est toléré avec indication du cours en patards et du poids légal de chaque espèce. Comme dans la seconde partie on se contente des noms des pièces: pour les florins d'or allemands, seulement, on retrouve les illustrations des neuf types tolérés, discutés plus haut. En général cette partie du manuel répond exactement aux feuilles destinées à l'affichage qui ne donnent que ce tarif.

Ce premier manuel complet de la circulation monétaire constitue une innovation importante, sans doute propre aux Pays-Bas. A l'étranger on ne semble pas connaître des éditions semblables. On s'y contente longtemps de placards

⁶ K. Häbler, "„Falsche Gulden" – Blätter aus der Frühzeit der Druckerkunst", dans *Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde*, II (1907-8), pp. 218-233.

affichés, qui parfois contiennent les figures des monnaies mentionnées dans le texte.⁷

Aux Pays-Bas le “manuel” a connu un succès incontestable. On ne connaît pas seulement une demi-douzaine d'éditions différentes du texte primitif de 1500, mais pendant une quarantaine d'années on peut suivre une série de manuels pareils, compilés d'après le même principe. Ce n'est qu'en 1541, qu'apparaît un genre de manuel plus moderne, qu'on ne peut plus considérer comme une adaptation de celui de 1500. Ici, il faut se restreindre à retracer l'évolution du type de 1500, dont les changements paraîtront, sans exception, dépendre de ceux de la législation monétaire.

Déjà le 26 décembre 1500 une ordonnance légalisa la circulation de quelques monnaies d'or espagnoles et portugaises (doubles ducats et crusades).⁸ Un placard qui tient compte de cette innovation ne nous est pas parvenu, mais son existence est attestée par une copie publiée jadis par Hirsch.⁹ Au contraire il y a une édition du manuel en anglais, dans laquelle les espèces espagnoles et portugaises sont insérées dans le tarif et, à cause de leur nouveauté, illustrées avec des gravures. Probablement une édition néerlandaise ou française a existé aussi.

Le 27 août 1509 une ordonnance de l'archiduc Charles proclame¹⁰ que, puisqu'on a “oublié” d'évaluer un certain nombre de florins allemands qui ont été prouvés être aussi bons que ceux figurés depuis 1499, une nouvelle suite sera imprimée et affichée. Malheureusement, aucun exemplaire de ce placard n'a survécu; cependant un placard se rapportant à une ordonnance du 28 juillet 1514,¹¹ qui, de nouveau, augmenta la liste, permet de reconstruire la liste des florins admis en 1509. Il en ressort que leur nombre, qui était de 9 en 1499, fut porté à 41 en 1509 et à 53 en 1514. Dès ce moment la plupart des florins allemands sont représentés à l'exception évidemment des émissions de titre inférieur. En 1509, au lieu du choix arbitraire de 1499, on admet la série à peu près complète des émissions des électeurs de Mayence, de Trèves, de Cologne et du Palatinat depuis 1415, celles de la monnaie impériale de Francfort et les florins de Brandebourg (en Franconie), de

⁷ “Documenti Visconteo-Sforzeschi per la storia della zecca di Milano”, dans *RIN*, 8 (1895), p. 221, Documento n° 422.

⁸ De Witte (cité n. 2), p. 117.

⁹ J. C. Hirsch, *Des Deutschen Reichs Münz-Archiv*, I (Nürnberg, 1756), p. 186.

¹⁰ *Recueil des Ordonnances des Pays-Bas*, Deuxième série, 1506-1700, I (Bruxelles, 1896 suiv.), p. 107.

¹¹ M. Hoc, “Quatre impressions de Jean d'Inghelsche alias “Lettersnijder”, dans *Le Compas d'or*, I (1924), p. 162.

Saxe et de Tyrol. Le supplément de 1514 y ajoute quelques pièces de Bade, de Hesse, de Wurtemberg, de Juliers et des ateliers de Bâle et de Nördlingen. Le placard cité se borne à l'énumération des florins reconnus bons, le tarif lui même n'ayant pas été modifié. Naturellement, le manuel, lui aussi, exigea une amplification: en effet, un texte très mutilé d'un manuel semblable à celui de 1499, se rapporte à cette correction: il contient les figures de certains florins admis en 1509, de sorte qu'il doit être daté après l'ordonnance de 1509 ou même après celle de 1514.

Une ordonnance du 2 janvier 1517¹² introduit un changement plus important. Elle annonce l'émission de nouveaux types monétaires, qui s'effectuera en 1521: en attendant elle hausse le prix que les changeurs doivent payer pour les matières d'or, bien que les cours des monnaies restent au niveau de 1499. Le 4 février 1521 une nouvelle ordonnance introduit¹³ les monnaies au nom de Charles V, empereur depuis 1519, et réaffirme les dispositions sur le prix de l'or et sur le cours des monnaies émanées en 1517.

Cette dernière ordonnance est suivie de nouveau d'un placard qui montre au public les figures des nouvelles monnaies avec la liste des cours, et d'un manuel, destiné plus spécialement au changeurs. Il comprend le tarif existant avec les figures des mêmes 53 florins reconnus depuis 1514, et la "droite valeur" des monnaies d'or, calculée d'après le prix de l'or de 1517. On profita de l'occasion pour reviser la liste des monnaies défendues, ce qui a emmené que la série de 13 figures dont se contentait le manuel de 1499, fut portée à 30. Pour les types qui étaient signalés déjà en 1499 l'imprimeur s'est contenté de reprendre les anciennes gravures sans légendes, mais les figures ajoutées sont complètes, comme l'étaient déjà les figures des bons florins depuis 1499. Les nouvelles gravures se rapportent en général à des types parus en Allemagne ou aux Pays-Bas depuis 1499, mais elles ne se bornent plus aux seuls florins: trois écus d'or suisses et italiens de mauvais aloi exigent une gravure afin qu'on puisse les distinguer des prototypes français. Le nouveau manuel ne s'occupe pas de la droite valeur des monnaies d'argent, les ordonnances de 1517 et de 1521 n'en ayant rien dit. Probablement on n'avait pu se mettre d'accord sur un nouveau prix des matières d'argent.

Le laps de temps passé entre le rehaussement du prix de l'or en 1517 et l'introduction des nouvelles monnaies en 1521 avait provoqué d'ailleurs un manuel provisoire qui doit être daté entre les deux ordonnances. Il comprend d'un côté

¹² *Recueil*, I, p. 526.

¹³ *Recueil*, II, p. 57.

le tarif valable depuis 1499 avec les gravures des 53 florins et la droite valeur des monnaies interdites énumérées en 1499 avec les prix modifiés en 1517. D'autre part il ajoute déjà les figures – sans les prix – de la plupart des monnaies interdites qui seront spécifiées en 1521.

Ce n'était qu'entre 1525 et 1526 que la révision de la législation monétaire entamée en 1517 et interrompue par la guerre avec la France, fut complétée. Une ordonnance du 25 novembre 1525¹⁴ fixa un tarif provisoire, qui devait mettre fin à la hausse illégale de l'or survenue depuis 1521, et elle interdit la circulation de plusieurs espèces de frappe récente. En même temps elle détermina, enfin, un nouveau prix des matières d'argent, plus élevé que celui de 1499. Une ordonnance consécutive du 10 décembre 1526¹⁵ remit en vigueur le tarif de 1521 à partir du 1 mars 1527, et réaffirma le prix de l'or valable depuis 1517 et celui de l'argent de l'année précédente.

Avant peu des placards contenant le tarif des monnaies coursables ou la droite valeur, et les manuels complets correspondants sortirent de la presse en assez grand nombre.

Dans ces textes le tarif des monnaies coursables est toujours celui de 1521 avec la même série de gravures des bons florins. La liste des monnaies d'or défendues est reprise, elle aussi, de la liste fixée en 1521 : seulement quelques pièces parues depuis cette année ont été ajoutées avec leurs figures, de sorte que le nombre de gravures s'éleva de 33 à 40, y compris toujours 10 gravures défectueuses datant de 1499. Par contre, une liste nouvelle est établie pour l'argent qui n'a aucun rapport avec celle de 1499. Beaucoup de monnaies d'argent signalées en 1499 ne sont plus mentionnées. Maintenant la liste contient en grande partie des émissions des vingt dernières années : elle se dirige en particulier contre les grandes pièces d'argent modernes, les testons italiens et les snaphanes des Pays-Bas, qu'elle juge même dignes d'être gravés. La liste fut bien plus longue que celle de 1499 : néanmoins elle se révéla aussitôt incomplète. Déjà le 29 janvier 1529 un long supplément¹⁶ devait être publié, qui ajouta encore un grand nombre de monnaies provenant en premier lieu des Pays-Bas.

La disposition des nouveaux manuels est toujours la même. On peut s'en rendre compte en comparant l'analyse suivante du texte français paru chez Johan Lettersnijder à Anvers¹⁷ avec celle donnée plus haut de son prédécesseur.

¹⁴ *Recueil*, II, p. 372.

¹⁵ *Recueil*, II, p. 420.

¹⁶ *Recueil*, II, p. 541.

¹⁷ Annexe IV, n° 24b. Ce texte est reproduit intégralement (avec les gravures) dans *Recueil*, II, p. 434.

fo 1 v^o Evaluacion ordonnée de par l'Empereur par les généraulx des monnoyes des deniers d'or et d'argent qui auront cours dorénavant de chà et commencera le premier jour de Marcz de l'an xv^e. xxvi.

Premièrement le réal de fin or, qui se forge présentement ès monnoyes par decha, de xlvi au marc, aura cours pour

lx pattars

Le demy réal, de lxx pièces et ung demy quart d'iceulx au marc

xxx pattars

Suit le tarif des monnaies d'or et d'argent, conforme aux tarifs publiés auparavant et illustré de la série traditionnelle des 53 bons florins. Les cours ne sont plus exprimés en livres de Flandre de 6 florins, mais en florins.

fo 9 v^o Item cy après e(s)t ordonnée la droite valeur et prix, aussi près qu'il est faisable par vraye calculacion, du marc, l'once, l'esterlin de diverses sortes de deniers d'or, desquelz l'on treuve le plus par decha, laquelle valeur par meure délibéracion est changée et augmentée selon l'ordonnance et pris des monnoies faictes en l'an de grâce xv^e. xx.

Premièrement les nobles d'Angleterre, le toysen d'or, ducats d'Italie, ridders, crusades, saluts et aultre semblable or vault: le mark cxxxvi florins Karolus xvi pattars, l'onche xvii florins ii pattars, l'estrelin xvii pattars iiiii mites iii quarts.

Suivent les prix de rachat des monnaies d'or et d'argent interdites. Les prix sont indiqués de façon traditionnelle, ce qui permet la reconstruction des alois qui ont servi de base pour les calculs. Des gravures accompagnent les désignations de presque tous les florins d'or et de quelques écus et d'un double ducat contrefait (série fixée en général depuis 1521) et de certaines pièces d'argent (innovation de 1525).

L'ordre du texte est plus logique qu'en 1499: le tarif des monnaies coursables précède l'énumération des monnaies défendues. On comprend qu'une annonce des nouvelles monnaies bien connues depuis 1521 est supprimée.

Les gravures sont d'une qualité un peu supérieure à celle de 1499. D'autre part la reprise successive des anciennes gravures a causé plus d'une erreur. Souvent les légendes ou les détails sont si mal rendus qu'on ne les comprend plus sans recourir à un texte antérieur. En certains cas les bois ont été échangés: ainsi dans toutes les éditions parues depuis 1517 un même florin de Cologne se trouve à la fois dans la série des bons florins et dans celle des florins interdits. D'autres pièces sont supprimées parfois par la faute des imprimeurs ou des éditeurs, certainement sans aucune base légale. Aussi, est – il nécessaire, pour reconstruire la liste officielle émanée des Généraux des Monnaies, de comparer soigneusement les divers textes imprimés et de les soumettre à une critique sévère. Heureusement cette comparaison est possible grâce au caractère translatif de la plus grande partie du texte.

Les dispositions de 1526/9, sont restées en vigueur jusqu'en 1539. En cette année le gouvernement de l'empereur fit un dernier effort pour maintenir le système monétaire inauguré en 1499. Une ordonnance du 19 avril 1539¹⁸ établit un tarif provisoire valable jusqu'au 1 juillet, afin que les détenteurs pussent se débarrasser des monnaies interdites qui s'étaient glissées dans la circulation. Une ordonnance du 12 juin suivant remet en vigueur le tarif de 1521, avec une exception: elle toléra quelques florins d'aloï inférieur frappés dans les territoires acquis par l'empereur en 1524.

De nouveau des placards et des manuels dans la forme traditionnelle portèrent à la connaissance du public les nouvelles dispositions: d'abord le tarif provisoire, qui, parfois, contient les gravures de quelques daldres allemands tolérés dans la période de transition; puis, le tarif définitif avec les figures des 53 bons florins, auxquels sont ajoutés les figures des florins nouvellement admis. La liste de la droite valeur des monnaies d'or et d'argent n'est pas réimprimée.

Les impressions basées sur l'ordonnance de 1539 sont les dernières qui se rattachent directement à celles de 1499, comme l'ordonnance elle-même est la dernière qui cherche à maintenir le tarif de 1499. En 1548 la hausse des cours, qui se faisait sentir depuis longtemps, est officiellement reconnue. Mais déjà en 1541 un manuel plus moderne parut chez l'imprimeur gantois Josse Lambrecht, qui sera suivi d'une longue série d'ouvrages pareils au cours de plus de 30 années. Cette nouvelle série se distingue de l'ancienne par son illustration complète et par la suppression des indications de la droite valeur. Elle donne, en deux séries séparées, les figures de toutes les monnaies tolérées avec leur cours, et celles de toutes les monnaies interdites, parfois avec la valeur estimée de la pièce.

Ainsi, la série des évaluations monétaires imprimées aux Pays-Bas entre 1499 et 1539 constitue un seul groupe bien cohérent. Le manuel de 1499 est réimprimé de temps en temps et est adapté aux changements de la législation; toutefois il maintient à peu près sa forme et son contenu primitifs et il ne perd pas son caractère de document officiel émané des Généraux des Monnaies. Les éditions partielles destinées à l'affichage peuvent être considérées comme des extraits du manuel complet. Evidemment, les textes qui se rapportent aux territoires ne faisant pas partie des pays bourguignons, l'évêché de Liège et le pays d'Overijsel, doivent rester exclus de ce groupement.

Le contenu de ce groupe de documents, résumé dans les annexes I–III est d'une grande importance pour l'histoire monétaire néerlandaise tant qu'européenne.

¹⁸ *Recueil*, III, p. 117–124.

Ils nous révèlent :

1. le tableau complet des monnaies d'or et d'argent qui sont entrées dans la circulation des Pays-Bas, reconnues comme coursables par le gouvernement ou bien interdites. Ils signalent non seulement les espèces internationales bien connues comme les nobles anglais, les couronnes françaises, les ducats italiens et hongrois, mais aussi l'entrée précoce des testons italiens et suisses, des écus d'or suisses contrefaits, etc.

2. des indications, basées sur des essais officiels, du titre de toutes ces monnaies. Ces indications sont d'autant plus utiles que surtout au sujet des imitations des monnaies bien connues, les sources officielles font presque toujours défaut. Du moins les titres des florins d'or et des monnaies d'argent néerlandaises interdites ne sont presque jamais connus d'une autre source, et ailleurs la situation n'est vraisemblablement pas meilleure. Néanmoins ces titres sont un élément essentiel pour pouvoir juger la politique monétaire de ceux qui ont émis ces pièces.

3. les gravures d'un certain nombre de monnaies dont aucun exemplaire n'a été retrouvé, mais dont l'existence est prouvée ici de façon incontestable.

4. enfin, des indications assez exactes sur la date à laquelle plusieurs types de monnaies sont entrées dans la circulation néerlandaise, et par conséquent sur l'époque de leur fabrication.

LÉGENDES DES TABLES

Annexe II et III.

Les cours des pièces admises sont ceux de 1499: ceux de 1521 et 1526 ne sont que très légèrement supérieurs. Les cours mis entre parenthèses sont ceux des monnaies admises à une date postérieure à 1499.

Les titres sont exprimés en carats et grains (24 carats de 12 grains) pour l'or, en deniers et en grains (12 deniers de 24 grains) pour l'argent.

Les calculs sont basés sur les formules suivantes:

$$\text{prix du marc} = \text{titre en carats} \times \text{prix du carat d'or fin} + (24 - \text{titre}) \times \text{prix du carat de matière ajoutée}$$

$$\text{prix du marc} = \text{titre en deniers} \times \text{prix du denier d'argent fin.}$$

Les prix du carat et du denier sont puisés des instructions de 1499 et de 1521 (Deschamps de Pas, dans *RN*, N. S., 15 (1874-7), p. 90, et *RBN*, 32 (1876), p. 74.

+ gravé dans le manuel de 1499

* gravé depuis 1517 ou 1521

o gravé depuis 1526 ou 1539

§ ajouté dans le supplément de 1529.

Annexe IV.

Pour les titres et les descriptions des tarifs cités le lecteur est renvoyé aux répertoires bibliographiques:

- CA = M. F. A. G. Campbell, *Annales de la typographie néerlandaise au XV^e siècle* (La Haye, 1874-1890), avec supplément par M. E. Kronenberg (The Hague, 1957.)
 NK = W. Nijhoff et M. E. Kronenberg, *Nederlandsche Bibliographie van 1500 tot 1540* ('s-Gravenhage, 1923-1951).
 P = M. L. Polain, *Catalogue des livres imprimés au quinzième siècle des bibliothèques de Belgique* (Bruxelles, 1932).

ANNEXE I

LES FLORINS D'OR ALLEMANDS

	<i>millésime ou période de frappe</i>	<i>bibliographie</i>	<i>année d'admission</i>
<i>Ville d'Augsbourg</i>			
Charles V, florin à l'aigle	(après 1519)	Forster 1	1539
<i>Marquisat de Bade</i>			
Christoph I (1475-1527), florin à St. Pierre	1510	Wielandt ¹	1514
<i>Ville de Bâle</i>			
Frédéric III roi, florin à la Vierge	(avant 1493)	Coraggioni 3	1514
Maximilien I roi, florin à la Vierge	1504	Coraggioni 3 var	1514
<i>Duché de Bavière</i>			
Albert IV (1467-1508), florin à la Vierge	1509	Beierlein 225	1514
<i>Electorat de Brandebourg</i>			
Joachim et Albert: voir Annexe II			défendu
<i>Marquisat de Brandebourg</i>			
Albert Achille (1440-1486), florin à St. Jean	(1470-1486)	Von Schroetter 322	1499
Frédéric et Sigismond (1486-1495), florin à St. Jean	(1486-1495)	Von Schroetter 360	1509
<i>Archevêché de Brême</i>			
Henri de Schwarzbourg: voir Annexe II			défendu

¹ On ne connaît pas d'exemplaires au millésime 1510; type de Wielandt 71.

	<i>millésime ou période de frappe</i>	<i>bibliographie</i>	<i>année d'admission</i>
<i>Duché de Clèves</i>			
Jean II, trois types de florins: voir Annexe II			défendus
<i>Archevêché de Cologne</i>			
Thierry de Moers (1414-1463), florin à St. Jean	(1414-1419)	Noss 272	1509
Id., florin à St. Pierre	(1419-1425)	Noss 289	1509
Id., florin au Christ	(1425-1426)	Noss 327	1509
Id., florin à l'archevêque	(1426-1430)	Noss 332	1509
Id., florin à l'archevêque	(env. 1432)	Noss 342	1509
Id., florin aux trois écus	1437	Noss 351	1499
Robert du Palatinat (1463-1480), florin à St. Pierre	(1463-1464)	Noss 401	1509
Id., florin au Christ	(1468-1474)	Noss 423	1499
Herman de Hesse (1480-1508), florin à St. Pierre	(1480-1481)	Noss 467	1509
Id., florin au Christ	1491	Noss 484	1499
Philippe de Daun (1508-1515), florin au Christ	1509	Noss 528	1509
<i>Ville de Cologne</i>			
Florin au Christ	1515	Noss 70	1539
<i>Ville de Dortmund</i>			
Frédéric III empereur: voir Annexe II			défendu
<i>Ville de Francfort</i>			
Sigismond roi (1410-1437), florin à St. Jean	(1410-1433)	Joseph 103	1509
Albert II roi (1438-1439), florin à St. Jean	(1438-1439)	Joseph 111	1539
Frédéric III roi (1440-1493), florin à St. Jean	(1440-1451)	Joseph 113	1509
Frédéric III empereur, florin à St. Jean	(1451-1493)	Joseph 120	1499
Id., imitation	?	Joseph fig. 43	1539
Maximilien I roi (1493-1519), florin à St. Jean	1505	Joseph 138	1509

	<i>millésime ou période de frappe</i>	<i>bibliographie</i>	<i>année d'admission</i>
<i>Ville de Hambourg</i>			
Maximilien I: voir Annexe II			défendu
<i>Landgraviat de Hesse</i>			
Philippe (1509-1567), florin à la Ste Elisabeth	1511	Hoffmeister 260	1514
<i>Duchés de Juliers et de Berg</i>			
Guillaume IV (1475-1511), florin à St. Hubert (rv. quadrilobe)	1511	Noss 202	1514
Id., florin à St. Hubert (rv. écu): voir Annexe II			défendu
Id., florin-postulat: voir Annexe II			défendu
<i>Ville de Lunebourg</i>			
Frédéric III empereur: voir Annexe II			défendu
<i>Archevêché de Mayence</i>			
Jean de Nassau (1397-1419), florin à St. Jean	(1409-1417)	Joseph, Goldm. 7	1509
Conrad de Daun (1419-1434), florin à St. Pierre	(1419-1425)	Joseph, Goldm. 11	1509
Id., florin à l'archevêque	(1426-1430)	Joseph, Goldm. 12	1509
Thierry d'Erbach (1434-1459), florin aux trois écus	1437	Cat. Joseph 1565	1499
Adolphe de Nassau (1461-1475), florin au Christ	(1463-1475)	Joseph, Goldm. 15	1509
Bertold de Henneberg (1484-1504), florin au Christ	1501	Cat. Joseph 1607	1509
Jacques de Liebenstein (1504-1508), florin au Christ	1506	Cat. Joseph 1621	1509
<i>Evêché de Munster</i>			
Henri de Schwarzbouurg: voir Annexe II			défendu
Eric de Saxe-Lauenburg (1508-1522), florin à St. Paul	(1508-1522)	Grote 103	1539
<i>Duché de Münsterberg</i>			
Charles I (1498-1536), florin à St. Jacques	15..	Friedensburg 107	1539

	<i>millésime ou période de frappe</i>	<i>bibliographie</i>	<i>année d'admission</i>
<i>Ville de Nördlingen</i>			
Frédéric III empereur, florin à St. Jean	(1469-1491)	Herzfelder 7	1539
Maximilien I empereur, florin à St. Jean	(1506-1519)	Herzfelder 43	1514
<i>Ville de Nuremberg</i>			
Florin à St. Laurent	1506	Kellner 6	1514
<i>Evêché d'Osnabrück</i>			
Conrad de Rietberg: voir Annexe II			défendu
<i>Comté d'Ostfrise</i>			
Enno I (1466-1491), trois types de florins: voir Annexe II			défendus
Edzard I (1491-1528), deux types de florins: voir Annexe II			défendus
<i>Palatinat du Rhin</i>			
Louis III (1410-1436), florin à St. Pierre (rv. trilobe)	(1417-1419)	Joseph, Goldm. 24	1509
Id., florin à St. Pierre (rv. quadri- lobe)	(1419-1425)	Joseph, Goldm. 27	1509
Id., florin à l'électeur	(1426-1430)	Joseph, Goldm. 28	1514
Louis IV (1436-1449), florin au trois écus	(env. 1440)	Joseph, Goldm. 30	1499
Frédéric I (1449-1476), florin au Christ	(1464-1468)	Joseph, Goldm. 34	1509
Philippe (1476-1508), florin au Christ	1497	Cat. Joseph 2010	1509
Louis V (1508-1544), florin à la Vierge	1509	type Cat. Joseph 2011	1509
<i>Archevêché de Salsbourg</i>			
Léonard de Keutschach (1495-1519), florin à St. Ruodbert	1509	Roll 51	1514
<i>Electorat de Saxe</i>			
Albert (1464-1500), florin au St. Jean	(1486-1497)		1499
Frédéric, Georges et Jean (1500-1525), florin à St. Jean	(1500-1506)		1509

	<i>millésime ou période de frappe</i>	<i>bibliographie</i>	<i>année d'admission</i>
<i>Ville de Strasbourg</i>			
Florin à la Vierge	(après 1508)	Engel-Lehr 417	1514
<i>Archevêché de Trèves</i>			
Werner de Falkenstein (1388-1418), florin à St. Jean	(1414-1417)	Noss 307	1509
Otto de Ziegenhayn (1418-1430), florin à St. Pierre	(1418-1419)	Noss 413	1509
Id., florin à l'archevêque	(1426-1430)	Noss 434	1509
Ulric de Manderscheid (1430-1436), florin à St. Pierre	(1430-1436)	Noss 451	1509
Jacques de Sierck (1439-1456), florin aux trois écus	(1454-1456)	Noss 484	1499
Jean de Bade (1456-1503), florin aux trois écus	(1477-1480)	Noss 521	1509
Id., florin au Christ	1502	Noss 541	1509
Jacques de Bade (1503-1511), florin au Christ	1505	Noss 559	1509
<i>Comté de Tyrol</i>			
Sigismond (1439-1490), florin à l'archiduc	(1486-1525)	Dworschak 1	1509
<i>Duché de Wurtemberg</i>			
Ulric I (1498-1519), florin au duc	(après 1498)	Binder-Ebner 50	1514

ANNEXE II

COURS ET TITRES DES MONNAIES D'OR

	<i>bibliographie</i>	<i>cours en 1499</i>	<i>titre (calcul de 1499)</i>	<i>titre (calcul de 1517)</i>
PAYS-BAS				
<i>Pays-Bas bourguignons</i>				
Philippe le Bon (1419-1467), cavalier d'or	De Witte 468 etc.	39	24:0	24:0
Philippe le Bon (1419-1467), lion d'or	De Witte 470 etc.	44	22:10 ¹ / ₂	22:9
Charles le Téméraire (1467-1477) et Marie (1477-1482) florin St. André	De Witte 499, 513 etc.	29	18:10	18:9

	<i>bibliographie</i>	<i>cours en 1499</i>	<i>titre (calcul de 1499)</i>	<i>titre (calcul de 1517)</i>
Philippe le Beau (1482-1506), grand réal	Van der Chijs 17,1	165	—	—
Philippe le Beau (1482-1506), demi noble (schuytken)	De Witte 534 etc.	35½	23:0	22:11
Philippe le Beau et Charles V, toison d'or	De Witte 596, 628 etc.	50	—	24:0
Philippe le Beau et Charles V, florin St. Philippe	De Witte 595, 629 etc.	25	—	15:9
Charles V (1506-1555), réal d'or	De Witte 659 etc.	(60)	—	—
Charles V (1506-1555), florin Karolus	De Witte 662 etc.	(20)	—	—
<i>Duché de Brabant</i>				
Jeanne et Wenceslas (1455-1471), pieter d'or	De Witte 390	26	17:6	17:6
<i>Ville de Campen</i>				
o Charles V, florin (1525)	Van der Chijs 14,2	(21)	—	§13:10
<i>Ville de Deventer</i>				
+* Frédéric III, florin (1488)	Van der Chijs 11,1	—	17:7½	17:9
* Maximilien I, florin 1511	non retrouvé	—	—	14:10
Charles V, florin 1523	Van der Chijs 11,6	—	—	§13:10
<i>Villes de Deventer, Campen et Zwol</i>				
Charles V, florin (1534)	Van der Chijs 10,7	(21)	—	—
<i>Comté de Flandre</i>				
Philippe le Hardi (1384-1404), heaume	Deschamps de Pas 6,8	—	23:10	22:11
Philippe le Hardi, Jean sans Peur (1404 -1419) et Philippe le Bon (1419-1467), noble	Deschamps de Pas 8,15. 10,25 et 20,38	72	23:6	22:11
Ville de Gand sous Philippe le Beau (1488-1492), florin	Deschamps de Pas 16,26	—	15:2	14:5
<i>Seigneurie de Frise</i>				
* Georges de Saxe (1500-1515), florin	Van der Chijs 7,2	—	—	17:1½
<i>Ville de Groningue</i>				
* Frédéric III, florin	Van der Chijs 13,80	—	—	16:1
* Maximilien I, florin	Van der Chijs 14,94	—	—	16:1
* Edzard d'Ostfrise, florin (1507)	Van der Chijs 16,127	—	—	17:1½

	<i>bibliographie</i>	<i>cours en 1499</i>	<i>titre (calcul de 1499)</i>	<i>titre (calcul de 1517)</i>
<i>Duché de Gueldre</i>				
Arnoud (1423-1473), florin	Van der Chijs 10,3	14 ¹ / ₂	11:5 ¹ / ₂	11:9
Arnoud (1423-1473), cavalier d'or	Van der Chijs 9,1	24	15:4	15:9
* Charles (1477-1538), florin au Christ	Van der Chijs 15,1	—	—	16:1
* Charles (1477-1538), florin à St. Martin	Van der Chijs 15,8	—	—	14:7
+* Charles (1477-1538), florin Clemmer	Van der Chijs 15,3	—	14:2	12:11
o Charles (1477-1538), florin Clemmer de Ruremonde	Van der Chijs 15,6	—	—	12:11
o Charles (1477-1538), cavalier d'or	Van der Chijs 15,9	—	—	13:10
<i>Comté de Hollande</i>				
Guillaume VI (1404-1417), chaise (clinkaert)	Van der Chijs 5,3	29	18:2	18:2
Jean (1420-1425), chaise (clinkaert)	Van der Chijs 11,4	25	16:1	15:10
Jean (1420-1425), florin de Bavière	Van der Chijs 11,1	20 ¹ / ₂	14:0	14:0
Philippe le Bon (1425-1467), chaise	Van der Chijs 12,2 et	21	14:7 ¹ / ₂	14:7
Idem, 2 ^e émission (interponction x)	et 13,2		13:11	13:8
Idem, 3 ^e émission (interponction :)			13:6	13:5
<i>Evêché de Liège</i>				
Jean de Heinsberg (1419-1455), ange d'or	Chestret 304	—	16:5	—
Louis de Bourbon (1456-1482), postu- lat	Chestret 342	16 ¹ / ₂	11:6	—
+* Jean de Hornes (1484-1505), florin St. Jean	Chestret 388	—	15:10 ¹ / ₂	15:9
+* Jean de Hornes (1484-1505), postu- lat (avec IOHIS)	Chestret 385	—	10:6 ¹ / ₂	10:6
Idem, 2 ^e émission (avec IOHS)		—	9:6	9:8
o Erard de la Marck (1506-1538), florin	Chestret 428	—	—	15:6
<i>Ville de Nimègue</i>				
* Florin (avant 1500)	Van der Chijs 1,1	—	—	13:7
<i>Evêché d'Utrecht</i>				
Frédéric de Blankenheim (1394-1423), florin	Van der Chijs 13,1	20 ¹ / ₂	14:0	14:0

	<i>bibliographie</i>	<i>cours en 1499</i>	<i>titre (calcul de 1499)</i>	<i>titre (calcul de 1517)</i>
Rudolphe de Diepholt (1423-1455), postulat	Van der Chijs 15,1	—	12:7 $\frac{1}{2}$	12:7
David de Bourgogne (1455-1496), harpe (avec A)	Van der Chijs 16,2	—	15:3	—
Idem, 2 ^e émission (avec A)	—	—	15:3	—
Idem, 2 ^e émission, florin David	—	—	—	—
Idem, 2 ^e émission, florin David	Van der Chijs 17,8	24	15:7	15:2
(avec EPIS)	Van der Chijs 17,9	—	16:4	16:4
+* Idem., 2 ^e émission (avec EPS)	—	—	15:8 $\frac{1}{2}$	15:6 $\frac{1}{2}$
Idem., florin au Christ	Van der Chijs 17,8	—	15:7	15:6
+ Frédéric de Bade (1496-1517), florin St. Jean	Van der Chijs 20,1	—	12:1	—
+* Frédéric de Bade (1496-1517), florin au Christ	Van der Chijs 20,3	—	17:7 $\frac{1}{2}$	17:9
* Frédéric de Bade (1496-1517), florin au Christ	Van der Chijs 30	—	—	14:10
o Philippe de Bourgogne (1517-1524), florin	Van der Chijs 22,1	—	—	13:10
Henri de Bavière (1524-1528), florin	non retrouvé	—	—	§13:11
<i>Ville de Zwol</i>				
+* Frédéric III, florin	Van der Chijs 17,2	—	18:0	18:0
ROYAUME D'ANGLETERRE				
Henri VI (1422-1461), noble (Henricus)	Brooke, pl. 27	75	24:0	24:0
Edouard IV (1461-1483), noble à la rose	Brooke, pl. 33,16	85	24:0	24:0
Edouard IV, Henri VII (1483-1509) et Henri VIII (1509-1547), ange (angelot)	Brooke pl. 34,1	56	24:0	24:0
ROYAUME DE FRANCE				
<i>Monnaies royales</i>				
Charles VII (1422-1461) et Louis XI (1461-1483), écu à la couronne	Lafaurie 510; 524	35 $\frac{1}{2}$	23:10	22:11
Charles VIII (1483-1498), écu au soleil	Lafaurie 554	36 $\frac{1}{2}$	22:9	22:5
Louis XII (1498-1515), écu au soleil	Lafaurie 592; 598	36 $\frac{1}{2}$	22:6	21:10
François I (1515-1547), écu au soleil	Lafaurie 634 etc.	—	—	22:6 $\frac{1}{2}$

	<i>bibliographie</i>	<i>cours en 1499</i>	<i>titre (calcul de 1499)</i>	<i>titre (calcul de 1517)</i>
<i>Domination anglaise</i>				
Henri VI (1422-1451)	Lafaurie 447	37½	24:0	24:0
<i>Duché d'Aquitaine</i>				
Charles de France (1468-1474), écu	Poey d'Avant 67,4	—	22:6	22:5
<i>Duché de Bretagne</i>				
François II (1458-1488), cavalier	Bigot 31,1	—	22:6	22:5
<i>Comté de Béarn</i>				
Gaston de Foix (1436-1472), écu	Poey d'Avant 69,13	—	22:6	22:5
ROYAUME DE CASTILLE				
Ferdinand et Isabelle (1474-1506), castillan (dobla)	Heiss 17,1-5	50½	—	—
Ferdinand et Isabelle (1474-1506), double ducat (excelente)	Heiss 20,62 etc.	78	—	23:3½
ROYAUME DE PORTUGAL				
Manuel I (1495-1521) et Jean III (1521-1557), crusat	Teixeira 13,4 et 15,4	39	24:0	24:0
ROYAUME DE DANEMARK				
+* Jean (1481-1513), florin	Galster fig. 91	—	18:0	18:0
LE SAINT EMPIRE				
Anciens florins des électeurs		28	18:10	18:9
Nouveaux florins des électeurs (c. à. d. depuis 1490)		28	18:5	18:4
Ville d'Augsbourg Marquisat de Bade Ville de Bâle Duché de Bavière Marquisat de Brande- bourg	} voir Annexe I	28		
<i>Electorat de Brandebourg</i>				
* Joachim et Albert (1499-1513), florin Bahrfeldt 284		—	—	16:8
<i>Archevêché de Brême</i>				
+* Henri de Schwarzbourg (1463-1496), florin	Jungk 38	—	18:4	18:3

	<i>bibliographie</i>	<i>cours en 1499</i>	<i>titre (calcul de 1499)</i>	<i>titre (calcul de 1517)</i>
<i>Duché de Clèves</i>				
+* Jean II (1481-1521), florin	Noss 152-5	—	16:9 $\frac{1}{2}$	16:9
* Jean II (1481-1521), florin	Noss 173	—	—	14:7
* Jean II (1481-1521), florin à St. Jean	Noss 215	—	—	18:0
<i>Archevêché de Cologne</i>				
Robert du Palatinat (1463-1480), postulat	Noss 440	—	11:8	—
Florins: voir Annexe I		28	—	—
Ville de Cologne: voir Annexe I		28		
<i>Ville de Dortmund</i>				
+* Frédéric III, florin	Meyer 46	—	17:7 $\frac{1}{2}$	17:9
Ville de Francfort; voir Annexe I		28		
<i>Ville de Hambourg</i>				
* Maximilien I, florin	Gaedechems 267	—	—	18:0
<i>Duchés de Juliers et de Berg</i>				
* Guillaume IV (1475-1511), florin St. Hubert	Noss 185	—	—	18:2
* Guillaume IV (1475-1511), autres florins: voir Annexe I		28		
* Guillaume IV (1475-1511), postulat 1503	Noss 198	—	—	10:1
<i>Ville de Lunebourg</i>				
* Frédéric III, florin	Bahrfeldt p. 471	—	—	18:0
Archevêché de Mayence: voir Annexe I		28		
<i>Evêché de Munster</i>				
+* Henri de Schwarzbouurg (1466-1496), florin	Grote 80	—	15:7	15:6
Eric de Saxe: voir Annexe I		—	28	
Duché de Münsterberg Ville de Nördlingen Ville de Nuremberg	} voir Annexe I	28		

	<i>bibliographie</i>	<i>cours en 1499</i>	<i>titre (calcul de 1499)</i>	<i>titre (calcul de 1517)</i>
<i>Evêché d'Osnabrück</i>				
* Conrad de Rietberg (1482-1508), florin	Kennepohl 160	—	—	17:7
<i>Comté d'Ostfrise</i>				
* Enno I (1483-1491), florin à St. Jean	Meier 6	—	—	17:1 ¹ / ₂
* Enno I (1483-1491), florin à St. Jean	Meier 7	—	—	16:9
+ Edzard I, florin à St. Jean	Meier 18	—	15:1 ¹ / ₂	—
* Edzard I, florin à Charlemagne	Meier 19	—	—	15:0
Edzard I, florin au Christ	Meier 22	—	—	17:9
Edzard I, florin de Groningue: voir plus haut, sous Groningue				
Palatinat du Rhin	} voir Annexe I	28		
Archevêché de Salzbourg				
Duché de Saxe				
Ville de Strasbourg				
Comté de Tyrol				
Archevêché de Trèves				
Duché de Wurtemberg				
ROYAUME DE HONGRIE				
Anciens ducats		39	24:0	24:0
Nouveaux ducats (depuis 1490 ?)		39	—	23:3 ¹ / ₂
SUISSE				
<i>Seigneurie de Misox</i>				
* Jean-Jacques Trivulzio (1487-1518), écu	Coraggioni 36,9	—	—	21:7
<i>Cantons d'Uri et d'Unterwalden</i>				
* Ecu d'or	Coraggioni 17,1	—	—	21:7
ITALIE				
Ducats d'Italie (Florence, Venise, Gênes etc.)		37 ¹ / ₂	24:0	24:0
<i>Comté de Mirandole</i>				
o Jean-François Pico (1499-1533), double ducat	C.N.I., pl. 9,15	—	—	21:11 ¹ / ₂
<i>Marquisat de Montferrat</i>				
* Boniface IV (1518-1530), écu	C.N.I., pl. 10,5	—	—	19:8
<i>Duché de Savoye</i>				
Louis I (1434-1465), écu	C.N.I., pl. 5,9	—	22:9	22:5

ANNEXE III

COURS ET TITRES DES MONNAIES D'ARGENT

	<i>bibliographie</i>	<i>cours en</i> 1499	<i>titre</i> (calcul de 1499)	<i>titre</i> (calcul de 1526/9)
PAYS-BAS				
<i>Pays-Bas bourguignons</i>				
Philippe le Bon (1433-1467) et Charles le Téméraire (1467-1477), double patard (Philippus et Karolus)	De Witte 486, 503 etc.	2 ¹ / ₂	—	—
Charles le Téméraire, Marie (1477-1482) et Philippe le Beau (1482-1506), double briquet	De Witte 507, 516, 539, 586 etc.	2 ¹ / ₄	—	—
Philippe le Beau (1482-1506), double patard (mechelaer)	De Witte 552 etc.	2 ¹ / ₄	—	—
Philippe le Beau (1482-1506), grand réal d'argent	De Witte 556 etc.	6	—	—
Philippe le Beau (1482-1506), double griffon	De Witte 558 etc.	2 ³ / ₄	—	—
Philippe le Beau (1482-1506), double aux heaumes	De Witte 565 etc.	5 ¹ / ₂	—	—
Philippe le Beau (1482-1506), toison d'argent	De Witte 695 etc.	3	—	—
Philippe le Beau (1482-1506), double patard de Luxembourg	Bernays et Vannérus 217	1 ³ / ₄	—	—
Philippe le Beau et Charles V (1506- 1555), double patard	De Witte 608, 635 etc.	2	—	—
Philippe le Beau et Charles V (1506- 1555), patard	De Witte 611, 636 etc.	1	—	—
Charles V (1506-1555), réal d'argent	De Witte 674 etc.	3	—	—
<i>Comté de Bourgogne</i>				
Charles le Téméraire (1467-1477), blanc	Poey d'Avant 133,18	—	5:21	—
Charles le Téméraire (1467-1477), blanc	Poey d'Avant 133,19	—	4:14	—
<i>Evêché de Cambrai</i>				
Henri de Bergues (1480-1502), double patard	Robert 19,2	—	7:0	—
Henri de Bergues (1480-1502), patard	Robert 18,5	—	3:11	§ 3:0
Henri de Bergues (1480-1502), gros	Robert 19,3-5	—	2:21	—

	<i>bibliographie</i>	<i>cours en</i> 1499	<i>titre</i> (calcul de 1499)	<i>titre</i> (calcul de 1526/9)
Henri de Bergues (1480-1502), demi gros	Robert 19,6	—	2:2	—
Henri de Bergues (1480-1502), quart de gros	Robert 19,7	—	1:5	—
<i>Ville de Camphen</i>				
Ancien braspenning (env. 1500?)	non retrouvé	—	—	§ 5:17 ¹ / ₂
Nouveau braspenning (1525)	Van der Chijs 16,21	—	—	§ 3:17 ¹ / ₂
Demi braspenning (1524)	Van der Chijs 16,19	—	—	§ 2:14
<i>Ville de Deventer</i>				
Ancien patard (bussecloetken) (1481?)	Van der Chijs 12,20	—	6:0	§ 5:16 ¹ / ₂
Ancien braspenning (1499-1500)	Van der Chijs 13,3-4	—	—	§ 5:17 ¹ / ₂
Ancien braspenning (1509?)	Van der Chijs 12,31	—	—	§ 5:8 ¹ / ₂
* Snaphaen (Berlingue) (1523)	Van der Chijs 13,35	—	—	7:22 ¹ / ₂
Nouveau braspenning (1523)	Van der Chijs 13,36	—	—	§ 3:22
Demi braspenning (1523)	Van der Chijs 13,37	—	—	§ 2:18
<i>Comté de Flandre</i>				
Louis de Mâle (1346-1384), lion ou double gros (ancien botdrager)	Gaillard 223	—	5:21	—
Louis de Mâle (1346-1384), gros au lion (claeeyken)	Gaillard 219	—	5:21	—
Jean sans Peur (1404-1419), braspen- ning	Deschamps de Pas 10,26	1 ¹ / ₂	4:20	—
Philippe le Bon (1419-1467), braspen- ning (Philippus de Namur)	Deschamps de Pas 20,41	1	3:18	—
Ville de Gand au nom de Philippe le Beau (1488-1492), patard (Coppem- hole)	Deschamps de Pas 18,39	—	5:18	—
Ville de Gand au nom de Philippe le Beau (1488-1492), gros	Deschamps de Pas 17,28?	—	2:6	—
<i>Seigneurie de Frise</i>				
Albert de Saxe (1496-1500), double briquet	Van der Chijs 6,2	—	7:8	§ 6:22
Albert de Saxe (1496-1500), double patard	Van der Chijs 6,3	—	—	§ 6:2
Albert de Saxe (1496-1500), patard	non retrouvé	—	3:3	§ 3:23 ¹ / ₂

	<i>bibliographie</i>	<i>cours en 1499</i>	<i>titre (calcul de 1499)</i>	<i>titre (calcul de 1526/9)</i>
Albert de Saxe (1496-1500), jager	Van der Chijs 6,5	—	—	§ 5:16
Albert de Saxe (1496-1500), braspenning	Jaarboek 1916, p. 170	—	—	§ 2:14 ¹ / ₂
Georges de Saxe (1500-1515), double patard	Van der Chijs 7,3-5	—	—	§ 6:1
Georges de Saxe (1500-1515), patard	Van der Chijs 7,10	—	—	§ 3:14
Georges de Saxe (1500-1515), demi patard	Van der Chijs 7,6	—	—	§ 2:15
Georges de Saxe (1500-1515), quart de patard	Van der Chijs 7,8-9	—	—	§ 2:2
<i>Ville de Groningue</i>				
Jager (double Philippus) de 1477 et 1478	Van der Chijs 12,68	—	8:19	—
Jager ou double patard de 1496	Van der Chijs 13,85 etc.	—	—	§ 7:6 ¹ / ₂
Vlieger ou patard (Philippus) de 1474 et 1475 (avec G)	Van der Chijs 11,63; 12,74 etc.	—	4:6	§ 4:1
Vlieger ou patard avec étoile (1498-1499)	Van der Chijs 13,87 etc.	—	—	§ 3:12 ¹ / ₂
<i>Duché de Gueldre</i>				
Charles d'Egmont (1477-1538), ancien braspenning	Van der Chijs 16,20; 16,21	—	—	§ 3:17
Charles d'Egmont (1477-1538), nouveau braspenning	Van der Chijs 16,22	—	—	§ 2:20
Charles d'Egmont (1477-1538), patard	Van der Chijs?	—	—	§ 3:14
Charles d'Egmont (1477-1538), quart de patard	Van der Chijs 17,34	—	—	1:8
Charles d'Egmont (1477-1538), snaphaen (berlingue)	Van der Chijs 13,38	—	—	7:22 ¹ / ₂
Charles d'Egmont (1477-1538), nouveau snaphaen	Même type	—	—	7:17
<i>Comté de Hainaut</i>				
Guillaume VI (1404-1417), tuyn	Chalon 137	—	5:21	—
Jacqueline (1417-1428), tuyn	Chalon 143	—	5:21	—

	<i>bibliographie</i>	<i>cours en</i> 1499	<i>titre</i> (calcul de 1499)	<i>titre</i> (calcul de 1526/9)
<i>Evêché de Liège</i>				
Louis de Bourbon (1456-1482), patard	Chestret 345	—	4:18	—
Louis de Bourbon (1456-1482), blanc aux flammes	Chestret 359	—	3:20	—
Louis de Bourbon (1456-1482), double briquet	Chestret 346	2 ¹ / ₄	9:14	—
Louis de Bourbon (1456-1482), briquet	Chestret 351	—	4:18	—
Louis de Bourbon (1456-1482), demi briquet (gros)	Chestret 355	—	3:10	—
Guillaume de la Marck-Aremberg (mam- bour 1482-1484), double patard	Chestret 370	—	6:9	—
Erard de la Marck-Aremberg (pro- tecteur 1488-1489), double patard	Chestret 383	—	6:6	—
Jean de Horn (1484-1505), briquet	Chestret 396	—	4:18	—
Jean de Horn (1484-1505), double patard	Chestret 402	—	9:7	7:2
Jean de Horn (1484-1505), patard	Chestret 412	—	4:13	3:14
*Erard de la Marck (1506-1538), berlin- gue (snaphaen)	Chestret 441	—	—	7:22 ¹ / ₂
Erard de la Marck (1506-1538), trois patards	Chestret 440	—	—	7:23
Erard de la Marck (1506-1538), patard	Chestret 436, 444	—	—	§ 3:15
Erard de la Marck (1506-1538), demi patard	Chestret 445	—	—	2:22
<i>Ville de Nimègue</i>				
Briquet (Philippus)	Van der Chijs 1,11?	—	3:21	—
* Snaphaen (berlingue)	Van der Chijs 2,15	—	—	7:22 ¹ / ₂
<i>Evêché d'Utrecht</i>				
David de Bourgogne (1455-1496), doubles patards de 1474-76	Van der Chijs 29,6	—	9:22	—
David de Bourgogne (1455-1496), id. de 1477	Van der Chijs 18,24	—	8:0	—
David de Bourgogne (1455-1496), double patard de 1478	Van der Chijs 18,26	—	7:0	—
David de Bourgogne (1455-1496), gros avec D dans la croix	Van der Chijs 19,37	—	3:18	—
David de Bourgogne (1455-1496), gros avec o dans les cantons	Jaarboek 1953, p. 139	—	3:0	—

	<i>bibliographie</i>	<i>cours en 1499</i>	<i>titre (calcul de 1499)</i>	<i>titre (calcul de 1526/9)</i>
David de Bourgogne (1455-1496), gros avec écu dans la croix	Van der Chijs 19,38	—	3:0	—
Frédéric de Bade (1496-1517), braspen- ning ou blaffart de 1498	Van der Chijs 21,7	—	3:15	§ 3:9
Frédéric de Bade (1496-1517), braspen- ning de 1501	Van der Chijs 21,13	—	—	§ 3:8
Frédéric de Bade (1496-1517), braspen- ning (de 1510-1512?)	Van der Chijs 21,7-8	—	—	2:20
Frédéric de Bade (1496-1517), patard de 1510	non retrouvé	—	—	§ 2:22
Frédéric de Bade (1496-1517), demi patard	Van der Chijs 21,15	—	—	2:10
Philippe de Bourgogne (1517-1524), double patard	Van der Chijs 22,2-3	—	—	6:1
Philippe de Bourgogne (1517-1524), patard	Van der Chijs 22,4-5	—	—	3:0
Henri de Bavière (1524-1528), double patard	non retrouvé	—	—	§ 5:21
Henri de Bavière (1524-1528), patard	Van der Chijs 22,1	—	—	§ 2:22
<i>Ville de Zwol</i>				
Braspenning (1499)	Van der Chijs 17,3	—	—	§ 5:17½
<i>Ville de Zutphen</i>				
Blanc (Philippus) (1480)	Van der Chijs 6,1	—	3:21	—
ROYAUME D'ANGLETERRE				
Henri VI (1422-1465) et Edouard IV (1465-1483), groat (stoter)	Brooke, pl. 30 et 34	—	11:8½	—
ROYAUME DE FRANCE				
<i>Monnaies royales</i>				
Charles VII (1422-1461), Louis XI (1461-1483) et Charles VIII (1483-1498), gros de roi	Lafaurie 513, 532 et 559	—	11:8½	—
Charles VII (1422-1461), Louis XI (1461-1483) et Charles VIII (1483-1498), douzain	Lafaurie 514, 534, 562, 605	1 (5/8)	—	3:16
+* Charles VIII (1483-1498), dizain	Lafaurie 568	5/8	—	3:13½
* François I (1515-1547), teston	Lafaurie 653 etc.	—	—	10:16½
* François I (1515-1547), douzain	Lafaurie 694-8	(5/8)	—	—

	<i>bibliographie</i>	<i>cours en 1499</i>	<i>titre (calcul de 1499)</i>	<i>titre (calcul de 1526/9)</i>
<i>Duché de Bretagne</i>				
François II (1458-1488), blanc	Bigot 34, 1-3	—	4:22	—
ROYAUME DE CASTILLE				
<i>Royaume de Castille</i>				
Henri IV (1454-1474) e.a., réal (ancien grand double)	Heiss 14, 12 etc.	—	11:8½	—
Ferdinand et Isabelle (1474-1506), réal	Heiss pl. 22	3¼	—	—
LE SAINT EMPIRE				
Albus (raderwit) des électeurs du Rhin	passim	—	7:6	—
<i>Marquisat de Bade</i>				
* Christoph I (1475-1527), teston	Wielandt IIII	—	—	10:21
<i>Duché de Clèves</i>				
Jean I (1448-1481) et Jean II (1481-1521), braspenning ou blaffart de 1479-1482	Noss 149, 156	—	4:0	—
Jean II, braspenning ou blaffart (1490-1492)	Noss 162, 167	—	3:20	—
Jean II, nouveau braspenning (1503-1509)	Noss 217, 226	—	—	§ 3:2
Jean II, patard (demi Philippus)	Noss 163, 191 ?	—	3:21	—
Jean II, demi patard	Noss 160	—	—	§ 3:16
Jean II, patard au cygne (gans)	Noss 177, 223	—	—	§ 3:8
Jean II, monnaie à deux poinçons	?	—	—	§ 3:2
Jean II, monnaie de 13 wit	?	—	—	§ 3:0
Jean II, demi patard dit moelenaer	?	—	—	§ 2:6½
<i>Ville de Cologne</i>				
Double blanc aux trois couronnes	Noss 3	—	10:6	10:6
Blanc au St. Pierre	Noss 28	—	5:6	—
Blanc aux trois couronnes	Noss 43	—	—	§ 5:15½
<i>Ville de Dortmund</i>				
Blanc à deux aigles	Meier 57	—	3:20	—
<i>Duchés de Juliers et de Berg</i>				
Guillaume IV (1475-1511), doppelbausche (ancien botdrager)	Noss 187	—	—	§ 4:12

	<i>bibliographie</i>	<i>cours en 1499</i>	<i>titre (calcul de 1999)</i>	<i>titre (calcul de 1526/9)</i>
<i>Duché de Lorraine</i>				
René II (1473-1508) et Antoine (1508-1544), double gros à l'épée	De Saulcy 13,8 et 14,12	—	—	10:9
René II (1473-1508) et Antoine (1508-1544), gros à l'épée	De Saulcy 14,1 et 14,13	—	—	10:14
René II (1473-1508) et Antoine (1508-1544), demi gros à l'épée	De Saulcy 12,7 et 14,14	—	—	6:19
<i>Ville de Lubeck</i>				
Double Schilling	Behrens 357	—	—	§ 5:13 ¹ / ₂
<i>Duché de Mecklenbourg</i>				
Albert (1503-1547), ¹ / ₄ daldre	Evers 61	—	—	§ 8:2 ¹ / ₂
<i>Ville de Neuss</i>				
Braspenning ou blaffart	Noss 6	—	3:20	—
<i>Comté d'Ostfrise</i>				
Enno I (1483-1491), double patard 1484	Meier 9 (de 1483)	—	6:6	—
Enno I (1483-1491), double patard de 1485 et 1486	Meier 10	—	5:11	—
Enno I (1483-1491), patard (1 ^e émission)	Meier 13	—	3:19	—
Enno I (1483-1491), patard (2 ^e émission)	Meier —	—	3:0	—
<i>Electorat et duché de Saxe</i>				
Frédéric, George et Jean (1500-1525), daldre (guldengroschen)		—	—	11:3
Frédéric, George et Jean (1500-1525), Schreckenberger (gros à l'ange)		—	—	10:4
Frédéric, George et Jean (1500-1525), Zinsgroschen (gros aux épées)		—	—	§ 5:15 ¹ / ₂
<i>Comté de Schlick</i>				
Etienne etc. (1505-1526), daldre	Fiala 6	—	—	11:3
<i>Comté de Tyrol</i>				
Kreuzer (divers types)		—	5:20	5:10 ¹ / ₂

	<i>bibliographie</i>	<i>cours en 1499</i>	<i>titre (calcul de 1499)</i>	<i>titre (calcul de 1526/9)</i>
SUISSE				
<i>Canton de Berne</i>				
Teston	Coraggioni 9,9-10	—	11:7	11:5½
<i>Canton de Fribourg</i>				
Teston	Coraggioni 21,9-11	—	10:15	11:5½
<i>Seigneurie de Misoix</i>				
Jean-Jacques Trivulzio (1487-1518), gros au St. George à pied	Coraggioni 36,14	—	—	6:20
Id., 2 ^e émission		—	—	6:13
<i>Evêché de Sion</i>				
Nicolas Schinner (1496-1499), teston	Coraggioni 43,1	—	11:17	—
ITALIE				
<i>Comté de Désane</i>				
* Louis II (1510-1525), teston	C.N.I., pl. 20,2	—	—	7:0
<i>Comté de Messerano</i>				
* Louis II (1521-1532), teston	C.N.I., pl. 28,5	—	—	6:20
<i>Duché de Milan</i>				
Galéas-Marie Sforza (1466-1476) et successeurs, teston	Gnecchi 14 etc.	9 ¹	11:22	11:10
Galéas-Marie Sforza, demi teston	Gnecchi 14,2	—	11:0	—
Galéas-Marie Sforza, cinq sous (quart de teston)	Gnecchi 14,5	—	7:6	—
Louis XII (1500-1515), teston	Gnecchi 19,1	—	—	11:10
<i>Marquisat de Montferrat</i>				
Guillaume II (1494-1518), teston	C.N.I., pl. 9,1	—	—	9:19½
* Boniface II (1518-1530), teston	C.N.I., pl. 10,7	—	—	6:5
<i>Royaume de Naples</i>				
Carlin, frappé en Provence	Rolland 51	—	10:3	—
<i>Marquisat de Saluces</i>				
Louis II (1475-1504), teston	C.N.I., pl. 6,4	—	—	9:19½
Louis II (1475-1504), cavalotto	C.N.I., pl. 6,7	—	—	§ 6:8
Michel-Antoine (1504-1528), teston	C.N.I., pl. 7,3	—	—	6:20
Michel-Antoine (1504-1528), autres testons au grand aigle ²		—	—	6:13

¹ Défendu depuis 1521.² Ou imitations de Montferrat (C. N. I., pl. 10, 10), Désane (*ibid.*, pl. 20, 4) et Saluces (*ibid.*, pl. 7, 3).

	<i>bibliographie</i>	<i>cours en 1499</i>	<i>titre (calcul de 1499)</i>	<i>titre (calcul de 1526/9)</i>
<i>Duché de Savoye</i>				
Charles I (1482-1490) et successeurs, teston	C.N.I., pl. 7,2	8 ¹	11:18 ¹ / ₂	11:6
Charles I (1482-1490) et successeurs, parpagliola (blanc de 1487)	C.N.I., pl. 7,7	—	4:0	—
Charles II (1504-1533), cavalotto	C.N.I., pl. 12,2	—	—	6:8

ANNEXE IV

LISTE DES TARIFS MONÉTAIRES NÉERLANDAIS IMPRIMÉS AVANT 1540

- Ordonnance du 3 novembre 1485*
1. Tarif des monnaies d'or et d'argent (Louvain, Louis van Ravescot) CA 1702a;
1 f.; — fig.; en néerlandais P 2773
- Ordonnance du 20 avril 1487*
2. Tarif des monnaies d'or et d'argent (Louvain, Jan Veldener) CA 1702b;
1 f.; — fig.; en néerlandais P 2771
- Ordonnance du 9 septembre 1487*
3. Tarif des monnaies d'or et d'argent (Louvain, Louis van Ravescot) CA 1703;
1 f.; — fig.; en néerlandais P 2774
- Ordonnance du 11 décembre 1489*
- 4a. Texte complet, avec 5 fig. des nou- (Anvers, Gerard Leeu) CA 1337;
velles monnaies 24 ff.; 5 fig.; en néerlandais P 2776
- 4b. Id. (Anvers, Matthias Goes) CA 1338
18 ff.; 5 fig.; en néerlandais
- Ordonnance du 16 mars 1492*
5. Tarif des monnaies d'or et d'argent (Anvers, Gerard Leeu) CA 1225
4 ff.; — fig.; en néerlandais
- Ordonnance du 31 décembre 1495*
6. Tarif provisoire des monnaies d'or (Anvers, Govaert Bac) CA 1271
et d'argent 10 ff.; — fig.; en néerlandais
- Ordonnance du 14 août 1499*
7. Tarif des monnaies d'or et d'argent (Louvain, Jan van Paderborn?) CA 1702d;
1 f.; — fig.; en néerlandais P 2772
- Ordonnance du 8 décembre 1499*
8. Tarif des monnaies d'or avec 9 fig. Anvers, Adriaen van Liesvelt NK 2101
des bons florins 1 f.; 9 fig.; en néerlandais

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|---|--|---|
| 9a. Tarif des monnaies d'or et d'argent avec 9 fig. des bons florins et 2 fig. des patards de France | (Anvers, Roland van Dorpe)
1 f.; 11 fig.; en néerlandais | CA 1272a II |
| 9b. Id. | (Louvain), Dierick Mertins
1 f.; 11 fig.; en néerlandais | CA 1272a I;
P 2770 |
| 9c. Id. | (Gouda, Frères Conférenciers)
1 f.; 11 fig.; en néerlandais | CA 1272 |
| 10a. Manuel contenant: 5 fig. des nouvelles monnaies; la droite valeur des monnaies d'or (avec 13 fig.) et d'argent; tarif des monnaies d'or et d'argent (avec 11 fig.) | Anvers, Roland van den Dorpe
16 ff.; 29 fig.; en néerlandais | CA 1772b = NK
4074 et CA
1773; P 2780 |
| 10b. Id. | Anvers, Govaert Bac
16 ff.; 29 fig.; en néerlandais | NK 4075;
P 2778 |
| 10c. Id. | Anvers, Henrick Eckert (van Homberch)
22 ff.; 29 fig.; en néerlandais | CA 713; P 2777
et NK 2790 |
| 10d. Id. | Anvers, Adriaen van Liesvelt,
1500
20 ff.; – fig.; en français | CA 1476;
P 2779 |
| <i>Ordonnance du 26 décembre 1500</i> | | |
| 11. Tarif des monnaies d'or et d'argent, augmenté de 3 fig. de monnaies espagnoles et portugaises | ?? voir p. 452 | non retrouvé |
| 12. Manuel comme le no 10, complété de même façon | (Anvers, Jan van Doesborch)
24 ff.; 32 fig.; en anglais | NK 2105 |
| <i>Ordonnance du 27 août 1509</i> | | |
| 13. Manuel comme le n° 10, avec 41 fig. de bons florins | (Anvers, Adriaen van Liesvelt)
24 ff. ? 60 fig. ?; en néerlandais | NK 4008
(fragment) |
| <i>Ordonnance du 27 juillet 1514</i> | | |
| 14. Placard avec fig. de 53 bons florins | Anvers, Jan Lettersnider
1 f.; 53 fig.; en néerlandais | NK 3555 |
| <i>Ordonnance du 2 janvier 1517</i> | | |
| 15. Manuel contenant; 53 fig. de bons florins et 33 fig. de florins inférieurs; tarif des monnaies d'or et d'argent; la droite valeur des monnaies d'or | Anvers, Willem Vorsterman
28 ff.; 89 fig.; en néerlandais | NK 2991 |
| <i>Ordonnance du 19 novembre 1520 =
4 février 1521</i> | | |
| 16. Tarif des monnaies d'or et d'argent avec 6 fig. des nouvelles monnaies | Anvers, Jan Lettersnijder
1 f.; 6 fig.; en néerlandais | NK 2993 |

17. Manuel contenant: 6 fig. des nouvelles monnaies; tarif des monnaies d'or et d'argent (avec 53 fig. de bons florins); la droite valeur des monnaies d'or (avec 33 fig.)
Anvers, Jan Lettersnijder
24 ff.; 92 fig.; en néerlandais
NK 2994
- Ordonnance du 25 novembre 1525*
18. Tarif provisoire des monnaies d'or et d'argent
Anvers, Jan Thibault
1 f.; 2 fig.; en néerlandais
NK 1765
- 19a. La droite valeur des monnaies d'argent (avec 9 fig.)
Anvers, Jan Lettersnijder
1 f.; 9 fig.; en néerlandais
NK 4081
- 19b. Idem
Anvers, Jan Lettersnijder
1 f.; 9 fig.; en français
NK 2096
20. Manuel contenant: tarif provisoire des monnaies d'or et d'argent (avec 53 fig. des bons florins); la droite valeur des monnaies d'argent (avec 9 fig.)
Anvers, Jan Lettersnijder, 1525
12 ff.; 62 fig.; en néerlandais
NK 887
- Ordonnance du 10 décembre 1526 = 18 janvier 1527*
21. Tarif provisoire et tarif définitif des monnaies d'or (avec 53 fig. des bons florins)
Anvers, Willem Vorsterman, 1526
25 ff.; 58 fig.; en néerlandais
NK 3492
- 22a. Tarif définitif des monnaies d'or et d'argent avec 53 fig. des bons florins
Anvers, Jacob van Liesvelt, 1526
16 ff.; 60 fig.; en néerlandais
NK 4009
- 22b. Idem
Anvers, Henrick Peetersen van Middelburch
? ff.; ? fig.; en néerlandais
NK 01194
- 22c. Idem
Anvers, Willem Vorsterman
12 ff.; 55 fig.; en français
NK 2104
- 23a. La droite valeur des monnaies d'or (avec 40 fig.) et d'argent (avec 9 fig.)
Anvers, Jan Lettersnijder
3 ff.; 49 fig.; en néerlandais
NK 4083
- 23b. Idem
(Anvers, Jan Lettersnijder)
3 ff.; 49 fig.; en français
NK 4003
(fragment)
- 24a. Manuel contenant: tarif des monnaies d'or et d'argent (avec 53 fig. des bons florins); la droite valeur des monnaies d'or (avec 40 fig.) et des monnaies d'argent (avec 9 fig.)
Anvers, Jan Lettersnijder
12 ff.; 103 fig.; en néerlandais
NK 2997 et NK 2998

- | | | |
|---|---|------------------------|
| 24b. Idem | Anvers, Johan Lettersnijder
12 ff.; 104 fig.; en français | NK 893 |
| 24c. Idem | Amsterdam, Doen Pieterzoen
14 ff.; 105 fig.; en néerlandais | NK 889 |
| 24d. Idem | Amsterdam, Doen Pietersoon
12 ff.; 102 fig.; en néerlandais | NK 888 et NK
2995-6 |
| <i>Ordonnance du 29 janvier 1529</i> | | |
| 25. Supplément à la droite valeur des monnaies d'or et d'argent | Amsterdam, Doen Pietersoon
4 ff.; – fig.; en néerlandais | NK 2192 et
NK 4082 |
| 26. Manuel comme le n° 24, avec supplément comme le n° 25 | Anvers, Jan Lettersnijder, 1529
24 ff.; 103 fig.; en néerlandais | NK 4151 |
| <i>Ordonnance du 19 avril 1539</i> | | |
| 27a. Texte de l'ordonnance et tarif provisoire avec fig. de 8 Joachimsdaldres | Anvers, Willem Vorsterman
et Claes de Grave
8 ff.; 8 fig.; en néerlandais | NK 2704 |
| 27b. Idem | Anvers, mêmes éditeurs
8 ff.; fig.; 8 en français | NK 608 |
| 28. Tarif provisoire des monnaies d'or et d'argent | Utrecht, Jan Berntsz
4 ff.; – fig.; en néerlandais | NK 2048 |
| <i>Ordonnance du 12 juin 1539</i> | | |
| 29a. Texte de l'ordonnance et tarif avec 4 fig. des florins nouvellement admis et 60 fig. de bons florins | Anvers, Willem Vorsterman
et Claes de Grave
24 ff.; 64 fig.; en néerlandais | NK 607
et NK 2705 |
| 29b. Idem | Anvers, mêmes éditeurs
28 ff.; 65 fig.; en néerlandais | NK 2706-7 |
| 29c. Idem | Anvers, mêmes éditeurs
24 ff.; 64 fig.; en français | NK 609 |
| 29d. Comme le précédant, sans fig. | Anvers, mêmes éditeurs
16 ff.; – fig.; en français | NK 2708 |
| 30. Tarif des monnaies d'or et d'argent avec 8 fig. de monnaies courantes | Utrecht, Jan Berntsz
8 ff.; 8 fig.; en néerlandais | NK 2102 |
| 31a. Manuel comme le n° 24 (avec 53 fig. de bons florins) | Anvers, Jacob van Liesvelt
24 ff.; 104 fig.; en néerlandais | NK 891 |
| 31b. Idem | Anvers, Heynrick Peetersen
van Middelburch
24 ff.; 104 fig.; en néerlandais | NK 890 |
| 32. Tarif des monnaies d'or, suivi d'un tarif du pays d'Overijssel | Kampen, Peter Warnersoens
1 f.; – fig.; en néerlandais | NK 4010 |

THE ALEXANDRINE TETRADRACHMS OF CABYLE IN THRACE

TH. GERASSIMOV

Among the Alexandrine tetradrachms, coined during the Hellenistic period, there are several issues with a mint-mark presenting an image of Artemis in a long chiton, facing and holding two torches (PLATE XVI, 5-9, 11-14). Due to a seeming resemblance of Artemis to the image of the same goddess on some bronze coins of the city of Perinthus, those tetradrachms were assigned by L. Müller to the mint of that city.¹ But this attribution is wrong since the type of Artemis of the tetradrachms in question is different from Artemis of the coins of Perinthus, where she is presented in a short chiton and is running to the right.² Further, we know that from the beginning of its coinage Perinthus has had as its peculiar emblem two foreparts of horses joined by their bodies.³ The same mark is used also as badge of the city on the bronze coins of Perinthus from the Hellenistic period, and on the posthumous tetradrachms with the name of the Thracian king Lysimachus, coined in Perinthus, the mint-mark is the same.⁴

¹ L. Müller, *Numismatique d'Alexandre le Grand* (Copenhagen, 1855), p. 170, pl. VII, 399-401.

² G. Oikonomos-E. W. Christodouloupoulos, *Νομισματική συλλογή Σταμούλη* (Athènes, 1955), pp. 49, 324.

³ Th. Gerassimov, "Les monnaies antiques contremarquées de la Moesie Inférieure et de la Thrace", *Bull. arch. bulgare*, XV (1946), p. 58, figs. 8-9; *SNG Copenhagen, Thrace*, II (1943), no. 721.

⁴ M. Thompson, *ANSMN*, VI (1954), p. 17, no. 59.

Therefore, the Alexandrine tetradrachms with Artemis holding two torches are not coined in Perinthus, but in some other mint in the Balkan Peninsula.⁵

If we examine the coins of the cities in the Balkan peninsula, we can see that the figure of Artemis in those posthumous issues closely resembles Artemis of the bronze coins of Cabyle in Thrace, coined during the third century B.C. Furthermore, as among the tetradrachms there are some specimens on which Artemis has the kalathos on her head and others on which she has no kalathos, so on the bronze coins of Cabyle we once find Artemis with the kalathos and again without that distinctive symbol (PLATE XVI, 1, 3).⁶

Moreover, the stylistic similarity between the head of Heracles from one of the issues of tetradrachms with Artemis and the head from the bronze coins of Cabyle (PLATE XVI, 2, 3), in which the lower jaw of the lion's hide is stylized in the manner of an upright tooth, also gives us reason to attribute those tetradrachms to the city of Cabyle in Thrace.⁷ Artemis was one of the principal and popular divinities of the city and her cult-image in the temple of Cabyle has undoubtedly served as a symbol of the city itself.⁸

Cabyle was situated on the upper course of the Tonzos river. We know very little about it. The only thing we know is that it was fortified by Philip II of Macedon after the annexation of Thrace to the Macedonian state. The city had a very convenient geographic situation, which helped its early development as a commercial centre. Cabyle lay on a junction of the roads leading from the Propontis to the North and from the Hebrus valley towards the coast of the Black Sea. In this way it served as a centre, where raw materials, such as wheat, lumber, skins and such things, coming from the interior of Thrace, were gathered and then exported through the harbor of that part of Thrace–Mesembria.

The close connection between Cabyle and Mesembria is attested by the fact that the coin-dies for one of the issues of tetradrachms (on which the stylistic

⁵ Together with the posthumous issues that occupy us, Müller has described also some tetradrachms coined during the time of Alexander the Great. They are attributed by E. T. Newell to the mint of Lampsacus on the Asiatic shores of the Propontis.

⁶ D. E. Tacchella, "Monnaies inédites de Cabyle et de Mesembria sur la mer Egée", *RN*, 1900, p. 257; J. de Foville, "Monnaies grecques du Cabinet des Médailles", *RN*, 1911, p. 297, nos. 10, 11.

⁷ The same stylistic similarity of the heads of Heracles on the tetradrachms and on the bronze coins of Cabyle we can find in one issue of tetradrachms of Mesembria on the Black Sea (PLATE XVI, 10). According to this we can admit that the coin dies for one issue of tetradrachms of Cabyle were produced by the same die-cutter who worked for the mint in Mesembria or by some of his students.

⁸ With the same badge were countermarked the coins of other cities and rulers that have reached the market of Cabyle, see Th. Gerassimov, *op. cit.*, p. 58.



ALEXANDRINE TETRADRACHMS OF CABYLE IN THRACE

signs are most characteristic) have been engraved by one of the die-cutters, who produced the dies for the Mesembrian tetradrachms with the monograms of the monetary magistrates Ε, ΠΥΡ, ΔΙΟΣΚΟΥΡΙΔΑ and so on (PLATE XVI, 10). It is not impossible that he worked in Cabyle, but had studied with one of the die-cutters that worked in Mesembria.

As a result of its busy commercial relations with the Thracians, who had long been accustomed to use the Alexandrine tetradrachms, Cabyle too, like the other commercial cities Mesembria, Odessos, Calatia and so on, was found to coin its own tetradrachms.

Like the cities of Spellonia and Mesembria situated south of the Haemus mountain on the western coast of the Black Sea, Cabyle too, thanks to its strong fortress, was unaffected by the Gaulish invasion on the south-east part of the Balkan peninsula. This independent position of the city is proved indirectly by the tetradrachms of Cabyle. This is especially demonstrated by one of the issues, the obverse of which was also used as the obverse of a tetradrachm of the Gaulish king Cavarus (PLATE XVI, 4). This could have happened only at the mint of Cabyle, and this is confirmed by the image of Artemis with two torches – the badge of Cabyle, placed on the reverse of these coins of Cavarus.⁹ This fact shows that the city was independent and in good relations with the Gaulish ruler, the northern boundary of whose state in Thrace extended to the territory of Cabyle.

This use of a common obverse die is important in another respect too, helping us to date the issue. It is known that in 219 B.C. Cavarus was mediator for the conclusion of a peace-treaty between the city of Byzantion and King Prusias of Bithynia, and in the next year perished during the revolt of the Thracians against the Gaulish yoke.¹⁰ So the coining of his tetradrachms took place before 218 B.C. Therefore, the tetradrachms of Cabyle, for the obverse of which the same die was used, were also coined before that date, i.e., at the end of the third century B.C. Probably about the same time several other issues of tetradrachms of Cabyle were also coined.

They are all on the Attic standard as is the rule on the Balkan peninsula during the Hellenistic period. The weight of the known specimens varies from 17.03 gr. to 14.99 gr.

⁹ D. E. Tacchella, "Une tétradrachme du roi Cavarus", *Bull. intern. de numismatique*, II (1903), p. 1; *HN²*, p. 285.

¹⁰ Niese, *Geschichte der griechischen Staaten*, II, pp. 390, 392; A. Schmidt, *Abhandlungen zur alten Geschichte*, p. 128; G. Kazarow, *Die Kelten in alten Thrakien und Makedonien* (Sofia, 1919), p. 72 (in Bulgarian).

The greater number of specimens have no mark of a monetary magistrate. For these five different pairs of dies have been used while for the other varieties there are only one or two pairs. On most of them there is the mark of only one magistrate, regularly placed under the throne. As an exception, one issue bears the names of two magistrates, the first – KEP – placed by the mint mark Artemis, the other, fully written out – ΔΗΖΟΣ – under the throne. The one by the mint mark is regarded as primary, the other as secondary.¹¹ It is difficult for us to guess why the second name is fully written. So far we know of only one other example among the tetradrachms coined in Thrace, a piece from Mesembria bearing the name of ΔΙΟΣΚΟΥΡΙΔΑ.¹² For some reason or other the government of the city has given permission for the name of this magistrate or ordinary citizen to be fully inscribed. It may be the case of a liturgy performed by the person as, for instance, supplying the silver for the coining of that issue. The name ΔΗΖΟΣ shows that the man was a Thracian. KEP may also be the abbreviation of a Thracian name.¹³

1. Head of young Heracles r. wearing lion's skin. No border of dots.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ downward to r., ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ to l. Zeus, nude to the waist seated l. on throne without back. In his outstretched right hand he holds eagle and in his left, scepter. In field l. Artemis facing and holding two long torches. 27 mm., 16.11 gr. Coll. Dr. N. Panajotov, Sofia PLATE XVI, 5

2. Similar

Rev. Similar but of different style.

30 mm., 17.03 gr. Sofia Museum

3. Similar

Rev. Similar but from a different die.

ANS

4. Similar

Rev. Similar but from a different die.

London

5. Similar but of different style.

Rev. Similar but from a different die.

Gotha

¹¹ A. Baldwin, "The gold staters of Lampsacos", *AJN*, LIII (1924), p. 68.

¹² G. Severeanu, "Tétradrachme d'Alexandre le Grand frappée par Dioscuridas", *Bul. soc. numism. române*, XXV-XXVI (1930-31), p. 29.

¹³ I express my sincere gratitude to Mr. H. Seyrig who gladly has placed at my disposal photographs of the specimens in New York, London, Paris and from the B. Y. Berry Collection.

6. Similar but from a different die.
Rev. Similar, but the throne with high back.
 33 mm., Coll. Seyrig PLATE XVI, 12
7. Similar
Rev. Similar, but throne without back. Beneath throne ΓP
 29 mm., 16.50 gr. Sofia Museum PLATE XVI, 14
8. Similar but of different style.
Rev. Similar, but in field 1. KEP above Artemis. Beneath throne
 ΔH
 $\text{ZO}\Sigma$
 30 mm., 15.55. ANS PLATE XVI, 13
9. Similar but from a different die.
Rev. Similar, but throne with high back. Beneath throne KEP
 29 mm., 14.99 gr. Sofia Museum PLATE XVI, 8
10. Similar but from a different die.
Rev. Similar but of different style. Throne without back.
 Beneath throne KEP
 29 mm., 16.70 gr. Paris PLATE XVI, 9
11. Similar but from a different die.
Rev. Similar but from a different die.
 30 mm., 16.50 gr. Lockett Collection 1466.
12. Similar but from a different die.
Rev. Similar. Beneath throne ΔIO
 31 mm., 16.70 gr. Coll. B. Berry PLATE XVI, 6
13. Similar but from a different die.
Rev. Similar. Beneath throne MHT
 London PLATE XVI, 11
14. Similar but of different style
Rev. Same die as No. 13
 31 mm., 16.70 gr. Sofia Museum PLATE XVI, 7

TROIS MONNAIES PARTHES INÉDITES

R. GHIRSHMAN

La collection de M. Azizbeglou, de Téhéran, (que je remercie de m'avoir donné la permission de les publier), comprend, entre plusieurs autres pièces inédites, trois monnaies parthes qui représentent un intérêt tant numismatique qu'historique.

L'une d'elles est une drachme de Mithridate II (PLANCHE XVII, I).

Æ. Diam. 20 mm. × 23 mm.; Poids 3 gr,62.

Av. Buste du roi à gauche; cheveux serrés d'un diadème dont les rubans tombent bas sur le dos. Le roi porte des moustaches et une longue barbe, et son cou est orné d'un torque à extrémité en protome d'animal. Sa *candys* est richement brodée. Cercle de grénétis. Derrière la tête est gravée une légende en caractères araméens *ARZK* "Arzak".¹

R. Le fondateur de la dynastie divinisé (?) assis sur un trône, un arc bandé à la main. Légende en grec:

à gauche, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ;

en haut, ΜΕΓΑΛΟΝ;

à droite, ΑΡΣΑΚΟΝ;

en ex. ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΝΣ.

La figure du prince montre les traits d'un homme d'âge avancé; l'ancêtre représenté sur le revers n'est plus assis sur un omphalos, ce qui est commun aux premières émissions de Mithridate II, mais sur un trône, ce qui restera adopté

¹ La transcription de ce nom avec un *z* au lieu d'un *š* reste pour moi inexplicable.

par tous les rois parthes ses successeurs. On a donc des raisons de croire que la drachme a été frappée vers la fin du règne du souverain. Soulignons, toutefois, que son titre est "Grand Roi" au lieu de celui de "Roi des Rois" que portent ses drachmes attribuées à la seconde partie de son règne, mais c'est le seul titre qui figure sur ses tétradrachmes.²

La drachme a été trouvée, selon le vendeur, avec un dinar en or du même roi (PLANCHE XVII, 2), près de Kermanchah, région proche de la lisière orientale de la Mésopotamie.

L'intérêt principal de la drachme réside certainement dans la légende de l'avvers, jamais encore attestée sur les monnaies de ce prince, ni sur celles de ses prédécesseurs. On sait que l'écriture araméenne, d'où dérivait celle du pehlvi parthe, n'apparaît sur les émissions des rois parthes, et encore très "timidement", qu'à partir de Vologèse I, donc un siècle après la mort de Mithridate II,³ : les deux premières lettres de son nom, *vl*, gravées derrière sa tête, expriment son nom. Pacorus II (77/78-109/110?) suit l'exemple de son prédécesseur.⁴ Le nom du roi en pehlvi parthe, et ne comprenant toujours que les deux premières lettres gravées sur l'avvers, se maintient sous Vologèse II (77/78-146/47),⁵ prend une forme plus développée *mtrdt mlka* sous Mithridate IV (130?-147?), mais déjà sur le revers;⁶ semble s'amplifier sous Vologèse III (147/148-191) *vlgši aršk mlkin (?) mlka*,⁷ pour redevenir plus modeste sous Vologèse IV (191-207/208?) *vlgši mlka*,⁸ sous Vologèse V (207/208-221/222?),⁹ sous Artaban V (*circa* 213-227)¹⁰ et sous Artavazde (*circa* 227/228) qui reprend les deux premières lettres de son nom (?) sur l'avvers (Av. *ar*; R. *artvzi mlka*).¹¹

Une différence notable ressort toutefois entre la légende en pehlvi de la drachme de Mithridate II et celles qui figurent sur les avers des monnaies de ses successeurs : tandis que ceux-ci transcrivent (sur l'avvers) en ligne horizontale leurs noms propres, celui-là insiste sur son nom dynastique, gravé en suivant le cercle de grénétis. On sait d'après les sources historiques que les rois parthes, pour honorer Arsace I, le fondateur de la dynastie, adoptèrent son nom comme titre honorifique et le conférèrent à tous les rois de façon que tous les monarques

² W. Wroth, *BMC, Parthia* (London, 1903), p. 24; R. H. McDowell, *Coins from Seleucia on the Tigris* (Ann Arbor, 1935), p. 167.

³ W. Wroth, *op. cit.*, p. 182, n° 37 ss. et pl. XXVIII, 16.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 195, n. 2.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 214, n° 38-39; pl. XXXII, 12.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 219, n° 25; pl. XXXIII, 11.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 236, n° 96; pl. XXXV, 3.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 239, n° 17; pl. XXXV, 9.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 243, n° 19; pl. XXXVI, 2.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 247, n° 1; pl. XXXVI, 8.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 251, n° 1; pl. XXXVI, 14.



1



Drachme de Mithridate II
3.5:1



2



Dinar de Mithridate II
1:1



3



Drachme d'Ardavazde
1:1

TROIS MONNAIES PARTHES INÉDITES

régnants portèrent dès lors deux noms, le leur propre et celui d'Arsace.¹² Si Mithridate II, vers la fin de son règne, et à l'encontre de tout ce qu'on connaissait jusqu'à présent de ses frappes, fait ressortir précisément son nom dynastique, c'est qu'il devait avoir des raisons particulières pour ordonner cette émission "déclarative". Quels pouvaient être les événements politiques extérieurs ou intérieurs qui auraient pu être susceptibles d'influer sur ce prince ?

On sait par Plutarque comment se termina le premier contact officiel entre la Parthie et Rome. Orobase, l'ambassadeur de Mithridate II auprès de Sulla avait accepté de s'asseoir sur une chaise plus basse que celle du Romain. Rentré auprès de son maître, Orobase fut exécuté sur l'ordre de celui-ci pour avoir accepté cette humiliation pour son roi.¹³ Je ne crois pourtant pas pouvoir attribuer à ce premier contact entre les deux grandes puissances la raison de la nouvelle émission de Mithridate II.

Des événements dus à la politique intérieure eurent, semble-t-il, comme portée principale de forcer le vieux roi à frapper la drachme en question, bien que ces événements ne se soient peut-être pas entièrement trouvés indépendants de ceux évoqués plus haut. Je pense au rôle qu'a joué Gotarzès au cours des dernières années du règne de Mithridate II.

Malgré l'accroissement de la puissance royale parthe pendant la période qui s'étend entre Mithridate I et Mithridate II, les monarques, tout en étant absolus, étaient obligés de compter avec la noblesse qui, surtout à partir du premier siècle avant notre ère, faisait valoir "ses ressources" réelles¹⁴ et dont la force grandissait avec l'extension de l'Etat. Car, c'est à elle que les souverains étaient obligés de confier le gouvernement des provinces, parfois très étendues, en conférant à ces nobles une autorité de véritables vice-rois. Mais bientôt des inconvénients semblables à ceux qu'ont connus les Achéménides et les Séleucides, en butte aux satrapes, se manifestèrent sous la forme de révoltes. Le premier fut Himerus, gouverneur des provinces occidentales qui se proclama en 124 avant J.-C. roi en Babylonie, et dont la révolte a été étouffée vers 123/122 avant J.-C. par Mithridate II.¹⁵ Il serait possible de déceler des analogies dans le cas de Gotarzès.

Un bas-relief de Mithridate II, sculpté sur le rocher de Bisutun, présente

¹² Justin, XLI, V, 5-6; Strabon, XV, 702; cf. J. Wolski, "Arsace II", *Eos*, vol. XLI (Breslau, 1940-1946), pp. 156-157.

¹³ *Vie de Sulla*, VIII.

¹⁴ J. Wolski, "Remarques sur les institutions des Arsacides", *Eos*, vol. XLVI (Breslau, 1951/1952), pp. 72 ss.

¹⁵ McDowell, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

Gotarzès, suivi de trois autres hauts dignitaires, devant son souverain. Une inscription en grec, abîmée et reconstituée par Herzfeld, le désigne comme ΓΩΤΑΡΖΗΣ ΣΑΤΡΑΠΗΣ ΤΩΝ ΣΑΤΡΑΠΩΝ.¹⁶ Le titre de "satrape des satrapes" est copié certainement sur le titre royal et démontre une charge particulièrement étendue, un poste de véritable viceroi qui aurait gouverné une suite de provinces et concentré entre ses mains un pouvoir extraordinaire. Or, depuis 90 avant J.-C., et au moins jusqu'à 87/86 avant J.-C., les textes cunéiformes babyloniens sont datés au nom d'*aršaka gutarzā* ou "Arsace Gotarzès" et ses femmes. Ainsi, Gotarzès se présente-t-il comme un véritable roi parthe avec son nom propre précédé du nom dynastique auquel il ne semble pas avoir droit puisqu'à cette date le roi régnant était encore Mithridate II. Il semble avoir frappé monnaie aussi: Herzfeld a proposé de lui attribuer la série qui porte αυτοκρατωρ φιλοπατωρ.¹⁷ McDowell lui assigne une autre émission et le croit fils de Mithridate II.¹⁸

C'est le nom d'Arsace usurpé par Gotarzès qui serait susceptible, croyons-nous, de donner la clef de la nouvelle émission de Mithridate II qui, par une addition sur l'avvers, derrière son effigie, fait paraître en pehlvi, non pas son nom propre mais son nom dynastique donné par son glorieux ancêtre. Par là, lui, roi légitime, aurait souligné ses droits à la couronne, par opposition à l'acte de révolte de celui qui ne serait qu'un usurpateur ayant violé la loi fondamentale de l'Etat parthe. Il ne serait pas impossible de croire qu'une frappe en or, jamais attestée auparavant, ait pu venir étayer ce geste et jouer le même rôle que la drachme en question, étant aussi une émission "déclarative", à moins que ce dinar n'ait dû commémorer la captivité de Démétrius III, tombé prisonnier entre les mains de Mithridate II. De fait, son titre ici est "Roi des Rois" (PLANCHE XVII,2).

A. Diam. 20 mm. × 21 mm.; Poids 7 gr,22.

Av. Buste du roi à gauche. Tout le traitement du portrait est très proche de celui de la drachme: mêmes cheveux indiqués par des stries ondulées et qui se terminent au-dessus du front par une suite de boucles; même diadème; même barbe calamistrée. On reconnaît le torque qui se termine par un animal et la *candys* richement ornée. Seul le profil est moins accentué.

¹⁶ E. Herzfeld, *Am Tor von Asien* (Berlin, 1920), pp. 36 ss. Id., *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, IV, 1931, p. 45 et pp. 58 ss; F. Altheim, *Weltgeschichte Asiens im griechischen Zeitalter*, I (Halle, 1947), pp. 290/1; N. C. Debevoise, *A Political History of Parthia* (Chicago, 1938), p. 44.

¹⁷ *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, IV, p. 45, n. 2, et p. 47, n° 3. Son nom paraît depuis 91 avant J.-C., d'après Debevoise, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

¹⁸ McDowell, *op. cit.*, p. 183 et pp. 206-210.

R. L'ancêtre sur un trône, un arc à la main. Légende en grec :

en haut: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ;

à droite: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ;

en ex. ΜΕΓΑΛΟΝ;

à gauche: ΑΡΣΑΚΟΝ, et au-dessous ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΝΣ.

Revenons à la drachme et à sa légende en pehlvi: pourquoi Mithridate II éprouva-t-il le besoin d'ajouter sur l'avvers de sa monnaie, et une fois de plus, son nom dynastique puisqu'il figure déjà, en grec, sur le revers, et atteste, comme sous ses prédécesseurs, son appartenance à la famille royale et son droit légitime à la couronne? On sait que le grec des légendes des monnaies s'est maintenu par tradition jusqu'au dernier roi parthe; par le truchement de cette langue, les souverains arsacides s'adressaient à toute la population de l'Empire où elle se conservait comme *lingua franca* d'un Etat qui comprenait un certain nombre d'enclaves grecques telles que Séleucie sur le Tigre ou celle sur l'Eulaos, dont l'aristocratie commerciale ne manquait pas de puissance.

L'emploi du pehlvi qui s'ajoute sur la drachme au grec, semblerait indiquer que dans ce cas précis le roi s'adressait à la partie de ses sujets dont cette écriture exprimait la langue, qui est une langue nationale. Donc, c'est vers les Iraniens strictement parlé qu'il se tourne, et il faut croire, en premier lieu vers ces nobles qui constituaient la "chambre haute", ou sénat, et probablement les hauts dignitaires et les chefs militaires.

Pourquoi, dans ce cas, un tel appel à la noblesse s'avérerait-il nécessaire? Si on en croit les textes cunéiformes, la Babylonie resta entre les mains de Gotarzès au moins jusqu'à la mort de Mithridate II (88/87 avant J.-C.) sans que le vieux roi soit venu à bout de son antagoniste. Les événements qui ont suivi sa disparition laissent une impression de désarroi dans le domaine de la succession au trône parthe, avec au moins trois rois qui se sont succédé¹⁹ avant que la noblesse,²⁰ dix ans après Mithridate II, n'ait mis la couronne sur la tête de Sanatruce, prince octogénaire, peut-être fils d'Artaban I,²¹ réfugié chez les Sacarauques. Ainsi, le rôle de cette noblesse s'avère important dans les questions qui touchent le choix des rois et, si nous ignorons sa conduite envers Mithridate II, vers la fin de son règne, on peut présumer que l'exécution d'Orobaze, ambassadeur envoyé auprès de Sulla, a pu dresser contre le vieux suzerain au moins une partie de cette classe, inquiète du fait de ces preuves d'un absolutisme menaçant, et prête à une opposi-

¹⁹ McDowell, *op. cit.*, p. 207.

²⁰ J. Wolski, *Remarques* ..., p. 79.

²¹ W. Wroth, *op. cit.*, p. XXXII.

tion que stimulait la conduite d'un souverain dont le despotisme pesait sur ses sujets, même les plus haut placés. Ne serait-ce pas un des facteurs qui empêchèrent Mithridate de redresser la situation en Babylonie ?

La drachme et le dinar furent trouvés près de Kermanschah, au Kurdistan, donc sur terre iranienne, où ces monnaies ont probablement été frappées, et leur découverte semble confirmer l'opinion exprimée que Mithridate II contrôlait, vers la fin de sa vie, l'Iran, le Kurdistan et la Mésopotamie du Nord, tandis que Gotarzès se maintenait en Babylonie²².

Un curieux jeu de circonstances a voulu que dans la même collection entre une drachme du dernier roi parthe, Artavazde, fils d'Artaban V, qui fut vaincu et tué, vers 227, par Ardeshir I, le fondateur de la dynastie sassanide. Artavazde, roi éphémère, frappa des drachmes, étant réfugié quelque part en Iran.²³ Sa résistance ne dura pas longtemps²⁴ et ses émissions connues portent sur l'avvers en caractères pehlvi *ar*, et sur le revers, à côté d'une légende en grec très corrompu, *artvzdi mlka*. La drachme d'Artavazde, de la collection Azizbeglou, est aussi unique puisque, tout en ayant la même légende sur l'avvers, elle porte sur le revers [*ar*] *tvzdi mlka*, et au-dessous *mlkin* (PLANCHE XVII, 3).

R. Diam. 18 mm.; Poids 3 gr,32.

C'est une ironie du sort de trouver sur une émission du dernier prince parthe, roi sans royaume, traqué par le Sassanide, puis pris et exécuté à Ctésiphon,²⁵ le titre de "roi des rois" en pehlvi, que personne de ses prédécesseurs, sauf, peut-être, Vologèse III (voir plus haut) n'a fait graver sur ses émissions.

Les deux lettres en pehlvi sur l'avvers des drachmes d'Artavazde sont interprétées d'habitude comme le nom propre du roi abrégé.²⁶ Mais, puisque ce nom, transcrit en entier et toujours en pehlvi, figure déjà sur le revers de ces monnaies, ne faudrait-il pas reconnaître dans cette courte légende le nom d' "Aršak"-*ar[šk]* abrégé, et ceci par analogie avec la drachme de Mithridate II étudiée ici même ? On peut se demander si la pièce d'Artavazde n'a pas été frappée, elle aussi, comme une émission déclarative par le dernier roi parthe qui, tout en ne conservant qu'un lambeau des terres de ses ancêtres, cherche à proclamer que lui seul reste le roi légitime de l'Iran.

²² Debevoise, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

²³ A. von Gutschmidt, *Geschichte Irans und seine Nachbarländer* (Tübingen, 1888), p. 200, place les émissions d'Artavazde en Médie. La drachme de la collection Azizbeglou ayant été trouvée au Khorasan, ce dernier roi parthe aurait-il suivi la même route que Darius III et Yezdegerd III ?

²⁴ McDowell, *op. cit.*, p. 200, croit pouvoir lui attribuer une pièce de 228/229.

²⁵ Debevoise, *op. cit.*, p. 269.

²⁶ W. Wroth, *op. cit.*, p. 251.

ASSES OF ORICHALCUM¹

MICHAEL GRANT

Chemical and spectrographic analyses reveal that *asses* with S.C. (other than in the eastern, mainly Antiochene, series in which those letters appear within a laurel-wreath (PLATE XVIII, 12) were with outstanding regularity – indeed almost always, at least for the first hundred and thirty years of the Roman Principate – made of practically unmixed red copper. But just very occasionally, and wholly deliberately (as sizes and weights show), they were made of that yellow alloy of copper with zinc, resembling brass and generally described as *orichalcum*, which was – with no less regularity – employed for *sestertii* and *dupondii*.²

These *asses* of *orichalcum* belong to at least four reigns, and thus represent a phenomenon persistent enough to have some meaning and interest. But as far as I am aware no comparative study of these four sets of coins has been attempted, so I am venturing to submit this essay as a modest token of my great admiration for the American Numismatic Society and of my congratulations on its centenary.

¹ I am very grateful to the curators of the following collections for the casts which are reproduced in the Plate: British Museum (nos. 1, 2, 4, 7, 9–23), Paris (nos. 5, 8), Glasgow (Hunterian Museum) (no. 3), Copenhagen (no. 6), Milan (no. 24). I also wish to thank Dr. A. A. Moss and Dr. H. Barker of the British Museum laboratory for spectrographic and other tests, and Dr. C. M. Kraay and Mr. D. W. MacDowall for valuable assistance regarding the coinage of Vespasian and Nero respectively.

² *Roman Imperial Money*, p. 240. Until Trajan (or later) it is only in the most exceptional circumstances (e. g. when an emergency coinage outside Rome overstrikes an earlier issue of bronze) that the official coinage deviates from its metallic norms. For the eastern series with S.C. see further below, pp. 93f., 95 n. 56, 103f.

Those who are not numismatists (though not, I think, anyone familiar with the Roman imperial coinage) may initially feel that the Romans probably did not bother very much whether their *asses* or other token denominations were of one sort of base metal or another. But such an attitude is invalidated by the analyses that I have mentioned. A second and equally cogent consideration is the persistent care – despite the token character of the whole base metal coinage – with which *weights* were kept constant and, in particular, the proportionate weights of copper and *orichalcum* were maintained – with only small and temporary variations – from reign to reign. For example in the coinage of Nero, now to be discussed, the unprecedented employment of *orichalcum* for a group of *asses* automatically brings with it a regular, invariable diminution in the weight (and so in the size) of these pieces in accordance with the value-ratio then observed between the two metals. Evidently public opinion, while duly conditioned to the acceptance of the token principle for base metal coinages (though not for gold and silver), was nevertheless not considered ready to countenance any but minor deviations, in their weight and metal, from the norms and proportions established in their main lines by Augustus.³

At all events, whatever the psychological factors involved, weights and metals remained remarkably constant until the second century A.D. was under way. It must therefore be regarded as certain that these weights and metals were selected for these coins after careful consideration and with a precise recognition of their metrological and metallurgical implications. So it was not an altogether unimportant event when Nero's advisers on such matters decided to issue certain *asses* in *orichalcum* instead of in the pure copper that had been in use for this denomination for over eighty years.

³ I have attempted to describe the system in *Roman Imperial Money*, pp. 45f., 49–52, cf. *The Six Main Aes Coinages of Augustus*, pp. 4–7; for the psychological factors, cf. *Roman History from Coins*, pp. 78f. *Sestertii*, *dupondii* and *asses* averaged c. 392, c. 191 and c. 167 gr. respectively under Augustus, and later (after a period of heavier *orichalcum* representing a change in market-values, or more probably an attempt to differentiate further between the denominations) c. 399, c. 198 and c. 166 under Vespasian, c. 399, c. 204 and c. 168 under Trajan, c. 385, c. 193 and c. 167 under Antoninus, and c. 379, c. 186 and c. 164 under Caracalla. These figures represent present averages: i. e., original averages, before wear, were higher, cf. A. S. Hemmy, *NC*, 1942, pp. 86ff.

NERO

Nero issued *asses* of *orichalcum* with the types GENIO AVGVSTI S.C. (Genius r., sacrificing) (PLATE XVIII,1)⁴ and PONTIF. MAX. TR. P(OT.) IMP. P. P. S. C. (Apollo Citharoedus r.) (PLATE XVIII,2).⁵ Variants occur without S.C. (PLATE XVIII,3).⁶ Both types are familiar from commoner *asses* of copper (PLATE XVIII,4): but the latter, apart from certain pieces without S.C. and a few freaks,⁷ are all of the mint attributed to Lugdunum,⁸ whereas these *orichalcum* pieces are divided between that style and the markedly different execution associated with the Roman mint.⁹

The metal has been demonstrated by analysis, and the denomination is proved by value signs. These *orichalcum* pieces are quite distinct in size and weight from the copper *asses*:¹⁰ the former vary very little from an average of 130 gr., whereas the average of the latter is substantially and deliberately higher, 169.3 at Rome and 161.8 at 'Lugdunum'. This difference is in keeping with the invariable imperial practice of rating *orichalcum* more highly than copper, and thus, although the coins were fiduciary, at all times striking the *dupondii* of *orichalcum* at a weight considerably lower than that of two copper *asses*. As a further differentiation, the two metals looked entirely distinct when the coins were newly struck – bright yellow and dark red respectively.

So *orichalcum* was now used not only for the customary *sestertii* and *dupondii*, but also – apparently for the first time – for *asses*; and the *asses*, at Rome at least, were accompanied by *semisses* and, more surprisingly, *quadrantes* in the same alloy (there were also copper *semisses* and *quadrantes*, apparently at both mints [?]). These issues belong to the years A.D. 64–6, i.e. to the period before Nero's employment of the title *imperator* as a *praenomen*. They have been variously

⁴ *BMCRE*, I, p. 248, nos. 251 ff.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 249, nos. 254 ff.

⁶ Mr. D. W. MacDowall has described to the Royal Numismatic Society his recent research on the subject of these pieces without S.C. Cf. *Roman Imperial Money*, pp. 111 ff.

⁷ *NC*, 1955, p. 33.

⁸ *Ibid.* p. 21 and n. 5.

⁹ PLATE XVIII,2 and similar pieces show portraits in the style not of Rome (as *BMCRE*, I, p. clxxxi, p. 249, no. 255) but of 'Lugdunum', as Mr. MacDowall also has noted; but such pieces are in a minority. Radiate as well as laureate heads occur, apparently without special significance.

¹⁰ Mattingly, *BMCRE*, I, pp. xlix f.; Sydenham, *The Coinage of Nero*, pp. 16 ff. On visual examination one piece of 178.6 gr. with the temple of Janus (*BMCRE*, I, p. 243, no. 255) appears to be of orichalcum rather than copper; but if so it is a freak, or the product of administrative error, or an overstrike (rare in official coinage at this period: cf. above, n. 2).

regarded as (i) preceding and accompanying, or (ii) partially following, the gigantic main *aes* series¹¹ – including enormously abundant copper *asses* – attributable to the same years. No certain solution to this problem seems possible yet.

It is equally impracticable, at the present stage, to determine the precise areas of circulation. It cannot, for example, be said to what extent, if at all, these pieces penetrated to the Balkan and eastern provinces. In the west, however, it does seem – on the evidence available – that the distribution of the Rome and ‘Lugdunum’ varieties roughly corresponds with that of the copper *asses* from the same mints.¹²

Mattingly and Sydenham both felt that the *as* of *orichalcum* was regarded as a failure. It was, they say, part of an “experiment tried for a short period”.¹³ Sydenham writes that “the emperors who immediately succeeded him (Nero) abandoned the lesser denominations of brass and copper and were content to fall back upon the simpler, if less complete, system of Augustus”.¹⁴ Mattingly’s conclusion was that this “attempt to introduce a complete token coinage of *orichalcum* soon failed and was abandoned”.¹⁵

Later, however, he came to recognize that there were certain subsequent *asses* of *orichalcum*. A brief survey of the post-Neronian issues in this category will now be attempted.

VESPASIAN

Barely a decade later, in A.D. 77–8, Vespasian used an eastern mint – at present unidentified¹⁶ – for the issue of further coins which the analysis of representative examples has shown to consist of *orichalcum*.¹⁷ They include several types each of Titus (Mars, eagle, PLATE XVIII, 5) and Domitian (Minerva, eagle, Jupiter,

¹¹ The former view: Mattingly, *Roman Coins*, p. 186, n. 1, cf. *BMCRE*, I, p. clxiii, Mattingly and Sydenham, *Roman Imperial Coinage*, I, p. 208. The opinion that they follow the main *aes* series: Sydenham, *The Coinage of Nero*, pp. 22, 76, 77, and more cautiously *Roman Imperial Coinage*, *loc. cit.*, cf. p. 137.

¹² This statement is based on find-evidence kindly provided by Mr. D. W. MacDowall, who will soon be publishing this material.

¹³ *Roman Imperial Coinage*, I, p. 5.

¹⁴ *The Coinage of Nero*, p. 23.

¹⁵ *BMCRE*, I, p. xx.

¹⁶ See below p. 92

¹⁷ Spectrographic tests in British Museum Laboratory.



ASSES OF ORICHALCUM

Nero, 1-4; Vespasian, 5-16; Trajan, 17-19; Hadrian, 20-24.

equestrian figure, PLATE XVIII, 6)¹⁸; and I suspect that there are other types which are unknown to me. The average weight is about 115.5 as against 165.9–155.2 of Vespasian's normal *asses* (PLATE XVIII, 7). Nero's *asses* of *orichalcum* had averaged 130 gr., Trajan's and Hadrian's (which will next be discussed) 127.6 and 141 respectively; these pieces of Vespasian weigh less, but they are considerably more worn, so that the discrepancy is not great. Mattingly is, therefore, probably right in labelling them as *asses*, and if so we have the second example within a relatively few years of an official issue of *asses* in *orichalcum*. They are accompanied by a large denomination comprising two types of Vespasian (Ceres, Victory and bull, PLATE XVIII, 8):¹⁹ their average weight cannot be stated with any precision, but they are presumably *dupondii*. The division into two denominations is unquestionable.

Mattingly is undoubtedly right both in detaching this series from the main Roman group and in regarding it as eastern. Nos. (1) and (2) were acquired at Izmir, and (4) came to the British Museum from that well-known Anatolian traveller, Sir William Ramsay. However, these pieces possess no authentic link with the coins with double *cornucopiae* and *caduceus*, dubiously attributed to Commagene (PLATE XVIII, 9; see below, n. 44): portrait-execution, truncation, epigraphy, general impression all display differences too great to be accounted for by difference of *officina* or artist alone. Unless the differentiation of mints by style is wholly impossible – and it is not – the two series are not from the same mint. The present pieces have no connection with Commagene. I cannot support Wruck²⁰ in seeing a relation between the Ceres type and a Demeter-Tyche with corn-ears at Samosata²¹: the latter is of second-century date (Antoninus Pius), and the Near East could provide closer analogies to the present type, which is characteristic of

¹⁸ *Titus*, Mars: – Hirsch Sale XVIII, 1907, no. 699; Vierordt Sale, 5/3/1923, no. 1074; *BMCRE*, II, p. 221⁺; Collection of Dr. C. M. Kraay (to whom I owe information about several of these pieces). Eagle: – Paris, *BMCRE*, II, p. 423, no. 893 *bis*, p. 424; no. 893 *ter* (these are the two specimens which have received spectrographic analysis). *Domitian*, Minerva: – Oxford. Eagle: – Wruck, *Syrische Provinzialprägung*, p. 190, no. 114, Vienna. Jupiter: – *BMCRE*, II, p. 220, no. 893. Equestrian figure: – Copenhagen. Mattingly describes these as *asses* in *BMCRE*, II, p. 423. I cannot however follow his suggestion (n. *) that "these coins are of intermediate weight, between *Dupondius* and *As*".

¹⁹ Ceres, several variants (Imhoof-Blumer, *RSN*, 1905, p. 178 no. 34, and *BMCRE*, II, p. 220; Cahn, *NC*, 1946, p. 18, no. 33, Berne (Historisches Museum); Imhoof-Blumer, *op. cit.*, no. 35). Victory with bull (Paris): *BMCRE*, II, p. 173⁺.

²⁰ Wruck, *op. cit.*, p. 123 and n. 629.

²¹ *BMC*, *Syria*, p. 118 nos. 26f.

¹⁹ Centennial

Syria and Cilicia (cf. below p. 299, PLATE XVIII, 24). Nor would I agree to cite, by way of analogy, the cult of Zeus at Commagenian Doliche,²² for Zeus types abound in the Levant, as in Asia Minor. In the Appendix to *BMC, Syria*, Mattingly amends his attribution with the words: "they may belong to some other mint not yet identified".²³

But this homogeneous group of *aes* pieces can be built into its place in the Flavian coinage by other means. It has a great deal in common with series of *denarii* possessing various mint-marks, two of which, $\overline{\text{EPHE}}$ (*sus*) and *BY* (*zantium*) locate the mintage unmistakably in Asia Minor and the Bosphorus.²⁴ It is not only that the *denarii* and the *aes* echo some of the same types from Roman coinage: – Ceres with corn-ears and poppy; the same symbols independently; eagle (PLATE XVIII, 10); Minerva (PLATE XVIII, 11). There is also on occasion, as I have pointed out elsewhere, a close resemblance in portrait execution between the *aes* and a subdivision of the silver series which sometimes shows the mintmark *O*²⁵ (PLATE XVIII, 10 and 11 belong to this group).²⁶

This conclusion is of some interest because of the date of the *aes*, A.D. 77–8. By this time all the Asian *denarius*-mints of Vespasian (and Byzantium too) had ceased striking for some years – except for one of them, and that is precisely this mint *O*, of which the dated issues (i.e. nearly all of them) are all of A.D. 76.²⁷ Mint *O* has the eagle, also the corn-ears and poppy; but more noteworthy is the fact that it alone of all the mints of Vespasian has the type of Minerva advancing to right with shield and spear (PLATE XVIII, 11).²⁸ This type, later to become so familiar under Domitian, "is new; . . . Minerva was in a very special sense the child of Jupiter and his vicegerent in heaven: hence her appropriateness as a type of the heir"²⁹ – i.e. of the Prince Titus on the *denarii*, shown here: the *aes* portray the heir-presumptive Domitian, who was particularly devoted to Minerva.³⁰

²² Wruck, *op. cit.* p. 120, n. 6.

²³ *BMCRE*, II, p. 423 n.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. lxiv, 93ff.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. lxivf., 100ff.

²⁶ *Roman Coinage: Essays presented to H. Mattingly*, p. 105 and n. 8: compare pl. IV, 7 and 8 there, which perhaps show the analogy better than the specimens illustrated here. On the cast of PLATE XVIII, 11 here the mintmark is visible.

²⁷ It is conceivable, though not certain, that there was an isolated issue in A.D. 73: *BMCRE*, II, p. 12, n.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 101, no. 484.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. lxvi and n. 4.

³⁰ The other remarkable type of Titus here, the Mars with shield as well as spear, is being studied by Dr. C. Vermeule.

This type, then, is peculiar to the *denarii* of mint O, and to this *aes* which follow them so closely in portrait-execution also. There seems to be every justification for regarding them as products of the same mint, issuing silver in A.D. 76 and then *aes* in 77–8. Where was this mint? It has already been pointed out that there is no reason to locate the *aes* in Commagene. Mattingly suggests that O may stand for Olympus in Lycia;³¹ but his choice of this particular city with the initial 'O' is perhaps partly inspired by the thought that one of the *denarius* types, Pegasus, has been suggested by the Lycian story of Bellerophon³² – hardly a justifiable connection since, as Mattingly himself rightly points out, this type was a feature of Roman mintages of the same year.

Perhaps the occasion on which this coinage was issued can be recovered from the type of Victory slaying bull (PLATE XVIII, 8). This type does not appear on any other known issue of Vespasian; indeed, it has only occurred previously on *aurei* of Augustus,³³ again of an eastern mint probably to be located in Asia Minor.³⁴ "The motif, Victory slaying the bull, is a familiar one in Greek art (cp. gold of Lampsacus: Victory and ram), and passes on into the famous Mithraic type".³⁵

Augustus had used this type to celebrate his Parthian diplomatic success (backed by the threat of force) in 20 B.C., and the present repetition is not only an Augustan echo highly characteristic of Vespasian's coinage but records a recurrence of closely similar circumstances. The isolated *aes* issue is dated to A.D. 77–8, and it was at this very time – probably in the very year A.D. 77 (IMP. XIX) – that the governor of Syria, M. Ulpius Trajanus (Trajan's father), won triumphal *ornamenta* for an obviously comparable success, again peaceful and again due to "negotiation from strength".³⁶ As Aurelius Victor puts it,³⁷ *rex Parthorum Vologaesius metu solo in pacem coactus est*. The coin-type was as appropriate in A.D. 77 as it had been for the diplomatic victory of 20 B.C.³⁸

However, this was not the first occasion on which Vespasian had issued an unusual *orichalcum* coinage in the east. One of the greatest *aes* series of the early

³¹ *BMCRE*, II, p. lxiv, n. 4.

³² *Ibid.*, p. lxvi.

³³ *Ibid.*, I, p. 108, no. 671.

³⁴ *Papers in Honor of A. C. Johnson*, pp. 92f.

³⁵ *BMCRE*, I, p. cxxv.

³⁶ Syme, *CAH*, XI, p. 143; Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*, II, p. 1438, n. 23; cf. *ILS*, 8970.

³⁷ *Epit.* IX, 12.

³⁸ The question whether this mint continued to be active under Titus must be left for discussion elsewhere.

Principate, rivalling the Roman series in persistence and circulation, is the eastern series with S.C. in laurel-wreath, of which the main – and before long the only – mint was Antioch in Syria.³⁹ This was a truly official coinage, and may even be regarded, in a sense, as the eastern counterpart of the Roman series (which, by way of contrast, scarcely circulated outside the western regions of the Empire.)

This Antioch series habitually employed bronze (PLATE XVIII, 12), which was evidently regarded as more appropriate to eastern needs than the western official metals of *orichalcum* and copper. At least once, however, this mint struck *orichalcum* pieces. They have the usual type of S.C. in wreath; on the obverses are the heads of Vespasian (IMP. VESP. AVG. P. M. T. P. [PLATE XVIII, 13]⁴⁰, IMP. CAESAR VESP. AVG.),⁴¹ the heir Titus (T. CAES. IMP. TR. POT.)⁴² and the young Domitian (CAESAR DOMIT. COS. II. [PLATE XVIII, 14].)⁴³ In the text of *BMCRE*, these coins are ascribed to Commagene, since they are grouped with certain *dupondii* of *orichalcum* (with *caduceus* and *cornucopiae*, PLATE XVIII, 9) which are there attributed to that country.⁴⁴ But as I have elsewhere suggested, the attribution is unconvincing,⁴⁵ and in any case there is no reason to assign the present S.C. pieces to the same mint as the *caduceus-cornucopiae* group. Mattingly, appreciating this, suggests as an alternative that the former might belong to the province of Asia,⁴⁶ but it seems necessary to prefer Wruck's demonstration that they are rather to be classed with the great Antioch series with which style, fabric and type identify them.⁴⁷ Indeed, other pieces of extremely similar appearance (some show the same unusual abbreviation T.P.) emphasize this by their inscription ANTIOCHIA (PLATE XVIII, 15).⁴⁸ Moreover, an attempt to differentiate the S.C. pieces from the Antiochene se-

³⁹ The series is discussed at length in *The Six Main Aes Coinages of Augustus*, pp. 7f., 17, 42–51, 123–127, 131–7, cf. *Roman Imperial Money*, pp. 67–71.

⁴⁰ *BMCRE*, II, p. 217, no. 879.

⁴¹ Wruck, *Syrische Provinzialprägung*, p. 188, nos. 96 and 97.

⁴² *BMCRE*, II, p. 218*; Wruck, *op. cit.*, p. 188, no. 103.

⁴³ *BMCRE*, II, p. 218, no. 884; Wruck, *op. cit.*, p. 190, no. 112.

⁴⁴ *BMCRE*, II, pp. 219f. The type is imitated from a large bronze issue of Tiberius, *BMCRE*, I, p. 144, no. 174; *Roman Anniversary Issues*, pp. 57–9.

⁴⁵ *NC*, 1949, p. 241 and n. 12: cf. above, p. 289.

⁴⁶ *BMCRE*, II, p. lxxiii.

⁴⁷ At this period, for some reason not yet determined, Antiochene *aes* displayed two distinct fabrics (Bellinger, *Dura Final Report*, VI, p. 151). Was there a variety of mints (as under Augustus and Tiberius), or “a difference in time, a difference in workshop, or only a variation in the fashion of manufacturing flans?”

⁴⁸ Wruck, *op. cit.*, p. 188, no. 98. Cf. no. 104 (their numbers on his pl. VI, 5 are reversed), and p. 190, no. 113.

ries on the grounds that they are of *orichalcum* would break down since examination in the British Museum Laboratory indicates that the ANTIOCHIA coins, as Mattingly had already suggested, are likewise of *orichalcum* (they are probably as official as the S.C. pieces.)⁴⁹ Certain of the coins bear the date A.D. 73-4 (CAESAR DOMIT. COS. II. [PLATE XVIII, 14]),⁵⁰ and it may well be that the whole group belongs to this date.⁵¹

It does not seem possible to reach a certain conclusion about their denomination. Being of *orichalcum* – an alloy scarcely employed outside the main western official series – they ought, one would think, to bear some metrological relation to that series. Yet (as far as imperfect statistics indicate) weights do not seem to average more than 90 gr., a figure considerably lower (as the size is smaller) than that of *asses* of *orichalcum*. On the other hand Nero's *semisses* of *orichalcum* average only c. 55.9 gr., eastern *semisses* (?) of Vespasian with *caduceus* and *cornucopiae* (PLATE XVIII, 16) – which again appear to be of *orichalcum* – average c. 43.2,⁵² and c. 56.7 has been tentatively suggested for Domitian's *semisses* of the same alloy.⁵³ ANTIOCHIA The pieces do not help matters much; their average weight seems to be about 70 gr.⁵⁴ So, with A. R. Bellinger,⁵⁵ we had better regard the problem as unsolved.

TRAJAN

The *as* of *orichalcum* was revived under Trajan. There is a possible example of c. A.D. 98-9.⁵⁶ Revival certainly took place in 115 (late) – 116. The *asses* of this

⁴⁹ Pick, *ZfN*, XIV, pp. 347f., cf. Wruck, *op. cit.*, p. 121. I.e. ANTIOCHIA is a *mint-mark* rather than an ethnic, cf. *From Imperium to Auctoritas*, p. 72.

⁵⁰ *BMCRE*, II, pp. xvi, 217ff.

⁵¹ Bronze pieces of Vespasian at Antioch are dated to A.D. 72-3 and 74 (Wruck, *op. cit.*, p. 188, nos. 92 and 93).

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 217, nos. 88of., cf. pp. 218ff. Specimen found at Antioch: Waagé, *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, IV, Part II, p. 94, no. 1012.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. xvi (but see n. 1). Examination suggests that the smaller as well as the larger of Domitian's pieces with bust of Apollo and type of raven (*BMCRE*, II, p. 401, no. 456 etc.) are *orichalcum* (28.7, 29.0 gr., presumably *quadrantes*).

⁵⁴ Wruck, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

⁵⁵ *Dura Final Report*, VI, p. 150.

⁵⁶ *BMCRE*, III, pp. 231 n. *, 233 n. * (both at Paris) – S.C. in laurel wreath. These coins have not been analysed, but Mattingly's identification as *as* and *semis* respectively suggests the belief that they are of *orichalcum*, and he may well be right.

date (PLATE XVIII, 17, 18),⁵⁷ accompanied by *semisses* (PLATE XVIII, 19)⁵⁸ (probably not the only *orichalcum semisses* of Trajan)⁵⁹ are fairly abundant and include many minor variations.⁶⁰ The basis of their types is as follows:

IMP.CAES.NER.TRAIANO OPTIMO AVG.GERM.

Radiate bust r., often with *aegis*, drapery, or cuirass.

DAC.PARTHICO P.M.TR.POT.XX.COS.VI.P.P. round edge. S.C. in laurel-wreath.

These coins are of *orichalcum*, and so Strack⁶¹ regarded them as *dupondii*. But that is very unlikely, since their weight is only c. 128 gr. (average of 9). This is very close to the weight of Nero's *asses* of *orichalcum*, and Mattingly⁶² and Bellinger⁶³ are right to attribute these pieces of Trajan to the same denomination.

Mattingly describes the reverse type as "subtly but unmistakably foreign to the regular practice of the Roman mint". In case, however, this is a point to which only numismatists could be expected to assent, it is possible to add evidence of provenance indicating eastern circulation. Though these coins turn up occasionally in many parts of the empire, they are – as Regling noted – particularly abundant in the Levant. Thus at Dura-Europos a total of only 13 official *aes* of Trajan included no less than 3 of these *asses* as well as a *semis*. Again, at Syrian Antioch, 27 of Trajan's official *aes* included as many as 6 of these *asses* and 11 *semisses* of the same group.⁶⁴

So the issue was clearly intended for eastern circulation; and since unusual coinages were often minted for imperial visits,⁶⁵ it is tempting to associate it with the presence of Trajan himself in the Levant during this period. Whether the coins were *minted* in the east as well as designed for circulation there is a matter which will be discussed in connection with the next series.

⁵⁷ *BMCRE*, III, p. 232, nos. 1090ff.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ Trajan's coins of the Dardanian Mines (*BMCRE*, III, p. 234, nos. 1106ff., av. 48 gr.) seem to belong to this category. See also above, n. 56.

⁶⁰ On *BMCRE*, III, p. 232, nos. 1096ff., DAC. PARTHICO is transferred to the obverse.

⁶¹ I, p. 232.

⁶² *BMCRE*, III, p. cviii, *Roman Imperial Coinage*, II, p. 290 n., where the revival of this denomination is described as "not easy to explain".

⁶³ *Dura Final Report*, VI, p. 61.

⁶⁴ From East: Strack, *Untersuchungen zur römischen Reichsprägung des zweiten Jahrhunderts*, I, p. 233. Dura: Bellinger, *op. cit.*, nos. 1363–1365. Antioch: Waagé, *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, IV, Part II, p. 94, nos. 1016 and 1017. Mr. Michael Gough has also mentioned to me a specimen found in Cilicia.

⁶⁵ *Papers in Honor of A. C. Johnson*, pp. 99 and n. 14.

HADRIAN

Five coins of Hadrian (HADRIANVS AVGVSTVS – COS.III S.C.) are of the distinctive weight, metal and size – already encountered in the three earlier reigns enumerated here – which necessitate description as *asses* of *orichalcum*. On PLATE XVIII, 20⁶⁶ is a woman with turreted crown, seated to left on rock, holding cornears in right hand, left hand on rock: below, river-god, visible to waist, swimming to right. The other types include griffin (with right fore-paw raised), PLATE XVIII, 21;⁶⁷ lyre;⁶⁸ Roma seated to left on cuirass, holding Victory and spear;⁶⁹ and Victory (?).⁷⁰

These pieces are of *orichalcum*, and average c. 141 gr. This is too low a weight to permit interpretation as *dupondii*, which average c. 204 gr. under Hadrian. The diameter both of *dupondii* and of copper *asses* (PLATE XVIII, 22) is likewise markedly greater than that of the present pieces. Mattingly is clearly right in describing the latter as *asses* of *orichalcum*. They are accompanied by at least one smaller denomination (*semis* and/or *quadrans*, PLATE XVIII, 23).⁷¹

In both *BMCRE* and Mattingly and Sydenham's *Roman Imperial Coinage* these issues are attributed to the mint of Rome. Yet in the introduction of *BMC*, Mattingly feels that they are "without much doubt Eastern".⁷² This apparent contradiction is explained in Mattingly and Sydenham:⁷³ "these rare non-Roman coins are so few and sporadic that it has seemed inadvisable, for once, to class them apart under mints". (This decision is somewhat puzzling, since the even rarer eastern *aurei* and scarcely commoner eastern *denarii* of Hadrian are removed together in *BMCRE* [though not in Mattingly and Sydenham] under a separate heading.⁷⁴ But Mattingly, though he regards these pieces as eastern, is disposed to treat the coinage of Hadrian as centralised: "even if local [*sic*] branch mints should prove to have existed, they would really be no more than *officinae*

⁶⁶ *BMCRE*, III, p. 440, No. 1350.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, no. 1353.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, no. 1354.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, no. (ex. L. A. Lawrence coll.).

⁷⁰ Strack, *op. cit.*, II, p. 196.

⁷¹ *BMCRE*, III, pp. clxviii, 441 n. *, Strack, *op. cit.*; analysis shows the *semisses* to be of orichalcum, but the so-called *quadrans* seems to be of an alloy containing both tin and zinc.

⁷² *BMCRE*, III, p. clxviii and n. 2.

⁷³ *Roman Imperial Coinage*, II, p. 314.

⁷⁴ *BMCRE*, III, pp. cliii, 374ff.

of the central mint"⁷⁵ – surely a questionable conclusion.) There can be no doubt at all that Hadrian's *asses* of *orichalcum* were intended for eastern circulation. Though imperial *aes* of this period circulated sparsely in the east, 14 imperial bronze of Hadrian found at Syrian Antioch include, from this one group, 2 *asses* (griffin, lyre) and 6 *semisses* or *quadrantes*.⁷⁶ Again, 2 *aes* pieces of Hadrian are reported from Dura-Europos: both of them belong to the present series.⁷⁷

Special coinages very often coincide with imperial visits (p. 294), and in 124 and 125 Hadrian himself was in Asia Minor and Syria. The obverse inscription of these pieces is characteristic of great coinages which were issued at precisely that time.⁷⁸ Just, therefore, as the last issue of *asses* of *orichalcum* which had circulated in the east had coincided with the presence of Trajan, so these coincided with the visit of Hadrian.

Mattingly describes the style of Hadrian's issue as "slightly unusual, if fine".⁷⁹ Perhaps the slight unusualness may in part be due to the relative unfamiliarity of the denomination, or perhaps to a rather uncommon variety of the draped bust. Of Trajan's *asses* of *orichalcum* Mattingly observed: "the style is fine and not clearly differentiated from the Roman."⁸⁰ But that, too, had been minted for eastern circulation; and Mattingly very aptly concludes: – "The non-Roman issues of the period are not always betrayed by style: in the case of the Eastern *aes* of Trajan and Hadrian it is the unusual denominations and the unusual treatment of reverse types and legends which mark them".⁸¹

He goes on to point out that this does not apply to the eastern silver of the same emperors, which *is* distinct in style. But that may not be true of all non-Roman silver of the period: for example a *denarius* - die found at Verulamium⁸²

⁷⁵ *BMCRE*, III, p. xiii. Yet small *aes* pieces with COS. III. are omitted just because they "are certainly Eastern" (*ibid.* p. 441, n. *).

⁷⁶ D. B. Waagé, *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, IV, Part II, p. 95, nos. 1026–1029.

⁷⁷ *Dura Final Report*, VI, p. 61, nos. 1366 (*as*) and 1367 (*as* and *quadrans*). A *quadrans* of the series (*BMCRE*, III, no. 1362) was found at Antioch in Pisidia.

⁷⁸ Strack, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 12ff., cf. *Roman Anniversary Issues*, p. 301, attributes the Augustan titlature to the 150th anniversary of the *respublica restituta* of Augustus, cf. Mattingly, *NC*, 1950, p. 168.

⁷⁹ *BMCRE*, III, p. clxviii.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. cviii.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. xx.

⁸² R. E. M. Wheeler and T. V. Wheeler, *Verulamium*, pp. 222f., fig. 49, cf. Vermeule, *Some Notes on Ancient Dies and Coining Methods*, p. 32, no. 51, and myself in *NC*, 1954, pp. 228ff. Some reviewers take a more sceptical view of this sort of evidence: e. g. Kraay, *CR*, 1956, p. 82.

would be held by some, myself among them, to be an illustration of the fact that *denarii* of perfectly Roman style were sometimes minted in the provinces. Stylistic resemblance to Roman coinage is no indication whatever of Roman mintage.⁸³ This conclusion is by no means invalidated by the non-Roman style of *some* official *denarii* and *aes* issued in the provinces – it remains true that other pieces issued in the provinces do not betray their origin by a provincial style. So these *asses* of *orichalcum* issued by Trajan and Hadrian may well, as far as style is concerned, have been issued away from Rome. I have already suggested that they were intended for circulation in the eastern provinces. Ought one therefore to conclude that they were *minted* in the east? This was no doubt possible enough since *imagines*, models and patterns of all sorts, could easily enough be exported even to the farthest provinces; and the die found at Verulamium, if – as it looks to me – it is an authentic official product, and not – as some would prefer to believe – an unofficial imitation, suggests that the same can apply even to dies. Mattingly evidently had this sort of procedure in mind when he spoke of Nero's 'Lugdunum' mint as "closely copying dies or models supplied from Rome",⁸⁴ and he has identified similar possibilities in the Antonine period.⁸⁵

Nevertheless there is an alternative possibility: that these *orichalcum asses* of Trajan and Hadrian not only had their dies cut, but were actually minted, *in* Rome *for* the east. Strack, while fully appreciating the eastern character of the types, tentatively reaches this conclusion for at least one of them.⁸⁶ But he bases it on a hybrid specimen at Vienna on which the small die of the *orichalcum* piece with type of lyre, No. (3), is combined with the larger die of an ordinary Roman copper *as*. However, the existence of such a hybrid does not necessarily point to Roman mintage.⁸⁷

To my mind the decisive consideration is likely, as so often in the Roman empire, to have been *convenience*. It was not very practical to *mint* large quantities of *aes* coins at Rome (and Trajan's issue, if not Hadrian's as well, was extensive and bulky), and then to transport them to the east. The eastern provinces contained multitudes of competent mints and moneyers; they also contained large supplies of copper, and also of the other constituent of *orichalcum*, namely zinc.

⁸³ Cf. *The Six Main Aes Coinages of Augustus*, p. 145, n. 2.

⁸⁴ *BMCRE*, I, p. clxv.

⁸⁵ *BMCRE*, IV, pp. xviii, cviii.

⁸⁶ *Op. cit.*, II, p. 196.

⁸⁷ Cf. *The Six Main Aes Coinages of Augustus*, pp. 61f.

For Cyprus was famous for the zinc-ore (*cadmea*) which was mixed with the copper to make this alloy;⁸⁸ and there were also considerable supplies in Asia Minor.⁸⁹ So Trajan's and Hadrian's *asses* of *orichalcum* may well have been minted not only *for* the east, but *in* the east. Moreover, this is a conclusion which harmonises, not only with certain rather intangible peculiarities of fabric, but with the fact that these *asses* of Trajan (like Alexandrian titulatures)⁹⁰ give him the title PARTHICUS some months before it appears on the coinage of Rome.⁹¹

It is very difficult to identify the eastern city or cities in which this mintage may have taken place. As regards the issue of Trajan, Mattingly points out that resemblances to portraits on coins of Cyprus suggest that the mint may be attributable to that island.⁹² But this argument is not very convincing since, in whatever eastern provinces the *orichalcum asses* were issued, their fine, official portraits would be likely to be used as models by moneyers in Cyprus, as elsewhere.⁹³ As an alternative possibility, Mattingly suggests Antioch in Syria; so does Bellinger.⁹⁴ It may eventually be possible to throw further light on this question of mintage by means of the countermarks which appear on certain specimens – *bucranium*, pellets and lines (PLATE XVIII, 18),⁹⁵ and branch.⁹⁶ Bellinger's pioneer work on Dura finds has reminded us that in these eastern countermarks there is a large, obscure and untilled field of research.⁹⁷

The mintage of Hadrian's pieces is again not at all an easy question. And it seems to me that the moneyers refrained deliberately from giving any indication. The coins are stylistically homogeneous, yet the types recall different regions and seem to give a complimentary compendium or cross-section of some of the types most familiar to the eastern provinces. The griffin – hitherto unknown on the official coinage – was characteristic of Ionia⁹⁸ or Egypt⁹⁹ (of which Strack detects

⁸⁸ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* XXXIV, 130; Dioscorides, V, 74, cf. Forbes, *Metallurgy in Antiquity*, p. 281.

⁸⁹ Strabo, XIII, 1, 56 (Troad), cf. Broughton, *Economic Survey*, IV, p. 623.

⁹⁰ *BMCRE*, III, pp. liii, n. 5, lxii.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. cviii.

⁹² *Ibid.*

⁹³ Cf. *From Imperium to Auctoritas*, and more recently *The Six Main Aes Coinages of Augustus*, pp. 76ff.

⁹⁴ *Dura Final Report*, VI, p. 140. He adds that one of the Trajan types does not occur in Antiochene finds; but the other does (see above, n. 64).

⁹⁵ *BMCRE*, III, p. 232, no. 1095.

⁹⁶ Cahn Sale 71, 14/10/31, no. 1555.

⁹⁷ *Op. cit.*, pp. 192ff. Is the stamp of pellet and lines on his no. 1604 h (p. 194) analogous?

⁹⁸ Cf. *HN*², p. 594, and *BMC, Ionia*, pl. XXIII, 3 (Phocaea), pl. XXX, 1ff. (Teos). The griffin in imperial times often has its paw on a wheel, symbolising Nemesis.

⁹⁹ Dattari, *Numi Alexandrini*, I, p. 128, nos. 2030ff., cf. 409, 602, 1209.

other echoes too on this *aes*).¹⁰⁰ The lyre may conceivably be repeated at Caesarea in Cappadocia, but it might also suggest Lycia as much as anywhere else.¹⁰² The Roma type, which later occurs on Hadrian's eastern *denarii*,¹⁰³ is obviously general. But the representation of seated Tyche had long been peculiarly widespread in Syria and Cilicia. Strack¹⁰⁴ and Mattingly¹⁰⁵ suppose it to recall the coinage of Antioch, and Strack even sees in it a reference to the famous Tyche of Antioch by the Hellenistic sculptor Eutychides. But Syrian and Cilician coins reveal many other possible analogies (e.g. PLATE XVIII, 24).¹⁰⁶ However, it may well be that the type is intended to depict the group of Eutychides, not in order to bear witness to Antiochene mintage, but as a generic model of the most familiar of Syro-Cilician themes. So the mint of Hadrian's *orichalcum asses* cannot be determined; it can only be said that, like those of Trajan, they were probably minted in the east, and certainly intended for circulation in the east.

The foregoing summary has shown that, within just over sixty years, between A.D. 64 and c. A.D. 125, there were at least four (and perhaps six) issues of *asses* made of *orichalcum*, and these were the products of four reigns: Nero, A.D. 64–6, Vespasian, A.D. 77–8 (possibly also in c. A.D. 72–4), Trajan, A.D. 115–16 (possibly also in c. A.D. 98–99), Hadrian, c. A.D. 124–5.

So it seems premature to accept the current explanation that the issue of Nero comprises a short-lived, unsuccessful experiment. On the contrary, it seems that this issue was the first of a number, repeated at intervals, and therefore apparently representing a policy which was not immediately abandoned. Whether Nero's *orichalcum asses* circulated in the east cannot yet be stated,¹⁰⁷ but it was certainly the eastern provinces which those of Vespasian, Trajan and Hadrian were intended to serve.

Throughout the empire, the *aes* coinage in circulation comprised a mixture,

¹⁰⁰ *Op. cit.*, II, p. 196; he sees an Egyptian analogy in the *paludamentum* and drapery of certain of the present *aes*.

¹⁰¹ Sydenham, *The Coinage of Caesarea in Cappadocia*, p. 280, no. 291 – distinguished from the present pieces by absence of S.C. Or is the distinction untenable?

¹⁰² *HN*², pp. 693f.

¹⁰³ *BMCRE*, III, p. 375, no. 1032.

¹⁰⁴ *Loc. cit.*

¹⁰⁵ *BMCRE*, III, p. cix (Mallus in Cilicia).

¹⁰⁶ *From Imperium to Auctoritas*, pl. XII, no. 18 (Mallus). Samosata seems to imitate this type under Antoninus Pius: *BMC, Galatia*, etc., p. 118, no. 26.

¹⁰⁷ Soutzo, *RN*, 1898, pp. 659ff., saw in them an attempt to create "a dual coinage that was both Roman and Greek."

in varying proportions, of official Roman pieces and the local issues of cities. During the first two centuries of the Principate, at least, the tendency was for the former to increase in proportion to the latter. Thus, in the west, local issues diminished gradually and came to an end altogether before the Flavian period.¹⁰⁸ In the east, too, local *aes* coinage usually did not yet occur in the extreme abundance which it was later to attain,¹⁰⁹ whereas the great eastern official coinage (S.C. in wreath) centering on Antioch sometimes achieved formidable proportions: the finds of Dura-Europos have revealed no less than 163 specimens of a single early emperor, Claudius,¹¹⁰ as well as many others of his predecessors and successors.

The monetary systems of this period display considerable complexity, and this applies particularly to *aes*; many standards were in use, and presumably there was some means of relating each of them to one another, especially when they co-existed in the same region. In particular, it was inevitable that every local standard should possess some relation to that of Rome: and the more extensive eastern official coinage became, the greater was the necessity of having a universally applicable relationship. Now, whereas the metropolitan token coinage consisted of *orichalcum* and copper pieces – the two metals being given very different token values – the main element in eastern official *aes* coinage, the series with S.C. in wreath, was habitually of bronze. But there is no reason to infer that this bronze ranked as equal in value to *orichalcum* or to copper: an entirely different token value may have been assigned to it – and it must not be thought that such relationships were casual, arbitrary or ignored, for the distinctions were important (see p. 286). It was desirable that bronze should generally be used for this mainly Syrian series, since the city-coinages of the east were almost exclusively of this alloy, as they had always been. But it is not surprising that the Roman authorities should also, occasionally, have issued eastern *orichalcum*, in order to facilitate commercial exchanges with the metropolitan and western issues using the same alloys. Indeed,

¹⁰⁸ Issues of the Spanish mainland did not outlast the reign of Gaius (*NC*, 1949, pp. 93–106). There is a possible issue in Africa under Claudius at Ebusus (*ibid.*, 1949, p. 97, n. 28), and my personal belief (not universally shared) is that the issues of Nemausus with two heads and crocodile continued until A.D. 69 (*The Six Main Aes Coinages of Augustus*, p. 11 etc.). Coins formerly believed to be of Babba in Mauretania are now rightly reattributed to Buthrotum in Epirus, J. Mazard, *Revue Africaine*, 1955, pp. 54ff.

¹⁰⁹ Coins of the first century A.D., though they exist in relatively numerous variants, occur in Anatolian finds very infrequently in comparison with third century issues. On the general picture of Eastern coin-circulation see now Bellinger in *Roman Coinage: Essays presented to H. Mattingly*, pp. 13ff.

¹¹⁰ Bellinger, *Dura Final Report*, VI, p. 74, nos. 1604–5.

several emperors issued *semisses* of *orichalcum* in the east: Vespasian in this respect copied the example of Augustus, and he copied it again by issuing *dupondii* of the same alloy for eastern circulation. The *dupondii* either show divine figures like western *aes* (PLATE XVIII, 8, see above n. 19), or repeat the *cornucopiae* and *caduceus* from a large official bronze issue of Tiberius (PLATE XVIII, 9, see above n. 44). Some of the *orichalcum semisses* of Vespasian go with the latter group (PLATE XVIII, 16, see above n. 52), but others reflect the types and styles of the main bronze series of Antioch: and so do the *orichalcum* pieces of the same type which may be *asses* (PLATE XVIII, 13, 14, see above nn. 40-3). The latter pieces reflect an attempt to transform the eastern S.C. series, or at least part of it, into the orthodox Roman alloy of *orichalcum*; but it was an incomplete attempt – for bronze pieces were issued simultaneously – and it was isolated and short-lived, for no later *orichalcum* issues in the same series have been traced.¹¹¹

But, even if the inclusion of *orichalcum asses* (if that is what they were) in the eastern S.C. series was a short-lived experiment, the same does not apply to the eastern *orichalcum* as a whole, for there were at least two further issues within the next half-century. That is to say, the Roman authorities persisted in their attempt, initiated by Augustus¹¹², to include *orichalcum* in the coinages circulating in the east. The scale on which this attempt was made ought not to be underestimated. The whole study of imperial *aes* has suffered owing to a readiness to underestimate official eastern *aes*, since so much of it is poorly represented in European and American collections and in reliable find-reports. There are, moreover, indications that certain of these *asses* of *orichalcum* were issued in considerable quantities. If the great public collections were, proportionately, as well supplied with eastern as with western official *aes*, we should find it easier to assess the former at its true, considerable importance.

So the government sometimes tried to graft coinage in one of its official alloys on to the official currency of the east. But why are the *asses* of *orichalcum* and not copper? Why do the denominations for which *orichalcum* was now used include the *as* as well as the less surprising *dupondius* and *semis*? The metropolitan *as*, since Augustus, had been of pure copper; if it were desired to have eastern *asses* of one of the metropolitan metals, why was this metal shelved in favour of *orichalcum*, which the first emperors had exclusively reserved for other denominations?

¹¹¹ See above, pp. 293, 289.

¹¹² The Augustan pieces were those with C.A. in wreath: *The Six Main Aes Coinages of Augustus*, pp. 8f. and n. 9. *Ibid.*, p. 116, cf. pp. 9ff.

The reason may conceivably lie in the fact that a copper *as* in the east would have been both relatively unfamiliar and inconvenient. Augustus had issued copper as well as bronze *asses* in the eastern provinces (AVGVSTVS in wreath), but they were discontinued – unlike the bronze *asses* with S.C. in wreath – long before his death, and Tiberius and Claudius had issued only bronze *asses* (of which they struck large quantities); so the copper *as* had been abandoned in the east only a few years after its introduction there. This was no doubt because such a denomination would, in those parts, be readily misunderstood. Copper *asses* deluged the west, and gradually received less and less competition from bronze issues, local or official. In Asia Minor and Syria, however, copper *asses* of the early Principate (other than the products of Augustus' relatively shortlived experiment) are very rarely found; and it is not hard to see why. These were territories in which there was still an abundant local (as well as official) coinage in bronze – an alloy which looks much the same as copper after a little wear. The inhabitants had been given no opportunity to become familiar with copper coins. It was very different from the situation in the west, in which local bronze coins had quite soon been driven out by official copper coins (n. 108).

The chances of introducing *orichalcum* into the eastern coinage were much larger, since this alloy (at least during the first and most important decades of its life) is far more readily distinguishable from bronze than is copper. Moreover the army doctor Dioscorides informs us that the best quality of zinc – with which copper was alloyed to make *orichalcum* – was produced from smelting the copper ores of Cyprus, easily accessible to eastern mints (cf. n. 88). Apparently, too, this bright yellow alloy was more readily acceptable than copper for token coinage, and so could have higher rates assigned to it, with consequently increased profits for the government.¹¹³ However this may be, it is not fortuitous that the last recorded *asses* of *orichalcum* shortly precede the period in which this alloy began to appear in so adulterated a form that it ceased to be easily distinguishable from bronze. In the second century there had clearly come a time when the Roman government and its representatives no longer thought it worth while to win confidence by issuing this attractive metal; so, naturally enough, there was no further recurrence of attempts to impose it in the east. Henceforward, in the east as increasingly in the west, bronze issues monopolised official and local coinages alike.¹¹⁴

¹¹³ *From Imperium to Auctoritas*, p. 88, discussed by M. A. Levi, *Rivista Storica Italiana*, 1949, pp. 104f.

¹¹⁴ Trajanus Decius briefly revived the *semis* of *orichalcum*, and struck a double *sestertius* of the same alloy.

SOME MODERN FORGERIES OF CAROLINGIAN COINS

PHILIP GRIERSON

The forgeries with which this note is concerned never became the subject of a legal action, as did those of Luigi Cigoi in the 1870's, and since their author is long since dead no possibility of a legal action can now arise. His name is known to most coin dealers and to many Italian collectors. I have refrained from mentioning it only because I have no desire to cause embarrassment to his surviving relatives, and his precise identity is of no scientific consequence.

On the other hand, it is essential that collectors and numismatists should be able to recognize the illustrations of the forgeries in published sale catalogues, and it has consequently been necessary to mention a number of dealers and collectors by name. I am satisfied that no firm at present in existence has intentionally lent itself to the dissemination of the forgeries; all of them have welcomed such information as I have been able to give them, and whenever their attention has been drawn to a forgery that has passed through their hands, they have taken steps to recover it and withdraw it from circulation. The firm of "Münzen und Medaillen A.G. Basel" has a particularly creditable record in this respect. I have no doubt at all that the two former Frankfurt firms of A. E. Cahn and Leo Hamburger, through whose agency a number of the forgeries reached the European market in 1912-13, were also acting in good faith, and that no blame can be attached to them.

During the last decade of the nineteenth century and the first of the present one, a coin forger of quite exceptional quality, in no way inferior to Becker and Christodoulos, was at work in Rome. Francesco Gnechi warned the members of the Società Italiana di Numismatica of his activities in the production of Roman aurei as early as 1896,¹ and in 1902 Ercole Gnechi devoted an important article

¹ *RIN*, ix (1896), p. 150.

to his work,² reproducing on two plates a number of forged Italian coins of which he had been able to obtain specimens and mentioning others which he knew of but had been unable to secure. These forgeries were being produced almost wholesale. The forger showed an almost uncanny skill in reproducing coin designs from engravings in reference books and sale catalogues, and from the number and variety of his productions it was clear that he could prepare his dies with great speed.³

A further list of forgeries from the same source was published by Ercole Gnechi in 1905.⁴ There was then, to outward appearances, something of a lull, and it seemed that the open discussion of the forger's work had made collectors chary of acquiring coins from sources believed to be involved. This lull was only on the surface, for I have recently discovered that the so-called "hoard of Bolsena," much of which was bought by Camillo Serafini for the Medagliere Vaticano in 1909, consisted entirely of the same forger's productions.⁵ Many forgeries were

² 'Falsificazioni di monete italiane', *RIN*, xv (1902), pp. 333-42, pls. XII-XIII. See also pp. 483-90, in which he reproduces a ten-page pamphlet on the subject published by O. Vitalini at Camerino in 1902 (*Imitazioni e falsità in monete antiche e moderne*). On p. 485, no. 2, he writes that he knows the name of the forger, and that "ora aggiungerò che questi è sempre disposto a fare dei *contratti sociali* con quelli che s'incaricano a venderle (i.e. the forgeries)". In an earlier note, 'Nuove falsificazioni di monete italiane', *RIN*, xi (1898), pp. 315-6, he had called attention to a dangerous series of papal ducats and double ducats of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries on which the names of the mints had been skilfully altered.

³ According to the advertisements for the proposed edition of the collection of forged dies in the Museo Nazionale at Rome (see below, n. 10), only about 100 of the dies were hand-engraved and the remainder (c. 900) were produced by the electrotyping process. The medieval ones, however, seem to be all hand-engraved. It would not be satisfactory to produce such dies by electrotyping from genuine coins, which are often ill-struck, with parts of the design off the flan, to say nothing of being imperfectly preserved. In the series of the papal *antiquiores* the forger relied entirely on Domenico Promis' monograph *Monete dei romani pontefici avanti il mille* (Turin, 1858), for he has invariably reproduced any small errors – in one case, a major error – that occur in the plates of this book.

⁴ *Ibid.*, xviii (1905), pp. 237-40.

⁵ I propose to deal at length with these forgeries of early papal coins in a forthcoming monograph on the papal *antiquiores*. They are much more numerous than has previously been suspected. On the alleged "Bolsena hoard", see C. Serafini, *Le monete e le bolle plumbee pontificie del Medagliere Vaticano*, i (Milan, 1910), p. lxxvii, n. 16, and p. 325, n. 34, and vol. iv (1928), p. 389, n. 9. Serafini noted that some doubts had been expressed regarding the authenticity of the hoard, but believed that its genuineness was proved by the existence of an encrusted block of coins from it which were acquired by the Medagliere Vaticano with the Celati collection in 1921 (see vol. iv, p. 13, "Leone IX", no. 5). Such incrustation can be induced artificially without difficulty by chemical means. The block consists of (1) three coins attached to one another, with a fragment of



2



1



3



5



4



9



11



6



8



12



2(c)



3(b)



5(b)



7(c)



9(b)



10(d)



also acquired during these years by such well known collectors as Conte N. Papadopoli and Sig. E. Martinori. Gneccchi gave a further list of forged coins in 1913,⁶ adding the rueful comment that "la famigerata fabbrica romana di monete false, . . . che da qualche tempo non dava segno di vita, ora, a quanto sembra, sta per entrare in una nuova fase di attività." Finally, in 1916, he published still another list of forgeries, with a plate showing a number of specimens.⁷

In 1919 the Museo Nazionale at Rome was offered, and acquired, over a thousand of the forger's dies, which after their maker's death were beginning to come on the market. The collection is anything but complete. In the series of papal *antiquiores*,⁸ on which I have recently been working, I have succeeded in identifying 31 coins which are the work of this particular forger, and the series is represented by only one pair of dies and an isolated lower die in the collection. The disproportion can scarcely be so large in other series, but is no doubt considerable. Apart from some dies in the possession of the Società Numismatica Italiana,⁹ and one which I was shown some years ago by a coin dealer in Rome, the whereabouts of the others is not known to me.

The bulk of the collection of forged dies consists of those for Greek, Roman and Italian coins, but Carolingian coins are also represented, though they are not mentioned in Gneccchi's articles.¹⁰ I have myself been unlucky with regard to this series. When I first saw the forged dies in the Museo Nazionale in 1951, I had the mortification of finding that a denier of Carloman and *Leutbra*, bought soon after I first began to collect coins in 1945, was a forgery, while the discovery that the "Bolsena hoard" consisted entirely of forgeries incriminated a small group of

a fourth, the outer coins being of King Arnulf and of Pope Benedict (IV?) and (2) two detached fragments of papal coins. All the coins, which are in varying degrees encrusted with verdigris, are forgeries. Coins alleged to have come from the hoard vary in date from the early ninth to the mid-eleventh century. They are all of the same style and fabric.

⁶ *RIN*, xxvi (1913), pp. 283-4, 442.

⁷ *Ibid.*, xxix (1916), pp. 541-44; pl. X.

⁸ This is the name which since the early eighteenth century has been applied to papal denari of eighth, ninth and tenth centuries.

⁹ These, with some of the forgeries from them which had reached the market, have been published by G. Cornaggia, 'Un contemporaneo falsificatore di monete antiche', *RIN*, xxxvii (1924), pp. 36-46.

¹⁰ Approximate figures for the different classes involved are 230 Greek, 520 Roman and 300 medieval and modern. A project put forward in the mid 1920's for the publication of all the dies by the Istituto Italiano di Numismatica came to nothing owing to lack of financial support. The project has now been revived by the Association de numismates professionnels, and it is to be hoped that the publication, under the editorship of Dr. F. Panvini-Rosati, will be completed without too much delay.

coins which I acquired in Paris in 1951. These were alleged to have come from some unspecified hoard, but they included a Toul denier of King Arnulf and fragments of a denier of Pope John X which were from the same dies as those in the "Bolsena hoard". The two other coins acquired at the same time, a denier of Lothaire II from the mint of Metz and one of Charles the Bald from that of Verdun, immediately fell under suspicion, and further investigation has shown them also to be forgeries. By way of self-exculpation, I may say that they are all very skilfully made and that forgeries of medieval coins are so comparatively rare that the collector usually looks at his acquisitions less suspiciously than a collector of ancient coins is accustomed to do.

My subsequent researches have been concerned mainly with the papal *antiquiores*, and have been fruitful not only in identifying the forgeries but in showing how they passed into circulation. So far as the Italian series is concerned, the collecting activities of the king of Italy were undoubtedly one of the main impulses causing its production. Victor Emmanuel III had already built up an outstanding collection while still prince of Naples, and the acquisition en bloc of the collection of Prince Marignoli in the year of his accession (1900) made his the greatest collection of Italian coins in existence. His project for using it as the basis for a *Corpus Nummorum Italicorum*, the first volume of which appeared in 1910, led him naturally to fill as many gaps as possible in his collection before the publication was begun. The consequences were not entirely happy, for despite his great knowledge of Italian numismatics, his resources and enthusiasm placed him at the mercy of unscrupulous men.

Since the provenance and date of acquisition of his coins has been preserved on the coin tickets, one can trace in some detail what occurred.¹¹ A good example is provided by the Papal *antiquiores* in the collection, which includes 22 forgeries by the artist whose work is the subject of this article. Thirteen of these came from the coin dealer Ortensio Vitalini and 7 from the coin and antique dealer Pietro Stettiner. They were all bought between 1900 and 1904, but in the latter year the king's acquisitions in the series came abruptly to an end. It seems likely that he had been put on his guard against the coins, either through Gnechi's articles in the *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica* or in some other fashion. The two forged

¹¹ The collection of the late king is now the property of the Italian state, and is preserved in the Palazzo Barberini in the custody of the Istituto Italiana di Numismatica. I should like to express my warmest thanks to its curator, Comm. P. Oddo, for his kindness and helpfulness on many occasions when I have examined the coins.

antiquiores added subsequently to the collection came in one case from the Frankfurt dealer A. E. Cahn in 1912 and in the other from the third Ruchat sale of 29 May 1922, both sources which he no doubt regarded as above suspicion. Apart from the Ruchat coin (no. 5) the king bought no *antiquiores* that purported to be from the "Bolsena hoard", though it is difficult to believe that none of these were offered to him.¹² He did, however, acquire in 1909 a forgery of a related coin, that struck by Pope John VIII at Capua in 879.¹³ This coin was sold him by a certain Alessio Gilli, who in the same year disposed of the forgeries of the Bolsena hoard to the Medagliere Vaticano.¹⁴

The king was not the only sufferer, and every collection formed in Italy in the first quarter of the present century was infected in varying degrees. The forgeries first penetrated the international coin market on a notable scale in 1912-13, when they appeared in two sales of the firms of Leo Hamburger and A. E. Cahn. Possibly the forger or his agent paid a visit to Frankfurt, very profitably for himself, at about this date.

The Hamburger sale was that of 6 November 1912. It was not a single collection, but a miscellaneous selection of coins from diverse sources, one of which included a very fine Carolingian series, obviously for the most part genuine. Not all the coins are illustrated, and the illustrations themselves are not of very high quality, but the following list of coins must be condemned either because of their actual appearance in the plates or because of their association with these coins:

- 5. Carloman and *Leutbra*.
- 14. Charlemagne, mint of Siena (?)
- 43. Louis the Pious, mint of Venice.
- 139, 140. Pope John X.
- 142. Pope John XIII and Otto I.

¹² His coin of Louis the Pious from the mint of Venice was alleged to be from Bolsena; see below, no. 5 (d).

¹³ Another specimen of this forgery is illustrated in the Martinori sale catalogue (Santamaria, Rome, 24 Nov. 1913), no. 2847. The king already possessed the one genuine specimen of this coin that is known, that published by Promis when it was in the Tafuri collection.

¹⁴ None of the enquiries I made in Rome in 1955 and 1956 revealed any particulars regarding this personage, and several of the coin and antique dealers whom I questioned about him were sceptical of his independent existence. From the register of acquisitions of the Medagliere Vaticano, which Dr. L. Michelini Tocci was kind enough to look through for me, it appears that his relations with the Medagliere extended over the years 1908-1920 and that many of the objects he had for sale were piombi or tesserae. His name is spelt indifferently Gilli, Gili or Gigli in the register, and no address is ever given, so it is probable that all the sales were cash transactions.

143. Pope Boniface VII and Otto II.

144. Pope Leo IX and Henry III.

The Cahn Sale¹⁵ was that of 31 March 1913. It consisted basically of two collections, one of German origin (Freiherr von Buderus) and the other a specialized series of Sardinian coins. The forgeries occur amongst a number of coins of the Carolingian and Ottonian periods which had evidently been added to the German collection. The following are false:

1. Carloman and *Leutbra*.
13. Pope "Benedict III" and Lothaire I.¹⁶
14. Lothaire II, mint of Metz.
18. Arnulf, mint of Toul.
25. Charles the Bald, mint of Verdun.
31. Pope Benedict VII and Otto II.
32. Pope John XIII and Otto I.
33. Pope Agapetus II and Alberic.

Of the five early papal coins in the sale, only one (no. 30) is genuine, and the presence will be noted of the same Verdun-Metz-Toul grouping as in my acquisitions made at Paris in 1951.

In view of the ramifications of these forgeries, it is worth while putting together such information as is available regarding those in the Carolingian series, in the hope of eliminating them from collections and preventing their use for scientific purposes. They are most skilfully made and very difficult to detect. In the case of the coins I acquired in 1951, they were in my possession for several years before I had the least suspicion that they might not be authentic, and under present conditions no dealer can possibly be blamed for failing to recognize their falsity. I would never have paid special attention to the Lorraine coins but for the fact that they had been acquired in company with a fragment of a coin of Pope John X, supposed to have come from the same hoard, and it was only when I discovered that the papal coin was a forgery that I examined the others closely and found them to be of the same style and fabric. Further research in sale catalogues has brought to light a number of other specimens from the same dies.

¹⁵ Cahn presumably acquired the coins in 1912, since in this year, as noted above, the king of Italy bought from him a forged papal coin of the same series.

¹⁶ This coin is described as unpublished, but it is actually a badly formed monogram intended to represent Leo IV, not Benedict III. Another specimen from the same dies was in the second Vaccari sale (Santamaria, Rome, 3 June 1925), no. 3.

The making of some of these Carolingian coins by a forger working in Rome requires no particular explanation. Nos. 5, 6, 11 and 12 are Carolingian coins of Italian mints, and would therefore appeal to Italian collectors. No. 3 is probably Italian also, no. 2 bears the name of what appears to be a Lombard moneyer, and no. 1 has been attributed to Italy by competent numismatists, though it is doubtful if this attribution can be justified. In each case there is sufficient likelihood of an Italian connection to ensure a market for the forgeries in Italy. No. 4, with the name of Roland, would also have a market anywhere. But nos. 7, 9 and 10 have a specific connection with Lorraine, which suggests a definite purchaser known to be interested in the coins of this region, and the source of the inspiration is one that I have failed to trace. The same Lotharingian connection perhaps lies behind the otherwise inexplicable no. 8, since this was wrongly attributed by Adrien de Longpérier to be a locality near Metz. But I have not found any publication, other than Gariel, which contains both the genuine Lotharingian coins and this one as well, so that I am at a loss to explain how it came into existence. The three Lorraine coins were probably copied from the sale catalogue of the well-known Robert collection,¹⁷ in which all of them are illustrated and two of them described as unique.

I have not seen any Carolingian coins other than those listed below which have struck me as being the work of this particular forger, though some may well exist. No complete guide can be given as to how to recognize the forgeries. The forger generally used rather larger pellets than is usual for his borders, and in the Lorraine group he made much use of triangular punches for the letters, as he did also in the papal series. He was negligent over metrology; one at least of the Carloman-*Leutbra* coins was much heavier than it should be, while the papal coins are frequently too light. The metal used is of good quality – an analysis of the fragment of the coin of Pope John X in my collection shows 89% silver and the remainder copper – but is often brittle, so that the coins, while showing no signs of wear, are often cracked or broken. They are frequently coloured black owing to a deposit of silver sulphate on the surface, this having been produced by immersing them in sulphuric acid to give them an appearance of age.¹⁸ The acid has sometimes bitten too deeply and the coins been in parts eaten through, so that they are extremely fragile and present a lace-like appearance when held up to the light.

¹⁷ *Description de la collection de M. P.-Charles Robert* (Rollin et Feuwardent, Paris, 29 March 1886).

¹⁸ I am grateful to my colleague Dr. V. M. Clark for analysing the surface deposits on two of my coins to discover what they were and how they had been produced.

The following list includes such Carolingian dies and coins as are known to me,¹⁹ apart from the very extensive series of imperial-papal *antiquiores*, which I will be dealing with elsewhere.

1. PEPIN (751–68) or CHARLEMAGNE, first period (768–c. 790).

Obv. Not known.

Rev. RF, with a stroke above, occupying the field. Two large pellets between the letters, four small ones to the right of the F. Border of pellets.

PLATE XIX,1

Dies. Rev. die at Rome.

Coins. Not known to me.

A number of coins, mainly from the Imphy, Sarzana and Ilanz hoards,²⁰ have this reverse type (see Gariel, vol. ii, Pls. I–V), but I have not found the exact model, with the four small pellets beside the F.

2. CARLOMAN (768–771), with the name *Leutbra(nnus?)*.

Obv. CARLO, the first four letters as a monogram, with stroke above. Border of pellets.

Rev. LEVTBRA around a circle with pellet in centre. Border of pellets. Gariel, ii, Pl. IV. 5 (Imphy). Not in Prou.²¹ *Obv.* and *rev.* PLATE XIX,2

Dies. *Obv.* and *rev.* dies at Rome.

Coins. (a) A. E. Cahn, 31 March 1913, no. 1.

(b) Feuardent, 26 April 1926, no. 165 (P. Bordeaux coll., Part I) = L. Hamburger, 6 Nov. 1912, no. 5. 1.05 g.

(c) Münzen u. Medaillen A. G. Basel, Vente no. VII, 3 Dec. 1948, no. 157. PLATE XIX,2 (c)

¹⁹ I should like to express my thanks to Dr. F. Panvini-Rosati, curator of the coins in the Museo Nazionale at Rome, for having shown me the dies and given me permission to publish them. I am also particularly indebted to the firm of P. & P. Santamaria for having made the impressions used for the plates and given me every assistance in obtaining them.

²⁰ The illustrations of the coins found at Imphy and Sarzana, published by A. de Longpérier in the *RN* in 1858 and 1868, are reproduced by E. Gariel, *Les monnaies royales de France sous la race carolingienne* (Strasbourg, 1883), i, Pls. I–III. For the Ilanz hoard, see F. Jecklin, “Der lango-bardisch-karolingische Münzfund bei Ilanz”, *Mitteilungen d. Bayerischen Numismatischen Gesellschaft*, xxv (1906–07), pp. 28–82, where all the coins are illustrated.

²¹ M. Prou, *Les monnaies carolingiennes* (*Cat. des monnaies françaises de la Bibliothèque Nationale*), Paris, 1896.

(d) Formerly in the author's collection. Acq. Spink 1945 = *Spink's Numismatic Circular*, Dec. 1943, no. 23037 = *Ibid.*, May 1940, no. 1070. Acq. from M. Baranowsky (1934). 1.52 g.

(e) O. Murari coll., Verona. 1.44 g.

Imitated from some illustration of the only known specimen of this coin, that from the Imphy hoard.

3. CHARLEMAGNE (first period, 768–c. 790), mint of Siena (?).

Obv. CARO||LVS in two lines, AR in monogram. Border of pellets.

PLATE XIX,3

Rev. SEN across field; above, cross. Border of pellets.

Gariel, ii, Pl. X. 133 (Sarzana). Not in Prou.

Dies. *Obv.* die at Rome.

Coins. (a) L. Hamburger, 6 Nov. 1912, no. 14.

(b) Münzen u. Medaillen A. G. Basel, Vente no. VII, 3 Dec. 1948, no. 267.

PLATE XIX,3(b)

Only two specimens of this coin are recorded, one – the Sarzana specimen – formerly at Berlin, the other in the late King of Italy's collection.²² The forged dies were apparently imitated from the photographic illustration of the coin in the sale catalogue of the Remedi collection (G. Sambon, Milan, 7 January 1885, no. 2656), not from the line drawing of A. de Longpérier which is reproduced by Gariel.

4. CHARLEMAGNE (first period, 768–c. 790), with the name *Rodlan*.

Obv. As no. 3.

Rev. ROD||LAN in two lines, separated by a line of pellets, with a stroke above the O. Border of pellets.

Gariel, ii, Pl. IX. 113 (Imphy). Not in Prou.

PLATE XIX,4

Dies. *Rev.* die at Rome.

Coins. Not known to me.

This coin is extremely rare, and its importance has been exaggerated by reason of the identification of *Rodlan* with the hero of the *Chanson de Roland*. The forgery, probably made from Gariel's illustration, is less successful than most of

²² *Corpus Nummorum Italicorum*, xi, p. 349, no. 1 (pl. XXII, 10). It was acquired from Stettiner in 1900, but appears to be authentic.

the others, as one can see by comparing it with photographic reproductions of genuine specimens.²³

5. LOUIS THE PIOUS (814-40), mint of Venice.

Obv. +HLVDOVVICVSIMP, MP in monogram. Cross. Border of pellets.

Rev. +VENE||CIASM||ONETA in 3 lines, NE in monogram. Border of pellets.

Gariel, ii, Pl. XIX, no. 143. Not in Prou. *Obv.* and *rev.* PLATE XIX,5

Dies. *Obv.* and *rev.* dies at Rome.

Coins. (a) L. Hamburger, 6 Nov. 1912, no. 43.

(b) Martinori sale (Santamaria, Rome, 24 Nov. 1913), no. 3928.

PLATE XIX,5(b)

(c) Münzen u. Medaillen A. G. Basel, Vente no. IX, 21 June 1951, no. 448.

(d) Collection of the late King of Italy (*Corpus Nummorum Italicorum*, vii, pl. I, 1). Acq. in 1913 from the "Bolsena hoard". 1.37 g.

An extremely rare coin. In the Veuillin hoard (1871) there were 193 specimens of the type with *Venecias* in two lines as against only two of these.

6. LOTHAIRE I (840-55), mint of Venice.

Obv. +HLOTHARIVSIMP AV, HL and TH in monogram. Cross. Border of pellets.

Rev. VENECIA across field, VE and NE in monogram. Border of pellets.

Gariel, ii, Pl. LX. 28. Prou 921. *Obv.* and *rev.* PLATE XIX,6

Dies. *Obv.* and *rev.* dies at Rome.

Coins. Not known to me.

Also a very rare coin.

7. LOTHAIRE II (855-69), mint of Metz.

Obv. +HLOTHARIVSREX Cross, one large and one small pellet in each quarter. Border of pellets.

²³ The specimen formerly at Berlin is illustrated by A. Suhle, *Die deutschen Münzen des Mittelalters* (Berlin, 1935), p. 22 (I cite from this edition, since its illustrations are better than those of the second edition of 1955). There was another in the Ilanz hoard (no. 111), and a third, of very different style, in the Meyer sale (Rollin et Feuarent, 26 May 1902, no. 94).

Rev. +METTISCIVITAS Tetrastyle temple on two steps, with cross in interior. Border of pellets.

Gariel, ii, Pl. LX. 1. Not in Prou. Cat. Robert 395.

Dies. Not traced.

Coins. (a) A. E. Cahn, 31 March 1913, no. 14.

(b) L. Ciani, 14 June 1934 ("Coll. de M.E.C."), no. 399.

(c) Author's coll. Acq. from L. Ciani in 1951. 1.56 g. PLATE XIX,7(c)

(d) Münzen u. Medaillen A. G. Basel, Vente no. IX, 21 June 1951, no. 373.

The forgery was probably made from the illustration in the Robert catalogue, where the coin is described as unique. Although the dies are not known, the style, metal and association of several of the recorded specimens leave no doubt that it is false.

8. CHARLES THE BALD (king 840-75), mint of Deux-Jumeaux.

Obv. +GRATIAD-REX Monogram of *Karolus*. Border of pellets.

Rev. +DVOSIEM-LLISMT, the O having the form of a lozenge. Cross. Border of dots.

Gariel, ii, Pl. XXIX. 101. Prou 406. Obv. and rev. PLATE XIX,8

Dies. Obv. and rev. dies at Rome.

Coins. (a) Münzen u. Medaillen A. G. Basel, Vente no. IX, 21 June 1951, no. 372.

A very rare coin. Its attribution was discussed at length by Charles Robert in his *Etudes numismatiques sur une partie du Nord-est de la France* (Metz, 1852), pp. 211-12, where he rejected its ascription to Dieuze, an imaginary locality some miles from Metz which had been proposed by A. de Longpérier in his notes on the coins of the Rousseau collection.

9. CHARLES THE BALD (emperor 875-77), mint of Verdun.

Obv. +REXIMPERATOR Monogram of *Karolus*. Border of pellets.

Rev. +VIRDVNVMCVI Cross and 4 pellets. Border of pellets.

Gariel, ii, Pl. XLII. 59. Prou 154. Cat. Robert 1045.

Dies. Rev. die at Rome.

Coins. (a) A. E. Cahn, 31 March 1913, no. 25.

(b) Author's collection. Acq. from L. Ciani in 1951. 1.29 g.

PLATE XIX,9(b)

Very rare. The model for the forgery was probably the illustration in the catalogue of the Robert collection.

10. ARNULF (887-899), mint of Toul.

Obv. +ARNVLFVSREX Cross. Border of pellets.

Rev. +TVLLOCIVITAS Cross and 4 pellets. Border of pellets.

Not in Gariel. Prou 136. Cat. Robert 943.

Dies. Not traced.

Coins. (a) A. E. Cahn, 31 March 1913, no. 18.

(b) Medagliere Vaticano. Coin encrusted in a block of three or four coins from the alleged "Bolsena hoard"; see Serafini, iv, p. 13, "Leone IX", no. 5. Only the obverse is visible.

(c) Münzen u. Medaillen A. G. Basel, Vente no. IX, 21 June 1951, no. 374.

(d) Author's collection. Two fragments, gift of L. Ciani, 1951.

PLATE XIX,10(d)

Although the dies are not known, the style and metal and the associations of the recorded specimens are sufficient to condemn them. The model was presumably the illustration in the catalogue of the Robert collection, where the piece is described as unique.

11. ARNULF (in Italy 895-99), mint of Milan. Large denaro, slightly concave.

Obv. +ARNVLFVSPIVSREX Cross and 4 pellets. Border of pellets.

Rev. +MEDIOLANVMCIVIS Tetrastyle temple on two steps, with cross in interior. Border of pellets.

Corpus Nummorum Italicorum, v, p. 33, no. 1 (not illus.). F. and E. Gnechi, *Le Monete di Milano* (Milan, 1884), pl. II, 1.

Obv. and rev. PLATE XIX,11

Dies. Obv. and rev. dies at Rome.

Coins. (a) Collection of the late King of Italy. Acq. from A. Gilli in 1907.

A coin of extreme rarity. Gnechi wrote (p. 9) that he knew only the two specimens in his own collection, both being from the Montenuovo collection. One

of these was included in Part II of the Gneccchi sale (L. and L. Hamburger, 20 May 1901), no. 2535, and fetched 720 marks.

12. ARNULF and BERENGAR (Italy, 895-99), mint of Milan. Large denaro, slightly concave.

Obv. +ARNVLFVSPIVSREX Cross and 4 pellets. Border of pellets.

Rev. +BERENCARIVSREX Temple on two steps, MEDI (ME in monogram) in interior. Border of pellets.

Corpus Nummorum Italicorum, v, pl. II, 8. Gneccchi, pl. II, 2.

Obv. and rev. PLATE XIX, 12

Dies. Obv. and rev. dies at Rome.

Coins. Not known to me.

A coin of very great rarity. Gneccchi recorded only two specimens, one in the Brera and the other (ex Montenuovo) in his own collection. The latter was acquired by the King of Italy at the second Gneccchi sale (no. 2536).

EINE MEDAILLE DES ANDREA DORIA VON CHRISTOPH WEIDITZ

P. GROTEMEYER

Zum alten Bestande der Staatlichen Münzsammlung München gehört eine große repräsentative Medaille mit dem Bildnis des genuesischen Seehelden Andrea Doria, ein Bleiguß mit dunkler durch die Jahrhunderte gewachsener Patina im Durchmesser von 83 mm, der sich schon durch seine Gewichtigkeit und sein Größenmaß als italienische Arbeit anzubieten scheint. Die Medaille ist daher auch unter den "Italienern" verwahrt und mit Vorbehalt dem Werke des Leone Leoni zugeordnet; so beurteilt ist sie auch von M. Bernhart in den Nachträgen zu Armand,¹ zugleich mit Nennung eines zweiten Exemplars in Silber, das sich damals in der Sammlung v. Schermar in Ulm befand. Dieses Exemplar war während des letzten Krieges verschollen, so daß das Münchner Exemplar als Unikum galt.^{1a}

ANDREAE DORIA steht in großen, weiträumig verteilten Lettern als Umschrift auf der Vorderseite, dessen Mittelraum und zwar aus der Achse nach rechts gerückt das schlicht und groß anmutende Bildnis des Genuesen in Büstenform von etwas zu geringer Größe einnimmt, so daß das Medaillenfeld in einigen Teilen als zu leer erscheint. Die Schlichtheit des Bildnisses ist unübertroffen. Den hohen Kopf ziert in einfachsten Formen gehaltenes kurzes Haar, das Profil ist

¹ *Archiv für Medaillen- und Plakettenkunde* V (1925/26), S. 74.

^{1a} Siehe Nachtrag 1-2, unten p. 327.

ernst, der langsträhnige Bart zusammengefaßt, die Büste von klarem antikischem Umriß – das Ganze ein Bild von hoher Überzeugungskraft, ein Mann mit nach innen gerichtetem Blick, fern von Pose und Eitelkeit.

Demgegenüber wirkt die Rückseite der Medaille raumgefüllt und still bewegt. Ihre Mitte nimmt die unbekleidete Gestalt des Neptuns ein, dessen Schultern ein wehender und in einem großen Bausch sich zusammenraffender Mantel umflattert. Der Dreizack, der das Haupt überragt, ruht an die linke Hüfte angelehnt. Beide Arme ein wenig angehoben, hält der Meeresgott in der Rechten eine phrygische Mütze, in der Linken einen Ölweig, die er den beiden zu seinen Füßen knieenden weiblichen Genien der "Libertas" und der "Pax" zureicht. PATRIAE LIBERATORI, dem Befreier des Vaterlandes, ist die Denkmünze durch die Umschrift geweiht, dem Gott der Meere, dessen Antlitz in dem weichen Metall des Bleis durch Abwetzungen zerstört ist, dessen langer Bart aber keinen Zweifel läßt, daß in dem Gotte Andrea Doria in eigener Person vor uns steht. Historisches und mythologisches Bildnis sind in einem Denkmal vereint.

Die Medaille, jedenfalls das Münchner Blei, trägt keine Signatur, und auch für das verlorene Schermer'sche Silberexemplar wird das Gleiche gegolten haben. Ihre versuchsweise auf Leone Leoni vorgenommene Bestimmung findet in dessen Medaillenwerke keine Stütze. Noch weniger kommt ein anderer italienischer Medailleur als Autor in Frage. Man muß daher in einen völlig anderen Kunstbereich blicken, nach Deutschland, in den deutschen Süden. Hier kennen wir eine als Künstler variationsfähige und vielschichtige Persönlichkeit, einen Mann von internationalem Zuschnitt, der sich auf der Höhe seiner Künstlerschaft in seinen Medaillen neben seinem deutschen Gesicht ebenso ein niederländisches, namentlich aber ein italienisches Gesicht zu geben verstand, so täuschend, daß sein Werk in seiner Gesamtheit lange nicht erkannt wurde. Es ist der aus dem breisgauischen Freiburg stammende, in Augsburg zu Ruhm und Anfechtung – aufgestiegene Medailleur und Goldschmied Christoph Weiditz, Spanien- und Italienfahrer, Hofkünstler bei Karl V., dessen internationalen Diplomatenkreis er vielfältig mit seiner Kunst bediente. In Spanien hatte Weiditz 1529 Ferdinand Cortez portraitiert. Unter den Großen der Diplomatie sind in den nächsten Jahren Mercurio Gattinaria, der Großkanzler Karls V., Alfonso de Valdes, sein Geheimsekretär, der französische Ambassadeur Sieur de Morette, den auch Holbein malte, und andere Persönlichkeiten von hohem Range, für deren Medaillenbildnisse sich Weiditz einen eigenen italianisierenden Stil schuf, so verblüffend und überzeugend, daß diese und andere ähnliche seiner Medaillen so lange für italienisch gal-

ten, bis sie erst Habich auf Grund der für das Medaillenkopus unternommenen Materialsammlungen als deutsch und als Werke des Christoph Weiditz erkannte. In diese Gruppe der "italienischen" Arbeiten des Christoph Weiditz, wenn auch in einer durch eine deutsche Bildvorlage verursachten Variation, gehört auch der neue Andrea Doria. Ist erst der Zusammenhang dieser Medaille mit dem Werke des Christoph Weiditz gesehen, so bedarf es nur einiger Hinweise, um die Autorschaft des Weiditz an ihr zu erhärten. Unter Abzug der für eine deutsche Medaille außergewöhnlichen Größe von 83 mm, die auf den italienischen Empfänger berechnet ist, paßt die Büstenform des Doria-Bildnisses in die Augsburger Medaillenproduktion des Weiditz der Jahre 1533/34. In dieser Zeit erscheinen neben den tief bis an den Medaillenrand herabreichenden Enfaceportraits zur reinen Büstenform abgewandelte und ins Dreiviertelprofil gestellte Portraits (Habich, 418, 419, 430) unter ähnlicher seitlicher Verrückung aus dem Mittelraum.

Der versierte Kleinkünstler und Beherrscher zierlicher Reliefarbeit zeigt sich in den graziösen Figürchen der "Pax" (TAFEL XX,3) und "Libertas" (TAFEL XX,2) mit den eng anliegenden flatternden Draperien genau so wie in der "Caritas" (TAFEL XX,4) der Helena Meiting von 1533 (Habich 413); und eine Einzelheit wie der im Winde wehende und in Ballen zusammengebauchte Mantel des Neptun begegnet in gleicher Art in der Rückseite der Mülchmedaille (Habich 419; hier TAFEL XXI,3) und des Galathea-Reverses (Habich 430). Die Schrifttypen schließlich entsprechen unter Berücksichtigung des durch die Größe der Medaille begründeten Maßstabes ganz der Weiditz'schen Medaillenschrift vom Anfang der dreißiger Jahre.

In dieser Zeit muß demnach Weiditz die Doria-Medaille gearbeitet haben. Der Zeitpunkt um 1533/34 findet seine Bestätigung durch die vom Künstler verwendete Bildnisvorlage, nämlich durch den Holzschnitt von der Hand des Erhard Schön aus der Offizin des Nürnbergers Nikolaus Meldemann vom Jahre 1532 (Abb. I),² ein Blatt von der auffallenden Größe von ca. 25 × 35 cm und der Beschriftung: ANDRE DORIA VON GENVA ROMISCHER/KAISERLICHER MAIESTAT OBERSTER KRIEGS/HAVBTMAN AVF DEM MER MDXXXII N:M. Das Vorbild wird seitenverkehrt nahezu wörtlich, nur unter Fortlassung

² Abb. nach Geisberg, *Der deutsche Einblatt-Holzschnitt in der 1. Hälfte des 16. Jahrh.*, Nr. 1294. Es gibt auch einen zweiten Zustand von geringer Größe, bei dem Legende, Monogramm und Jahreszahl fehlen. Weitere Lit.: Le Blanc, *Manuel de l'amateur d'estampes*, III, S. 1, Nr. 4. – Nagler, *Monogrammist*, IV, S. 764, Nr. 2471. – Dodgson, *Catalogue of Early German and Flemish Woodcuts*, I, S. 553, Nr. 10.

der gemusterten und gestuften Halsborten wiederholt. Doch ist die Haltung des Mannes großartiger, edler, im Ausdruck gespannter, geformt von der Kunst des großen Charakterisierers, wie die deutsche Medaillenkunst einen zweiten nicht kennt.



Abb. 1.

Beide Männer, Doria und Weiditz, waren sich übrigens einige Jahre zuvor und zwar auf spanischem Boden begegnet. Doria, der im Juni 1528 von der Seite Frankreichs auf die des Kaisers hinübergewechselt war und im September des gleichen Jahres Genua als unabhängige Seerepublik wiederhergestellt hatte, wurde im Jahre danach von Karl V. beauftragt, das in Spanien liegende kaiserliche Heer nach Italien zu schaffen. Dorias machtvolle Flotte landete Anfang August 1529 im Hafen von Barcelona und führte schnell das kaiserliche Heer nach Genua, wo Karl V. am 12. August einen triumphalen Einzug hielt. Der Kaiser versah den



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MEDAILLE DES ANDREA DORIA

1-1a. Medaille des Andrea Doria. Silber. Kunsthalle, Hamburg. — 2. "Libertas". Detail der Rückseite der Doria-Medaille. — 3. "Pax". Detail der Rückseite der Doria-Medaille. — 4. "Caritas". Rückseite der Medaille der Helena Meiting. Silber. Wien, Münzkabinett.

Genuesen bald mit hohen Ehren. Er ernannte ihn zum obersten Seeadmiral, verlieh ihm auf dem am 8. Dezember 1531 zu Tournai gehaltenen Ordenskapitel das Goldene Vließ³ und ehrte ihn 1532 mit der Verleihung des Fürstentums Melfi und der Herrschaft Tursi. Christoph Weiditz, der sich in Spanien im Heerestroß des Kaisers befand, scheint dem Andrea Doria bei dem Flottenunternehmen in Barcelona begegnet zu sein. Er hat ihn in seinem Trachtenbuch verewigt, in ganzer Figur in langem schwarzen Habit, in einer der übrigen Blätter des Trachten-



Abb. 2.

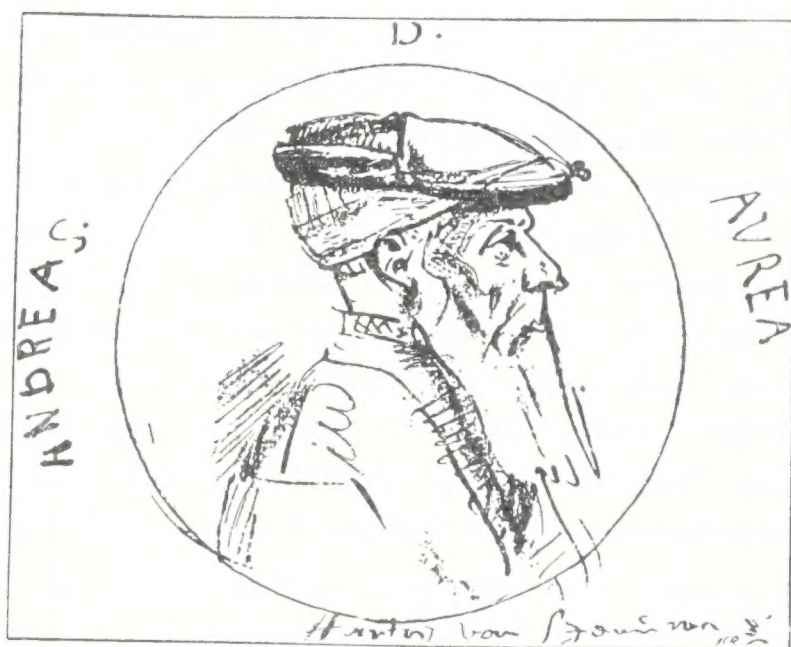


Abb. 3.

buchs^{3a} entsprechenden, künstlerisch nicht bedeutsamen Zeichnung, die aber dennoch erkennen läßt, wie sehr der Zeichner von der würdevollen Erscheinung Dorias betroffen war. Wie die Blätter des Trachtenbuches weiter ausweisen, blieb Weiditz im Gefolge des Kaisers und kam mit nach Genua, wo er Zeuge der hohen Verehrung wurde, die Doria in Genua genoß. Umschrift und Darstellung auf der Medaillenkückseite, die Doria als "liberator patriae" feiert, würde also für den

³ Den Hinweis auf das Verleihungsdatum auf Grund der in Wien verwahrten Ritterliste des Goldenen Vließes (im Druck unter folgendem Titel erschienen: *Liste Nominale des Chevaliers de l'Ordre Illustre de la Toison d'Or depuis son Institution jusqu'à nos jours*. Revue et publiée par la Chancellerie de l'ordre en 1904) verdanke ich Direktor Dr. Holzmair. Zur Biographie des Andrea Doria: F. D. Guerrazzi, *Vita di Andrea* (Mailand, 1864). – E. Petit, *André Doria* (Paris, 1887). – A. v. Czibulka, *Andrea Doria* (München, 1923).

^{3a} Theodor Hampe, *Das Trachtenbuch des Christoph Weiditz* (Berlin und Leipzig, 1927), Taf. V.

Zeitpunkt der von Weiditz in Genua unmittelbar erlebten Ereignisse gut passen, doch kommt ein Impuls aus der italienischen Medaillenkunst nicht in Frage, da merkwürdigerweise die für die Republik schicksalhaften Vorgänge weder in einer Stadtmedaille noch in einer persönlichen des Andrea Doria verewigt wurden. Die Doria-Medaillen des Leone Leoni⁴ entstanden erst 1541 und von zwei weiteren durch die Graphik überlieferten Medaillenbildnissen, von denen das eine durch einen Holzschnitt aus der Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts aus dem "Prontuario de la Medaglia" 1553 (Abb. 2),⁵ das zweite in einer Nachzeichnung Rembrandts⁶ (Abb. 3) bekannt ist, geht wohl nur der Holzschnitt auf eine veritable Medaille zurück, über welche im übrigen auf Grund der Reproduktion zu keiner Beurteilung hinsichtlich ihrer Entstehungszeit und künstlerischen Herkunft zu kommen ist.⁷

Hingegen waren von Seiten der Republik Ehrungen für Doria in der Großplastik⁸ vorgesehen. Ein am 7. Oktober 1528 erlassenes Dekret⁹ bestimmte die Aufstellung einer als Panzerfigur geplanten Bronzestatue für den großen Saal des Stadtpalastes, die dem Florentiner Baccio Bandinelli übertragen wurde, der die Arbeit aber trotz erheblicher Anzahlung vernachlässigte und nicht zu Ende brachte. 1534 erfolgte ein zweiter Auftrag an den gleichen Künstler, und zwar dieses Mal für eine marmorne Neptunfigur für die Piazza, deren Ausführung Bandinelli von 1534–1538 in den Marmorbrüchen von Carrara auch nur bis zum

⁴ Eugène Plon, *Leone Leoni et Pompeo Leoni* (Paris, 1887), pl. XXIX, 1, 2, 3, Text S. 256, und Armand, I, 164, 8, 9, 10, und III, 68, k, l, m.

⁵ *Prontuario de la Medaglia*, bei Guglielmo Ruvillio (Lyon, 1553; franz. Ausgabe, ebenfalls Lyon, 1581 und 1583); Abb. nach der ital. Ausgabe, Bd. II, S. 229.

⁶ Valentiner, *Rembrandtzeichnungen (Klassiker der Kunst)*, II, S. 204, Nr. 630.

⁷ Der Überlieferung nach (Vasari–Milanesi V, 83) hat auch Alfonso Lombardi eine kleine Medaille des Doria in Wachs gearbeitet, die wie alle anderen Medaillen von Lombardis Hand verschollen ist; siehe Hill, *A Corpus of Italian Medals*, S. 157 u. Nr. 613–618.

Eine weitere Medaille, die offensichtlich auf das Bildnis im Palazzo Doria-Pamphili (siehe Anmerkung 10) zurückgehend, das weitherabreichende Brustbild Dorias als Neptun mit Schiffsruder zeigt (Rs. Stern, von dem acht Pfeile ausgehen), ist durch Luckius, *Sylloge numismatum elegantiorum* (Straßburg, 1620), S. 67 überliefert. Die Medaille ist ohne Zweifel posthum, ihre Entstehungszeit und künstlerische Provenienz aber nicht näher bestimmbar, solange nicht ein Original bekannt wird. Siehe auch Agostino Olivieri, *Monete, medaglie e sigilli dei principi Doria* (Genova, 1858), S. 29, Tav. I, III (Abb. auf Luckius zurückgehend).

⁸ Die kurze Darstellung zum Thema der Doria-Statuen beruht auf einem Manuskript von Dr. Herbert Keutner für einen im *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, VII (1956), erscheinenden Beitrag "Über die Entstehung und Formen des Standbildes im Cinquecento". Für die freundlichst gewährte Einsichtnahme in das Manuskript danke ich Dr. Keutner verbindlich.

⁹ Wortlaut des Dekrets bei F. Alzieri, *Notizie dei Professori del disegno in Liguria*, Bd. V, S. 313, Anm. I.

halbfertigen Zustand besorgte und die heute als "Gigante-Brunnen" auf dem Domplatz in Carrara steht. Eine dritte noch spätere Ehrung wurde schließlich im Jahre 1539 mit einem Auftrag an den Bildhauer G. A. Montorsoli unternommen, der 1539/40 eine marmorne Panzerstatue des Andrea Doria fertigte, die heute fragmentarisch im Palazzo Ducale in Genua steht.

Das Thema "Doria als Neptun" hatte übrigens auch die Malerei aufgegriffen und zwar in zwei durch die Attribute sich unterscheidenden Varianten, nämlich die eine mit Schiffsruder, die andere mit Dreizack: die erstere mit dem Schiffsruder (heute Rom, Pal. Doria-Pamphili-Landi)¹⁰ mit Vorbehalt für Sebastiano del Piombo in Anspruch genommen, der 1526 das großartige Bildnis Dorias im dunklen Habit gemalt hatte, die zweite mit dem Dreizack (Mailand, Brera),¹¹ das als Wiederholung nach dem ersten von Angelo Bronzino gemalt wurde und dessen Entstehungszeit nach Vasari¹² in den Beginn der dreißiger Jahre fällt.

Zur Doria-Medaille zurückkehrend, läge es also im Bereich des Möglichen, daß Christoph Weiditz die Anregung zur Medaille aus seiner Begegnung mit Doria wie im besonderen die Inspiration zum Thema des Doria als Neptun von Italien her aus den Planungsvorgängen für die erste Ehrungsstatue oder aus den Bildern, vielleicht auch aus ähnlichen weiteren unbekannten Vorgängen unmittelbar in Genua empfangen hat. Doch kann beides auch zur späteren Zeit in Augsburg geschehen sein; die Anregung, den Genuesen überhaupt zu portrairieren, kann durch Meldemanns Holzschnitt neu geweckt worden sein, andererseits kann sie aus den Kreisen der 1532 zum Augsburger Reichstag versammelten Diplomaten veranlaßt worden sein, während Thema und Gestaltung humanistischer Beratung zu verdanken sein wird, die die deutschen Renaissancekünstler allenthalben aus den Kreisen der Gelehrten erfuhren. Das mythologische Thema selbst lag in Augsburg dieser Jahre auf der Hand. Weiditz kannte es. Die Medaille des Jakob Fugger, 1518 von Hans Schwarz geschaffen, mit dem großen Fugger als Neptun und seinem Vetter Raimund als Merkur auf der Rückseite, war in Kreisen der hohen Augsburger Gesellschaft sicher allgemeiner Besitz, in der Anna-Kapelle standen die Büsten der "Sybillen" und "Propheten", unter ihnen das Bildnis des gleichen Jakob Fugger und in den frühen dreißiger Jahren war im Brunnen auf

¹⁰ Dußler, *Sebastiano del Piombo*, Kat. 102, Abb. 54.

¹¹ Hanns Schulze, *Angelo Bronzino* (Straßburg, 1911), S. XXIII, Taf. XVII (späte Datierung im Anschluß an Frizzoni). – Arthur McComb, *Agnolo Bronzino*, S. 72, pl. 33 (bezüglich der Datierung sich an Vasari anschließend).

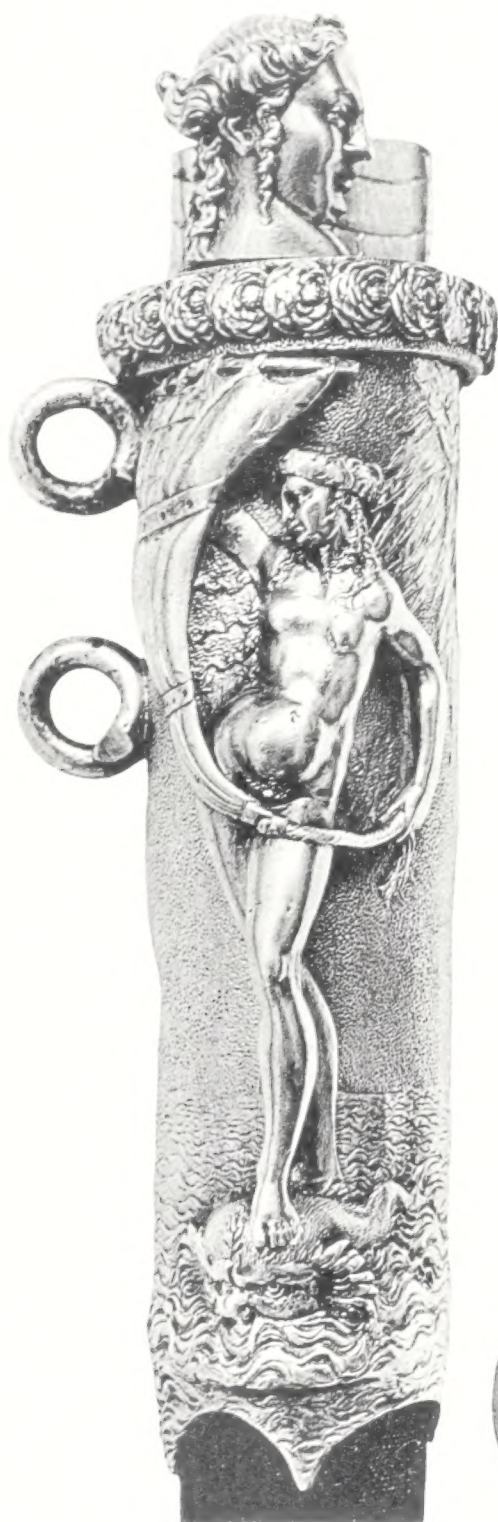
¹² Vasari (Milanesi), VII, 595.

dem Jakobsplatz vor der Fuggerei der kleine bronzene Neptun¹³ errichtet worden, in welchem zwar nicht eine bestimmte Persönlichkeit heroisiert werden sollte, so aber doch umgekehrt, wohl das mythologische Thema unter der Maske eines zeitgenössischen Portraits gestaltet wurde. So kann die Doria-Medaille ganz aus dem Augsburger Boden gewachsen sein.

Die Entstehungszeit der Medaille, nach der 1532 datierten Bildnisvorlage des Meldemann und auch auf Grund des Stiles nicht früher ansetzbar, bedarf noch der Erörterung. Nicht also 1529, anlässlich der persönlichen Begegnung zwischen Doria und Weiditz, und zu einem Zeitpunkt, als das tiefgreifende politische Ereignis der Befreiung Genuas und der Wiederherstellung der alten republikanischen Freiheit noch gegenwärtig war, ist als Entstehungszeit zu diskutieren, sondern die Jahre 1533/34, ein Zeitabschnitt, in welchem ein neuer italienischer Aufenthalt des Weiditz nicht bekannt ist und auf Grund seines Werkes auch nicht als wahrscheinlich gelten kann. Der Stil der Medaille steht gegen eine an sich mögliche frühere Entstehung zur Zeit der persönlichen Begegnung der beiden Männer. Welcher Anlaß mag vorgelegen haben, daß Weiditz sich zu dieser späteren Zeit einer Medaille des Doria annahm? Die Sache könnte erklärt werden aus der bedrängten beruflichen Situation des Mannes, dessen Tätigkeit in Augsburg von Seiten der Goldschmiede in immer wieder aufflackernden Auseinandersetzungen beanstandet wurde, obgleich sich Weiditz auf einen kaiserlichen Freibrief berufen konnte, den ihm Karl V. im Jahre 1529 in Spanien und in Wiederholung am 7. September 1530 zur freien Ausübung seiner Kunst gewährt hatte. "Wollt ihr mich nun geruhig unbekümmert arbeiten lassen, wie mir vergönnt ist", so wendet sich Weiditz in einem undatierten, in die dreißiger Jahre gehörenden Schreiben an die Herrn Vorsteher der Goldschmiede,¹⁴ aber der Streit kommt nicht zum Erliegen und 1538 und noch 1554 sind erneute Vorstellungen gegen ihn bezeugt. Wie dem im Einzelnen auch gewesen sein mag, jedenfalls geht nach dem auf dem Habich'schen Korpus beruhenden Forschungsstand mit der Mitte der dreißiger Jahre die Medaillentätigkeit des Weiditz in Augsburg zu Ende. Seine letzte Medaille in Augsburg ist die des Franz Mertz von 1536, das einzige Stück dieses Jahres. So wird diese Zeit notgedrungen eine Zeit neuer Kontaktversuche zu anderen Orten und zu neuen Persönlichkeiten von sozialem, politischem und künstlerischem Rang gewesen sein. Ohne für die Doria-Medaille das fernere Ziel solcher Kontaktbildung zu kennen, wird man ihre Entstehung mit solcher Absicht zu Recht an-

¹³ H. R. Weihrauch, *Münchener Jahrbuch der bild. Kunst*, 1952/53, S. 201, Abb. 2-4.

¹⁴ Habich, *Jahrbuch der Preuß. Kunstsammlungen*, 1913, S. 27.



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MEDAILLE DES ANDREA DORIA

1. "Fortuna". Detail des Dolches des v. Werditz. Silber. Dresden, Grünes Gewölbe. — 2. Halbfigur mit Rosenzweig desselben Dolches. — 3. Rückseite der Medaille des Christoph Müllich. Bronze. München, Staatliche Münzsammlung. — 4. Venus als Planetengöttin. Holz. Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum. — 5-11. Serie der 7 Planetengötter. Holz. Schloss Wolfegg. Photo W. v. Posnik.

nehmen können. "Andreae Doria" und "patriae liberatori" – die beiden Inschriften deuten auf Dedikation und schließen die persönliche Empfehlung des Künstlers an den Dargestellten ein, wobei freilich unbekannt ist, ob die Gabe den Empfänger je erreichte. Die Seltenheit der Medaille, und die Tatsache, daß aus italienischen Sammlungen kein Exemplar bekannt ist, läßt immerhin die Möglichkeit offen, daß die Sache nicht mehr als ein Projekt blieb, wofür vielleicht auch das Fehlen einer Signatur spricht; aber es bedarf hier sogleich des Hinweises, daß Weiditz nicht eine einzige seiner Medaillen signiert hat.

Ungefähr in die gleiche Zeit¹⁵ gehört aus Gründen des Stiles auch der von Weiditz gefertigte Dresdener Dolch, ein einzigartiges Meisterwerk deutscher Silberschmiedekunst, einst ein Glanzstück der Dresdener Museen¹⁶. Mir scheint, daß die Fortuna (TAFEL XXI,1) und vor allem die Halbfigur mit dem Rosenzweig und der Beischrift "GELICK VND FREVT" (TAFEL XXI,2) dem Dolch den Charakter eines persönlichen Geschenkes verliehen haben und daß das köstliche Werk auch als persönliches Geschenk verehrt worden sein könnte, ähnlich, wie Weiditz mit einem Brief vom 24. November 1536 an den ihm seit langen Jahren befreundeten und ihm wohlgesonnenen Kulmer Bischof Johann Dantiscus "ain klaines Kindlin zur zugnus ains willigen gemuetz" schickt und hinzufügt "hab auf dismol nitz sunst fertig gehefft, pit euer gnad, welt mit ein willigen gemiet fer gut haben und also min genediger her beliben".¹⁷ Der Tenor des Schlußsatzes könnte darauf deuten, nicht den wertvollen Kontakt mit dem kunstbeflissenen Dantiscus verlieren zu wollen.

In Dresden gehörte der Dolch zum ältesten Bestande der kurfürstlichen Sammlungen, in deren ersten Inventar vom Jahre 1567^{17a} er bereits genannt ist. Als Empfänger wird, ist die Geschenkidee als solche richtig, in erster Linie Georg der Bärtige in Frage kommen, einer der medaillenfreudigsten Fürsten der Zeit, bei dem Weiditz mit seinem Geschenk die Aufmerksamkeit auf sich und seine Kunst lenken konnte. Der mit vollem Namen signierte Dolch wird dem Goldschmied und Medailleur den Weg nach Sachsen geöffnet haben, wo sich sein in Augsburg im Jahre 1536 auslaufendes Medaillenwerk in der Gruppe des Kardinal-Albrecht-

¹⁵ Gleiche Datierung mit den Wiener Adam- und Eva-Statuetten des Weiditz in die Mitte der dreißiger Jahre bei Vöge, *Jahrb. der Preuß. Kunstsammlungen*, 1932, S. 159f.

¹⁶ M. v. Ehrenthal, *Führer durch das Kgl. Historische Museum zu Dresden*, 1896, S. 96, Nr. 619.

¹⁷ Kolberg, "Die Dantiscusmedaillen", in *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ermlands*, 1913, S. 714f.

^{17a} Inventar der Waffensammlung 1567, S. 123 (nach Mitteilung des Staatl. Hist. Museums in Dresden vom 13. Mai 1930).

Meisters (einschließlich der Pistorius-Gruppe)¹⁸ fortsetzt, jener berühmten, viel-diskutierten zu den Höhepunkten der deutschen Renaissance gehörenden Medaillengruppe, die kunstgeschichtlich gesehen, nicht in Sachsen zu Hause ist, auch nicht das Werk eines dort seßhaften Mannes ist, sondern deutlich den Zug des Süddeutschen trägt. Wie aus der geographischen Zuordnung der portraitierten Persönlichkeiten erkennbar, ist sie das Werk eines wandernden Künstlers, der vor und nach seiner Tätigkeit in Sachsen auch kurzfristig in Nürnberg tätig war, dem Stil seiner Arbeiten nach aber kein Nürnberger, sondern ein Augsburger ist.

Ich habe diese auf Grund eingehender Untersuchungen gewonnene Ansicht von der Identität des Christoph Weiditz mit dem Kardinal-Albrecht-Meister in meinem Weiditz-Beitrag für das Thieme-Becker'sche *Künstlerlexikon*, XXXV (1942), S. 267 dargelegt, konnte das Thema aber später nicht mehr aufgreifen, da ein umfangreiches, fast druckfertiges Manuskript über Weiditz als Medailleur, Goldschmied und Kleinplastiker im Krieg verbrannte. Ich kann die Frage wegen der damit erforderlichen Neubearbeitung auch hier nicht im Einzelnen darlegen.

Hingegen möchte ich das Bild des Christoph Weiditz, den Habich als Medailleur und Vöge als Kleinbildhauer darstellen, nach der Seite des im Kleinfigürlichen arbeitenden Goldschmieds und Plakettisten erweitern, ebenfalls im Rückgriff auf meinen Thieme-Becker-Artikel. Dazu bietet die neue Doria-Medaille mit den beiden Genien und die Helena Meiting mit der "Caritas" einen willkommenen Anlaß. An diese schließt sich ein kleines zierliches Holzrelief im Wiener Kunsthistorischen Museum mit der Darstellung der Venus als Planetengöttin (TAFEL XXI, 4) (nicht Venus und Amor)¹⁹ ohne weiteres an und zwangsläufig folgt die köstliche Serie der sieben kleinen runden Planetenreliefs in der Sammlung Schloß

¹⁸ Habich, *Die deutschen Schaumünzen*, II, 1, S. 263ff. und 267ff. Die Frage, ob Weiditz auch der Meister der Kardinal-Albrecht-Gruppe sei, wurde von Habich schon 1913 (*Jahrb. der Preuß. Kunstsammlungen*, 1913, S. 22–24) aufgeworfen und damals mehr bejahend als verneinend beantwortet. Auch in weiteren Publikationen hielt Habich diese Möglichkeit offen, geriet aber dann in seiner stark polemischen Auseinandersetzung mit J. L. Sponsel, der (*Jahrb. der Preuß. Kunstsammlungen*, 1925, S. 65ff.) Peter Flötner als Künstler für diese Gruppe vorschlug, so weit von der Sache ab, daß er den Annaberger Stempelschneider Hieronymus Magdeburger als ersten Anwärter nannte (zuletzt in *Der heimliche Flötner* (München, 1939) und in *Die deutschen Schaumünzen*, II, 1, S. 263). Diese Hypothese ist durch die auf Archivmaterialien beruhende Publikation von Paul Bamberg (*Berliner Münzblätter*, 1933, S. 129ff.) endgültig widerlegt, da Magdeburgers Stempelschnitte für Herzog Georg schon 1526 beanstandet wurden und er selber später in seinem Fache als Stempelschneider völlig scheiterte.

¹⁹ Julius v. Schlosser, *Werke der Kleinplastik in der Skulpturensammlung des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, II, Taf. XVII,3 (Text, S. 8).

Wolfegg (TAFEL XXI,5–II)²⁰, die Habich dem Hans Kels vindizierte, zu dessen herberem Werk sie aber ohne stilistische Beziehung sind. Hier ist vielmehr die Hand am Werke, die die Fortuna des Dresdener Dolches schuf, unser Christoph Weiditz, den wir nun als Modellschneider für feine Goldschmied- und Plakettenkunst kennen. Der Zeitpunkt, die Mitte des 3. Jahrzehnts, bezeichnet für ihn eine mehr und mehr sich vollziehende Abwendung von strenger Renaissance, der Weiditz allerdings sich nie so verpflichtet fühlte, wie etwa sein unmittelbarer Augsburger Konkurrent, der klassische Friedrich Hagenauer es tat, zur ungebundeneren Form und zum freien Bewegungsreichtum des Manierismus. Das Werk des eigenwilligen, schwer faßbaren, aber immer kultivierten Mannes wird weiter in dieser Richtung, etwa auf einen "augsburgischen Jamnitzer" zu verfolgen sein.²¹

NACHTRAG

1. Durch den Versteigerungskatalog der Münzen und Medaillen AG Basel, XVII (2.–4. Dezember 1957), Nr. 104, erhalte ich Kenntnis von der Existenz des als verschollen erwähnten Silberexemplars aus der Schermer'schen Stiftung. Nach der von Herrn Dr. H. Cahn freundlichst zur Verfügung gestellten Photographie (TAFEL XX, 1a, 1) bestätigt das feine Silberexemplar, welches das Münchner Blei durch die Schärfe des Gusses und durch feine Ziselierung übertrifft, die an dem Münchner Blei für die Autorschaft des Christoph Weiditz gemachten Beobachtungen. Das Silberexemplar (84,9 mm) ist ein Original, das Münchner Blei (83 mm) ein guter alter, wohl zeitgenössischer Guß.

2. Bei Besichtigung der Auktionsstücke in Basel sehe ich, daß die Doria Medaille am Abschnitt die Jahreszahl "1533" trägt, was der Katalog der "Münzen und Medaillen AG" nicht angibt. Auch die Jahreszahl ist im Duktus der von Weiditz verwendeten Ziffern dieser Jahre gehalten.

²⁰ Habich, *Die deutschen Schaumünzen des 16. Jahrh.*, I, 1, S. 112, Abb. 120–122: Sol, Luna, Venus, und *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, 1929/30, S. 57 (Text) und S. 59: Jupiter, Uranus, Mars, Merkur. – *Kat. Ausst. Augsburger Renaissance* (Augsburg, 1955), Nr. 460. – Bayerland, 1955, S. 265. – Güsse in Blei: Saturn, Merkur und Mars in Berlin (Kat. Vöge 719–721, Kat. Bange 5851, 5852, 5853) und in Nürnberg: 2 Venus und Sol. – Graphische Vorlagen, die man vermuten möchte, konnte ich nicht ermitteln. Photos der Wolfegger Serie von W. v. Posnik, Landshut.

²¹ Den Wolfegger Reliefs bzw. deren Bleigüssen sind richtig noch 2 Rundplaketten mit Heraklestaten (Berlin) angefügt, die den Weg noch zu anderen Weiditz'schen Plaketten weisen werden: W. Vöge, *Kat. Berlin, Die deutschen Bildwerke* (1910), Nr. 725, 726, dazu 719–721, und E. F. Bange, *Kat. Berlin, Die Bildwerke in Bronze* (1923), S. III, Nr. 5849, 5850, dazu 5851–5853 ("Meister der Planetenserie").

RICHARD WAGNER AND HIS WORK IN MEDALLIC ART

HENRY GRUNTHAL

Men of less fame than Richard Wagner have been memorialized by hundreds of medals, but the originator of the music drama stimulated only very few artists to create medals with his likeness. The music drama as conceived by Wagner had its origin in the Greek tragedy which combined the spoken word with music in the form of the chorus. Wagner in his "Oper und Drama", published in 1851, explained his views about the causes of the decadence of art and the remedy needed for its revival. With the decline of the traditions of classical art there took place a separation of the various art forms. Wagner saw the only possible solution for a rebirth of the arts in unification of the various artistic media. He believed that this could best be accomplished by means of the music drama which he called the "Art form of the future." He objected vehemently to the name "Opera" as applied to his works because he wanted them to be understood as dramas first; the accompanying music was only added to support the dramatic action, or as an introduction or preparation for actions which would later develop on the stage. This is, of course, one of the reasons why it is imperative for a listener to be acquainted with Wagner's "Leitmotivs" which furnish the preparation for the action still to come and which often characterize the *dramatis personae*. Only fifteen medals in all were issued while Wagner was alive, and less than 100 medals have been issued to the present. The medals issued during his lifetime relate only

to two specific happenings in his certainly eventful life, the opening of the Bayreuth Festspielhaus in 1876 and the second *Parsifal* performance at the Bayreuth theatre in 1882, which marked the only occasions on which the composer was enabled to do his own stage directing, casting and conducting.

The first artist to portrait the composer was the well known Viennese court medallist Anton Scharff. The occasion for Scharff's medal was the opening of the Bayreuth Festspielhaus with the first performance of *The Ring of the Nibelungs* which took place in August 1876. The Bayreuth Festspielhaus is a theatre exclusively devoted to the presentation of Wagner's music dramas. By the time he had reached *Götterdämmerung*, Wagner's mastery was at its peak. This is a work that lives up to its composer's designation – music drama. In its music there is more sheer drama than in the action of the best plotted operas. There is something more – epic grandeur. Wagner planned a new theatre building in Munich first, but his plan was rejected despite his intimacy with King Ludwig II of Bavaria. The composer disliked the distractions of a large capital and as a result he chose the small city of Bayreuth which possessed the desired seclusion. The municipality furthered the scheme, and in May 1872, the foundation stone of the Festspielhaus was laid; the event being commemorated by a notable performance of Beethoven's choral symphony in the old opera house. By far the greater part of the money necessary for the erection of the theatre was raised by founding "Wagner Societies." The new theatre, standing about a mile above the town, was built from plans drawn by Gottfried Semper but based on Wagner's ideas. The medal by Scharff, for which Wagner posed, is undoubtedly the most accurate one as far as likeness and comprehension of the master's genius is concerned (cf. no. 5, PLATE XXII). It was issued with several reverses and in various sizes, eight in all. The most valuable one is the official Wagner medal, described under number five in the catalogue, which was issued especially for his friends and admirers who attended the performances of the *Ring*. This medal had a clasp and pin so that it could be worn like a decoration. The energetic head of Wagner was set into a simple oak and laurel wreath, and the reverse side of the medal showed Siegfried's sword and Wotan's spear bound together by the ring of the Nibelungs. This reverse motif and design was the work of Gottfried Semper, the architect of the Festspielhaus and a long time friend of the composer, who participated with Wagner in the Dresden revolt of 1848. Subsequently, the head designed by Scharff was used for the obverse with the Redeemer scene from *Parsifal* as the reverse design (cf., no. 6, PLATE XXII).

The opening of the Festspielhaus at Bayreuth has been commemorated by several additional medals by eminent artists such as Emil Weigand, Charles Wiener, Wilhelm Mayer, C. Drentwett, and Ludwig Christoph Lauer. The medal by Emil Weigand, chief medallist and die sinker at the Berlin mint, is rather conventional and lacking in spirit (cf. no. 8). It shows Wagner's head on the obverse and a plain inscription on the reverse. Also Charles Wiener, the well known Belgian medallist, was commissioned by C.G. Thieme, a Leipzig coin dealer, to design and engrave the dies for still another Wagner medal in connection with the opening of the Festspielhaus (cf. no. 9, PLATE XXII). Wiener's Wagner portrait was very close to Scharff's conception of the composer and can be considered a good likeness. On the reverse of the medal there were allusions to the various music dramas which were performed at Bayreuth. Several of the principal characters in these dramas are recognizable. Siegfried, Wotan, Brunhilde, Amfortas, Tannhäuser, Lohengrin with his swan, Hans Sachs and Walter von Stolzing are to be found in that order from left to right. These personages are placed on a Rhine bridge, inscribed "Bayreuth." The artist placed in the river foreground the three Rhine maidens, Woglinde, Wellgunde and Flosshilde to greet Siegfried. Although the figures appear rather placid and do not reflect the colossal dramas which were unfolded in Bayreuth, one must give Wiener credit for the detailed design and his attempt to show such a diversified series of Germanic gods and human heroes in a small round field not larger than seven centimeters in diameter. The medal by Wilhelm Mayer shows Wagner for the first time with the beret which was to become a standard attribute of many of the posthumously issued portraits (cf. no. 10). A view of the Festspielhaus was used as the reverse. The productions of C. Drentwett, a die sinker at Augsburg, were issued at low prices and not enough care was consequently taken to ensure artistic execution. An examination of these pieces reveals that the composer's head is not true to life and the perspective of the theatre building on the reverse is weak. The grounds surrounding the building are unfinished, and this gives the impression of a building dangling in mid-air. One variety of the Drentwett medal was issued to commemorate the second performance of *Parsifal* in the summer of 1882 (cf. no. 12 & 14).

It is difficult, if not impossible to suppress a smile when looking at the medal issued by Ludwig Christoph Lauer as an award for the members of the Velociped Club of Bayreuth. The Valkyries certainly never dreamed that they would bring their fallen heroes on velocipeds to Valhalla instead of their accustomed chargers (cf. no. 15). The well known die sinking firm of Lauer in Nuremberg which issued

thousands of medals during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries seized upon the increased interest in the composer and the growing number of Wagner enthusiasts by the production of no less than two dozen medals pertaining to the composer's life. All of these medals are of uniformly mediocre design and convey little of the master's genius, but it should be remembered, they were issued for the public at large which wanted to have a memento of some particular event like the composer's death, the visit of Emperor William II to Bayreuth or the unveiling of a plaque on Wagner's residence in Vienna. Wagner's importance and genius were clearly recognized by his fellow countrymen after the completion of the *Meistersinger*. By its very subject and nature the "Meistersinger" was calculated to appeal to the rapidly rising German national consciousness as no previous creation had done. The Germans were becoming aware of what they regarded as their world mission and Wagner reflected their emotions and thoughts. The unification of Germany under Bismarck brought German nationalism to new heights while the German people were continually reminded of their glorious history. Although the masses could not comprehend Wagner's difficult music, they were attracted to his works which glorified so many great figures of Germany's past as well as the heroes and Gods of German mythology.

Among the posthumous, dated medals, mention should be made of the medal issued in 1903 by Pierre R. Braecke which commemorates the first performance of *The Ring of the Nibelungs* in a French translation by the Théâtre Royal de la Monnaie in Brussels (cf. no. 30). Braecke, a Belgian artist, succeeded quite well in conveying the magnitude of the tetralogy by working his medal in high relief. The obverse is completely filled by a forceful bust of Brunhilde in armor and a heavily ornamented helmet; in the background can be seen Fafner in form of a dragon.

Of the medals, issued in 1913, to commemorate the centennial celebration of Wagner's birth, the following two pieces are particularly worthy of special mention. A medal designed by Rudolf Bosselt, professor at the school of Fine Arts in Düsseldorf, shows the composer's head and on the reverse a very forceful and dynamic allegorical figure in which Wagner is personified as a winged medieval knight in armor battling his untamed genius in the form of a powerful athlete in the nude (cf. no. 36, PLATE XXII). This reverse design symbolizes Wagner's lifelong struggle to realize his dream for an understanding and acceptance of his newly created dramatic compositions, the musical style of which meant a complete break with the hitherto popular type of opera. The second medal is the work of W. Burkhardt

(cf. no. 37). It shows Wagner's bust and on the reverse side the standing figure of Wolfram von Eschenbach, the medieval poet who produced a long work on Parsifal, playing the harp; the legend quotes the first lines from the touching "Song to the Evening Star."

The celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of Wagner's death occurred in 1933 and was commemorated by several medals. Although small in size the most appealing one is the piece by Josef Bernhart which was conceived in the style of the German renaissance (cf. no. 42). The reverse shows Hans Sachs, the poet and shoemaker who is the central figure in Wagner's *Meistersinger*. Sachs, a master of the shoemakers' guild in Nuremberg was an ardent supporter of Martin Luther in whose honour he wrote a poem, expressing his warm sympathy for the Reformer but tempered by counsels of moderation. He is remembered chiefly because of his many poems on subjects principally drawn from the Bible and also the classics.

The medal displays Bernhart's adaption of the technic of the great German Renaissance masters who cut their designs in soapstone from which molds for casting the medals were prepared. Bernhart's modelling has noble vigor and precision without being harsh. The artist of the Hans Sachs medal succeeds in transposing the viewer into the medieval world of Nuremberg.

The lengthy series of undated medals includes works from such outstanding medallists as Heinrich Kautsch, Franz Kounitzky, Rudolph F. Marschall, Professor Rudolph Mayer, Franz X. Pawlik, F. Stiasny, Professor Paul Sturm, and Ovide Yencesse. Except for the many medals by the die-sinking firm of Lauer, which were specifically produced for a large sale to the public, the most popular issue is the one by Professor Rudolph Mayer, a native Austrian, who worked in Karlsruhe (cf. no. 65). The medal shows Wagner's bust with beret facing left and on the reverse two Valkyries with shield and spear on horseback, carrying some dead heroes to Valhalla which is seen under a rainbow in the background. This piece, designed in 1902, has broad effect because of its simplicity, which is complete but does not ignore fine execution of detail. A uniface plaque, designed by Franz X. Pawlik, a pupil of A. Scharff and issued by the Vienna mint, is quite original in its conception (cf. no. 71). Wagner's portrait, set into a circular incuse field, is flanked by a voluptuous female figure in the nude, personifying music; she plays a harp, adorned by a swan, and in the upper background is the *Flying Dutchman's* ship.

Last but not least mention should be made of a piece designed by Professor Paul Sturm, coin engraver of the royal mint of Berlin, who cut the dies for many

of the German imperial coins (cf. no. 74 PLATE XXII). Sturm's most noteworthy production in German coinage is the three mark piece of Wilhelm II, in uniform, struck in 1913 in commemoration of the 25th year of the Kaiser's reign. Sturm's Wagner medal has a charm of its own which is due to the medallist's technique of cutting his models in soapstone, a long forgotten art which bore such marvelous medallic fruits during the German Renaissance. His Wagner portrait conveys the impression of a man of genius. The reverse side of the medal shows the three Rhine maidens playfully swimming around the mythical Rhinegold which became in the 18th and 19th centuries a numismatic reality as seen in the many coins struck from the gold extracted from the sands of the river Rhine.

Trusting that 1958, the 75th anniversary of Wagner's death, will induce some contemporary medallists to try their skill in portraying in plastic form the composer's genius, I add a descriptive catalogue of the Wagner medals known to me.

THE CATALOGUE

The list of Wagner medals comprises 89 distinct types. Minor varieties in respect to size, are not listed separately but mentioned within a particular type. The medals are divided into four groups. The first group (1-15) consists of those medals which were issued during Wagner's lifetime; the second (16-44) of all the dated posthumous medals in chronological order; the third and largest group (45-80), of those undated medals of which the artist is known, arranged alphabetically by artists; and the fourth and last group (81-89), of the undated, posthumous medals which could not be attributed to any particular medallist. Diameters are in millimeters. In view of the lack of sufficient information the compiler decided to omit any indication as to the metal in which the various medals were struck or cast.

This catalogue is based on the collection of the American Numismatic Society, the listings in *Musica in Nummis* by Karl Andorfer and Richard Epstein (Vienna, 1907), abbreviated "A & E.," various sales catalogues and my father's card index of personal medals. It is far from being complete, due to the fact that I have been unable to examine the Richard Wagner Museum in Eisenach, the archives of Haus Wahnfried in Bayreuth and the Burrell collection in Philadelphia.

Medals issued during Wagner's lifetime

1. Uniface medal without date by Anton Scharff. RICHARD-WAGNER. Head right, A. SCHARFF, WIEN below. 70 mm. A. & E. 605.

A certain quantity of this medal, an early work of the Viennese master and not issued at the time of its completion, was struck off after 1902. A larger cast of this medal, 116 mm. in diameter, is in the collection of the American Numismatic Society.

2. Uniface plaque without date, designed by Anton Scharff in 1876. Head right, A. SCHARFF incuse below; signature of Richard Wagner incuse in the lower right field. 120 mm. August Ritter von Loehr, *Anton Scharff* (Vienna, 1904), p. 10, no. 23a.

This plaque is apparently a cast from the original in wax and served as the model for the reduced medals described under numbers 3-7.

3. Medal without date (1876) by Anton Scharff. RICHARD WAGNER. Head right, A. SCHARFF, WIEN below. *Rev.* Three allegorical female figures, Poetry in the center standing, histrionic art and musical art seated at the sides; two ravens flying towards Poetry. 54 mm. A. & E. 309. Loehr, *op. cit.* p. 10, no. 24.

This originally rare medal has been struck in great numbers since 1902.

4. Medal 1876 by Anton Scharff and August Kleeberg, Vienna, commemorating the opening of the "Bayreuther Festspiele." RICHARD WAGNER. Head right as on the preceding medal but without Scharff's signature. *Rev.* Legend reads DIE MEISTERSINGER/ VON NÜRNBERG, TRISTAN UND ISOLDE/ LOHENGRIN, DER RING/ DER NIBELUNGEN, DER FLIEGENDE HOLLÄNDER/ TANNHÄUSER. Seven lines inscription within a beaded circle in the center ZUR/ ERINNERUNG/ AN DIE/ FESTSPIELE/ IN BAYREUTH/ 1876, below A.K. (August Kleeberg). 54 mm. A. & E. 310. Loehr, *op. cit.*, p. 10, no. 25.

Kleeberg is principally known as an engraver and goldsmith. It is doubtful whether he ever designed any medals. Scharff mentioned on several occasions that Kleeberg ordered this medal from him. Kleeberg added his own initials to the medal but eliminated Scharff's signature which was originally engraved below Richard Wagner's head.

5. Official Wagner medal 1876, obverse by Anton Scharff, reverse by Gottfried Semper, especially issued for Wagner's guests at Bayreuth. Head right within oak wreath, A. SCHARFF, WIEN below. *Rev.* RICHARD WAGNER - DANKT - SEINEN FESTSPIELGENOSSEN./ MDCCCLXXVI, G. SEMPER F. below the date. RHEIN-

GOLD, WALKÜRE, SIEGFRIED, GÖTTERDÄMMERUNG incuse on four separate bands which are divided by crossed swords and spear, bound together by the Nibelungen Ring. 36 mm. A & E. 311. Loehr, *op. cit.*, p. 10, no. 23. PLATE XXII

The American Numismatic Society has two specimens of this medal, one in silver, the other in bronze. The bronze medal has a clasp attached to it, on which is written BAYREUTH.

6. Medal without date, unsigned, 1876 by Anton Scharff. Head right, as no. 5. EHRT EURE DEUTSCHEN MEISTER – DANN BANNT IHR GUTE GEISTER*/ RICHARD – WAGNER. *Rev.* Representation of the Redeemer scene from *Parsifal*, ERLÖSUNG/ DEM ERLÖSER incused below. 37,5 mm. A. & E. 312. Loehr, *op. cit.*, p. 10, no. 26.

PLATE XXII

This medal exists also in reduced size of 29 mm. A. & E. 313.

7. Wax model without date for a medal by Emil Weigand. Head left. The diameter of the slate slab is 113 mm., the size of the head is 75 mm. Uniface medals of this design exist. They are 97 mm. in diameter.

8. Medal 1876 by Emil Weigand. RICHARD – WAGNER. Head left, E. WEIGAND SC. below. *Rev.* DER RING/ DES/ NIBELUNGEN/ –. – / BAYREUTH/ 1876 within a laurel wreath. 45 mm. A. & E. 953.

9. Medal without date, 1876 by Charles Wiener, issued by C. G. Thieme, a coin dealer in Leipzig. RICHARD WAGNER. Head right, CH: WIENER below, VERLAG C. G. THIEME LEIPZIG at the edge. *Rev.* Group of the principal figures from his operas on a bridge which is incised BAYREUTH three Rhine maidens and Lohengrin's swan below. 71 mm. A. & E. 308. PLATE XXII

10. Medal without date by Wilhelm Mayer, die sinking establishment in Stuttgart. RICHARD WAGNER. Bust with beret to left, W. MAYER STUTTG on the truncation of the bust, oak and laurel wreath, tied by ribbon, below. *Rev.* DAS BÜHNEN-FESTSPIELHAUS, view of the building, ZU BAYREUTH/ * in exergue. 39 mm. A. & E. 315.

A slight variation of this medal exists. The star in the exergue is replaced by the date 1882. Compare A. & E. 315.

11. Medal 1876 by Wilhelm Mayer, identical with the previous medal, except for the date, and the reverse inscription which is as follows ZUM ANDENKEN AN DIE I. AUFFÜHRUNG DES RING DER NIBELUNGEN ZU BAYREUTH 1876.

There exists a variety of this medal with an addition of an oak branch in the right and left field of the obverse.



5



9



5



6



6



36



74



12. Medal without date by C. Drentwett of the Sebald Drentwett die-sinking establishment in Augsburg. RICHARD WAGNER. Head left, C. DRENTWETT below. *Rev.* RICHARD WAGNER THEATER IN BAYREUTH. View of the Festival Play House, decoration in exergue. 41,5 mm. A. & E. 316.
13. Medal without date by Martin Sebald, Augsburg. RICHARD WAGNER. Head right, DRENTWETT below. *Rev.* Identical with no. 12. 41,5 mm. A. & E. 317.
14. Medal 1882 by C. Drentwett. Same as the preceding medal, but the following inscription added on obverse 2. PARSIFAL – DARSTELLUNG – IM SOMMER 1882. Compare A. & E. 317 n.
15. Medal 1882 by Ludwig Christoph Lauer, die sinking establishment in Nuremberg, issued as reward by the Velociped Club of Bayreuth. Velociped, HOJHO in cartouche above, valkyrie with sword standing on the left, another valkyrie with spear on the right; below incuse VELOCIPED – CLUB/ BAYREUTH/ 1. JULI 1882. *Rev.* Plain field for engraving within wreath. 45 mm. A. & E. 612.

Dated posthumous medals

16. Medal 1883 by L. Chr. Lauer commemorating his death. RICHARD WAGNER GEB. 22. MAI 1813 GEST. 13. FEBRUAR 1883 * Head right, LAUER at the edge. *Rev.* GEB./ 22. MAI 1813/ ZU LEIPZIG/ GEST./ 13. FEBR. 1883/ ZU/ VENEDIG/ – . – in an oak wreath. 27 mm. A. & E. 322. Lauer catalogue 28, Pl. 45, no. 448.
17. Medal 1884 with original loop as struck by L. Chr. Lauer commemorating the *Parsifal* performance at Bayreuth. RICHARD WAGNER GEB. 22. MAI 1813: GEST. 13. FEBRUAR 1883 ∴ Head right within pearled circle. *Rev.* ZUR/ ERINNERUNG/ AN DIE PARSIFAL/ AUFFÜHRUNG ZU BAYREUTH 1884, in eight lines within two laurel branches tied by a ribbon. 27 mm. A. & E. 323.
18. Medal 1889 by L. Chr. Lauer, commemorating the visit of Emperor Wilhelm II, Empress Augusta Victoria and prince regent Luitpold of Bavaria to the theater in Bayreuth. KAISER WILH. II. KAISERIN AUGUSTA VICTORIA. PRZ. REGENT LUITPOLD * , below at the edge LAUER. Heads of the Imperial couple and head of the prince regent conjoined to left. *Rev.* View of the Festival Play House, in exergue ZUR ERINNERUNG AN DEN/ BESUCH AUGUST/ 1889. 50 mm. A. & E. 341.

19. Medal 1889 with original loop as struck by L. Chr. Lauer, commemorating the same occasion as the preceding medal. Obverse similar to the preceding but heads facing right. *Rev.* View of the Festival Play House, above Z. ERINNERUNG AN DEN BESUCH/ AUGUST 1889, in exergue WAGNER THEATER/ BAYREUTH. 30 mm. A. & E. 342.
20. Medal 1891 by L. Chr. Lauer, commemorating the Bayreuther Festspiele of 1891. Head right, RICHARD in the left, WAGNER in the right field, LAUER at the lower edge. *Rev.* ERINNERUNG/ AN DIE/ BÜHNEN-/ FEST-/ SPIELE/ BAYREUTH/ 1891 in laurel wreath, LAUER at the lower edge. 27 mm. A. & E. 319 note. Lauer catalogue 28, Pl. 6, no. 42.
21. Uniface, cast plaque 1891 by Louis Zoellner. RICHARD – WAGNER. Bust right, COPYRIGHT L. ZOELLNER 1891 on the truncation of the arm. 157 mm. A. & E. 594.
22. Uniface, cast plaque 1896 by Wincenty Trojanowski. Bust, on the upper left side R WAGNER, in the lower right field, incuse, the monogram of the medallist and 96; in the truncation of the arm, also incuse W. TROJANOWSKI – PARIS 96. 98 mm. A. & E. 595.
23. Medal 1898 by L. Chr. Lauer, award of the Universal Musical Exhibition which took place at Berlin in 1898. RICHARD. WAGNER. GEB: 22. MAI 1813. Z: LEIPZIG GEST: 13. FEBR: 1883. Z: VENEDIG Bust right. *Rev.* ALLGEMEINE MUSIKAUSSTELLUNG BERLIN 1898. Musical instruments and sheet with notes; below in decorated cartouche, incuse FÜR HERVORRAGENDE/ LEISTUNGEN., below at the edge LAUER. 50 mm. A. & E. 596. Lauer catalogue 1461.
24. Uniface, square plaque 1900 by W. Trojanowski. Wagner's mask on laurel wreath; R. WAGNER and monogram of the medallist below; at the edge W. TROJANOWSKI PARIS 1900. 180 × 130 mm. A. & E. 954.
25. Uniface, cast plaque 1901 by Franz Kounitzky, unsigned. Bust left; in the right field, incuse, signature of the composer; below also incuse monogram of the medallist and 901. Allegorical female figure hovers over the bust of Wagner, her right hand touching a laurel branch which forms the ornamental border on the left. The plaque is mounted on a green wooden panel, decorated with an inlaid brass strip. 157 mm. A. & E. 333.

26. Medal 1901 by L. Chr. Lauer commemorating the 25th anniversary of the Wagner Theater at Bayreuth. Bust left, dates of his birth and death above, RICHARD WAGNER below. *Rev.* ZUR 25 JÄHRIGEN JUBELFEIER 1876-1901. View of the theater, in exergue in two lines WAGNER-THEATER/ZU BAYREUTH. 50 mm. A. & E. 602.
27. Medal 1901 by L. Chr. Lauer commemorating the same event as the preceding medal. RICHARD - WAGNER. Bust left, LAUER on the truncation of the arm. *Rev.* ZUR 25 JÄHRIGEN JUBELFEIER 1876-1901. View of the theater, in exergue in two lines WAGNER - THEATER/ ZU BAYREUTH. 27 mm. A. & E. 603.
28. Uniface, cast plaque 1901 by W. Trojanowski. Head of king Marke in high relief, facing. 175 × 135 mm.
29. Medal 1902 by L. Chr. Lauer commemorating the unveiling of a plaque on Wagner's residence in Vienna. RICHARD - WAGNER. Bust left, LAUER on the truncation of the arm. *Rev.* ZUR ERINNERUNG/ AN DIE ENTHÜLLUNG/ EINER GEDENKTAFEL/ AM WOHNHAUSE VON/ RICHARD WAGNER/ - . - / WIEN - PENZING/ HADIKGASSE 72/ AM 22. MAI 1902 within two laurel branches, tied together with a ribbon. 27 mm. A. & E. 604.
- 29a. Uniface medal 1903 Commemorating the Richard Wagner Festival in Munich. Bust right, laurel wreath below, RICHARD WAGNER FESTSPIELE MÜNCHEN, 1903 in four lines. 96 × 77 mm. Wurzbach 9203.
30. Medal 1903 by Pierre R. Braecke commemorating the first performance of *The Ring of the Nibelungs* in a French translation by the Théâtre Royal de la Monnaie in Brussels. Bust of a valkyrie to left, below on the right P. BRAECKE, incuse. *Rev.* THEATRE ROYAL DE LA MONNAIE* DIRECTION KUFFERATH ET GUIDE*, in the center in eight lines I^{RE} EXECUTION/ DE LA/ VERSION FRANÇAISE/ DE/ L'ANNEAU DE NIBELUNG/ DE /RICHARD WAGNER/ 1903; WOLFERS FRÈRES. FABS at the edge. 59 mm. A. & E. 963.
31. Medal 1903 by Mayer & Wilhelm in Stuttgart, commemorating the unveiling of the Wagner monument in Berlin. Bust left, star above, two upright standing laurel branches at the sides, M & W. ST. on the truncation of the arm; below on tablet in two lines RICH. WAGNER/ GEB. 22. MAI 1813 † 13. FEBR. 1883. *Rev.* ZUR/ ENTHÜLLUNGS-/ FEIER/ DES/ RICH. WAGNER/ DENKMALS/ BERLIN/ 30. SEPT. 1903 within laurel wreath. 50 × 38.5 mm. A. & E. 961.

32. Medal 1903 by Georg Römer, commemorating the unveiling of the Wagner monument in Berlin, issued at the instigation of Commerzienrath Leichner, chairman of the memorial committee. Head with oak wreath to right, initials of the medallist GR, conjoined below. *Rev.* ZUM/ GEDAECHTNISS/ DER FEIER-
LICHEN/ – ENTHUELLUNG –/ – DES – ERSTEN –/ RICHARD WAGNER/ * DENK-
MALES * I. OCT. 1903./ – BERLIN – 35.5 mm. A. & E. 959.

40 specimens were struck off in gold and distributed amongst the members of the festival orchestra as well as amongst some of the participants who attended the festival.

33. Oval medal 1903 by A. Werner & Söhne. Bust right. *Rev.* HAUS/ LEICHNER/
28 MARZ/ 1903. 34 × 25 mm.
34. Uniface, cast bronze medallion 1904 by Max Bachman, New York. Bust right. 268 mm. A. & E. 968.
35. Uniface medal 1904 by Romeo Bravi, cast in the style of the Italian Renaissance medals. Bust with beret to left; in the left lower field WAGNER, in the right lower field 1904. 80 mm. A. & E. 966.
36. Medal 1913 by Rudolf Bosselt, commemorating the centennial of his birth, dedicated by the Richard Wagner Club of German Ladies. Head left. *Rev.* Symbolic presentation of the artist wrestling with his genius. 66 mm.

PLATE XXII

37. Medal 1913 by W. Burckhardt, commemorating the centennial of his birth. Bust left ZUM HUNDERTSTEN GEBURTSTAGE RICHARD WAGNER'S 1813-1913. *Rev.* Wolfram with lyre standing on rock to left O DU MEIN HOLDER ABENDSTERN – WOHL GRÜSST ICH IMMER DICH SO GERN. 72 mm.
38. Medal 1913 by Karl Goetz, commemorating the centennial of his birth. Bust with beret in fur collared coat to left. RICHARD WAGNER – 1813-1913, K. GOETZ at the truncation of the arm. *Rev.* Redeemer's cross, holy dove and cup relating to the Parsifal story; PARSIVAL in the cente legend. DURCH MITLEID WISSEND DER REINE TOR HARRE SEIN DEN ICH ERKOR. 81 mm.
39. Medal 1913 by Henry W. Page, commemorating the centennial of his birth. Bust facing. *Rev.* Laurel branches BORN/ MAY 22nd/ 1813. 31 mm. Loop attached.

40. Square plaque 1913 by E. Torff, commemorating the centennial of his birth. Bust to left in a circle, score in two lines below. *Rev.* The holy grail in octagonal hall. 64 × 92 mm.
41. Medal 1923 by Karl Goetz, commemorating the Wartburg festival. Bust in furcoat to left. RICHARD. WAGNER. *Rev.* View of the Wartburg; dragons with the ring of the Nibelungen, and coat of arms of Walter von der Vogelweide and Wolfram von Eschenbach below. Legend reads WARTBURG MAIENTAGE. 36 mm.
- 41a. Medal 1925 by Karl Goetz commemorating the Wartburg Festival. A cast of 75 mm size.
- 41b. Medal 1928 by Karl Goetz commemorating the Wartburg Festival. Busts of Liszt and Wagner, etc. 130 mm.
42. Medal 1933 by Jos. Bernhart, commemorating the 50th year of his death. Bust left. *Rev.* Hans Sachs. 31 mm.
- 42a. Cast medal 1933 by Karl Goetz commemorating the 50th year of his death. 100 mm.
43. Medal 1933 by H. Wernstein, commemorating the 50th year of his death. Bust half left. *Rev.* Four lines inscription and wreath. 79 mm.
44. Medal 1933 commemorating the 50th year of his death. Bust left between 1883-1933, RICHARD WAGNER above, ZUM 50. TODESTAGE below. *Rev.* Plain field in laurel wreath. 40 mm.
- 44a. Medal 1933 by Fritz Hörnlein commemorating the 50th year of his death. Bust left, star below, RICHARD WAGNER. *Rev.* Laurel branch dividing: 50. TODESTAG/ 13. 2. 1933. 36 mm. *Blätter für Münzfreunde*, June 1933, p. 672.
- The medal was struck in gold and silver at the Saxonian State mint in Muldenhütten.
- 44b. Medal 1937 by Karl Goetz commemorating his 125th birthday. 36 mm.

Undated medals, arranged by artists

45. Uniface, cast plaque without date by H. Buettner. RICHARD WAGNER. Bust left, at the lower edge H. BUETTNER incuse. 99 mm. A. & E. 957.

46. Medal without date by Anton Grath. Bust left. RICHARD WAGNER. *Rev.* Two olive trees. 60 mm.
47. Uniface medal without date by A. Hartig (1953). Bust left. RICHARD WAGNER. 76 mm.
48. Uniface, rectangular plaque without date by Heinrich Kautsch. Bust left on pedestal, adorned by lyre and palm branch. Legend incuse RICHARD WAGNER 1813-1883, star and laurel branch above, Kautsch in the lower right. 90 × 60 mm. A. & E. 328.

The plaque exists also in reduced size, 70 × 46 mm. A. & E. 329.

49. Uniface, unsigned medal without date by Keck of the gravure and engraving firm of Keck & Schwarz in Munich. Bust left between R - W. With loop. 22 mm. A. & E. 600.

A similar medal of smaller size with bust to right exists. With loop. 16 mm. A. & E. 601.

50. Uniface, cast plaque without date by Franz Kounitzky. The plaque is unsigned and originated in 1901 from the art foundry of Thenn and Kauba in Vienna. Bust left on square raised field; laurel tree on the left, the leaves of which extend into the upper center of the plaque. The plaque is mounted on a green, highly polished board which is decorated with golden stripes. 150 × 100 mm. A. & E. 332.

The same plaque exists also in smaller size, 130 × 110 mm.

51. Medal without date by L. Chr. Lauer. RICHARD. WAGNER. GEB: 22. MAI. 1813. Z: LEIPZIG. GEST: 13. FEBR: 1883. Z: VENEDIG. Bust right. *Rev.* View of the Festival Play House at Bayreuth; below on the right side LAUER NÜRNBERG.; laurel branches, musical and theatrical emblems below. 50 mm. A. & E. 318. Lauer catalogue 28, Pl. 6, no. 48.
52. Medal without date by L. Chr. Lauer. The medal is identical with no. 20, except for the fact that the date has been omitted. 27 mm. A. & E. 319. Lauer catalogue 28, Pl. 6, no. 42.
53. Medal without date by L. Chr. Lauer. The obverse is identical with no. 16. *Rev.* WAGNER - THEATER ZU BAYREUTH. View of the Festival Play House; laurel branches, musical and theatrical emblems in exergue. 27 mm. A. & E. 320. Lauer catalogue 28, Pl. 6, no. 49.

54. Medal without date by L. Chr. Lauer. Obverse identical with no. 53 but colon after date. *Rev.* Identical with no. 20. 27 mm. Sometimes with original loop attached. A. & E. 321.

A similar medal of larger size with different reverse, showing lyre with laurel branches, exists. 30 mm. A. & E. 597.

55. Medal without date by L. Chr. Lauer. Obverse identical with no. 53. *Rev.* SPIELMARKE in oak wreath. 27 mm. A. & E. 324.

56. Uniface, rectangular plaque without date by L. Chr. Lauer. Bust right; score with the first measures of the "Price-Song" from the *Meistersinger* and laurel branch, the ends of which extend slightly over the edges of the plaque, LAUER below, RICHARD WAGNER in exergue. 60 × 44 mm. A. & E. 325.

57. Uniface plaque without date by L. Chr. Lauer. Bust left, birth and death dates above, RICHARD WAGNER below, LAUER at the truncation of the bust. 55 × 37 mm. A. & E. 330. Lauer catalogue 1410.

The same design exists in a round medal reduced to 27 mm. A. & E. 607.

58. Medal without date by L. Chr. Lauer. Obverse identical with no. 57. *Rev.* Birth and death dates in eight lines within laurel wreath. 50 mm. A. & E. 331. Lauer catalogue 28, Pl. 117, no. 1563.

The identical medal exists in reduced size, 14 mm. A. & E. 608. There exists also a similar version of this medal, 27 mm. in size, which concentrates the reverse inscription into 6 lines. Lauer catalogue 28, Pl. 170, no. 1582.

59. Jeton without date by L. Chr. Lauer. RICHARD – WAGNER. Head right. *Rev.* HANS SACHS – MEISTERSINGER. Bust of Hans Sachs to right. 20 mm. A. & E. 335. Lauer catalogue 28, Pl. 28, no. 239.

60. Jeton without date by L. Chr. Lauer. Similar to the preceding, but SPIELMARKE within oak wreath on reverse. 22 mm. A. & E. 336.

61. Jeton without date L. Chr. Lauer. Obverse is identical with no. 59. *Rev.* JETON within laurel wreath. 22 mm. A. & E. 337.

62. Jeton without date by L. Chr. Lauer. Obverse is identical with no. 59. *Rev.* Lyre within circle of stars. 22 mm. A. & E. 338.

63. Jeton without date by L. Chr. Lauer, with attached loop as struck. RICHARD WAGNER. Bust right. *Rev.* View of the Festival Play House, WAGNER -/ THEATER in exergue. 20 mm. A. & E. 339.
64. Cutout striking without date by L. Chr. Lauer, showing the head of the composer to the right. 17 × 12 mm. A. & E. 340.
To be used as breast pins. They were sold during the Festival performances in Bayreuth.
65. Uniface, cast plaque without date by Maihofer. Bust left, in the left field RICHARD WAGNER. 195 mm. A. & E. 969.
66. Uniface, cast medal without date by Rudolph Ferdinand Marschall. Head right without any inscription. 65 mm.
67. Uniface, rectangular plaque without date by Professor Rudolph Mayer, Karlsruhe, cast at the Württemberg Metallwarenfabrik in Geislingen. Bust left, Richard Wagner's signature incuse below, incuse name of the artist on the truncation of the arm. 225 × 165 mm. A. & E. 599.
68. Unsigned medal without date by Professor Rudolph Mayer, Karlsruhe, designed 1902.. RICHARD. WAGNER. Bust with beret to left; *1813./ †1883 in the right field. *Rev.* Two valkyries in armor, mounted on chargers, flying through the air, Valhalla in the background, WALKÜREN underneath. 72 mm. A. & E. 609.

This medal has been struck in several reduced sizes, namely 60, 40, 34, 28.5, 20, 13 and 9 mm. The 28.5 mm. edition comes with a loop or sometimes as a brooch. Compare A. & E. 610.
69. Uniface, square plaque without date by Mayer and Wilhelm in Stuttgart, commemorating the unveiling of the Wagner monument in Berlin which took place in 1903. Bust left in oval, incuse field; star above; laurel branch on either side. M. & W. ST. on the truncation of the arm; below on a tablet in two lines RICH. WAGNER/ GEB. 22. MAI 1813 † 13. Febr. 1883. 50,5 × 38,5 mm. A. & E. 960.
70. Medal without date by M. M. Meyer. Bust left. *Rev.* Siegfried. 60 mm.
71. Uniface, rectangular, cast plaque without date, designed by Franz Xaver Pawlik in 1895. Bust left, RICHARD WAGNER below, allegorical female figure, playing a harp-like instrument, standing to the right. In the lower right part of the plaque is a mask, representing the muse of the drama and

oak branch, at the left a laurel branch. At the lower right side VERVIELF./VORBEHALT and monogram of the artist incuse. 126 × 91 mm. A. & E. 327.

Some specimens do not have the prohibitive clause, but have the name of the artist F. X. PAWLIK/FEC on a small tablet. The plaque exists also in smaller size, 44 × 60 mm., and can be obtained from the Hauptmünzamt in Vienna.

72. Medal without date by Karl Radnitzky. RICHARD WAGNER. Head with cap to left. *Rev.* FRANZ LISZT. Head right. 23 mm. A. & E. 314.

73. Uniface plaque without date, designed by F. Stiasny, commemorating the performance of the *Meistersinger* and of *Parsifal* in Bayreuth. Bust right. *Rev.* The date 1912 engraved. 58 × 66 mm.

In the collection of the American Numismatic Society is a plaque of identical design, but of larger size 89 × 91 mm.

74. Cast medal without date, designed by Paul Sturm in 1904. Bust right, upwards on the left WAGNER, below at the edge PAUL STVRM OP. LVIII. *Rev.* Dance of the three Rhine-daughters, the Rhinegold in the center. 78 mm. A. & E. 967.

PLATE XXII

75. Medal without date by Emil Torff. Bust left. *Rev.* Laurel branch, in sunken field above, score in three lines DRUM SAG ICH EUCH/ EHRT EURE DEUT-/SCHEN MEISTER. 60 mm.

76. Medal without date by P. W. Bust left, RICHARD WAGNER. *Rev.* Lyre. 46 mm.

77. Uniface, cast plaque without date by Carl Waschmann. RICHARD WAGNER. Bust right; in the lower right field, incuse C. WASCHMANN, edge raised. 222 mm. A. & E. 606.

78. Oval medal without date, issued by A. Werner & Söhne, Berlin in 1903, commemorating the unveiling of the Wagner monument in Berlin. Bust right. *Rev.* RICHARD/ WAGNER/ * 1813/ † 1883 within a wreath which ends into a loop. 34 × 25 mm. A. & E. 962.

79. Uniface, square, cast plaque without date by Ovide Yencesse. Bust of the composer as he appeared in 1883, the last year of his life. The master is leaning on a pillow, his right hand is slightly raised; in the upper left corner, in cursive lettering RICHARD/ WAGNER; at the left edge, incuse YENCESSE. 120 × 95 mm. A. & E. 964.

80. Square, struck plaque without date, designed by Ovide Yencesse in 1904. Same obverse design as on the preceding plaque, but of smaller dimensions. *Rev.* View of the theater in Bayreuth, above in modern lettering BAYREUTH; two rose branches on broad panel below, underneath to the left O. YENCESSE 54 × 47 mm. A. & E. 965.

Undated, posthumous medals by unknown artists

81. Medal in form of a brooch without date, made in Pforzheim. Bust with beret left, lyre and swan; incused score above, the whole set into a laurel wreath. 29 mm. A. & E. 611.
82. Oval medal with ornate loop as struck, without date. RICHARD WAGNER Head right; laurel and oak branch tied together with a band below. *Rev.* RIENZI, TANNHÄUSER, LOHENGRIN, MEISTERSINGER, RHEINGOLD, WALKÜRE, GÖTTERDÄMMERUNG, SIGFRIED, PARZIVAL on a ribbon, forming a frame; score, ancient lyre and wind instruments in the field, two laurel branches below. 39 × 32 mm. A. & E. 326.
83. Oval, uniface plaque without date, Bust left. 160 × 220 mm.
The American Numismatic Society has a smaller, round ivory medal of the same design in its collection. 51 mm.
84. Porcelain medal without date, made 1923 at the Meissen china factory and distributed for the benefit of the "Bayreuther Festspiele". *RICHARD* WAGNER. Head right. *Rev.* View of the theater in Bayreuth 50 mm.
The medal exists in two different color combinations, namely white and gold, or brown and gold.
85. Porcelain medal without date, made about 1923 at the Meissen china factory. Bust with cap left, RICHARD WAGNER below; 22. 5. 1813 † 13. 2. 1883 above. *Rev.* Lyre and laurel branch within legend: ICH KANN DEN GEIST DER MUSIK NICHT ANDERS FASSEN ALS IN DER LIEBE. 51 mm. Brown.
86. Uniface porcelain medal without date, probably made in 1923 in celebration of his 90th birthday. Head right, the crossed swords of the Meissen factory below. The legend reads: *RICHARD WAGNER. – 22. V. 1813 † 13. II. 1883. 79 mm. Brown. On the reverse side of the medal is the pattern number – B 96a – and the crossed swords incised.

87. Bronze medal without date, issued by the Paris mint. Bust with floating coat to left, RICHARD WAGNER/ 1813-1883 in exergue. *Rev.* Radiant sun shining on mountainous landscape, naked young man, holding lyre, in the foreground. 68 mm.
88. Cliché without date, cut out along the contour of Wagner's profile. Bust right, unsigned. 96 × 71 mm.
89. Uniface, cast plaque without date, probably a Viennese product. RICHARD-WAGNER Bust left, incuse below GESCHÜTZT. 87 mm. A. & E. 334.

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“COOPERATION”
SOME THOUGHTS AND SUGGESTIONS
FOR THE INTENSIFICATION OF NUMISMATIC
RESEARCH

WALTER HÄVERNICK

For quite some time research in general has become more and more specialized so that it has become impossible for one individual to grasp its results as a whole. It is only natural that there has recently resulted a desire for integration of scholarship. To achieve such integration in our specialized field of numismatics, we must relate our studies of coinage to larger contexts of epoch and culture.

This desire to integrate our studies into larger historical and cultural contexts is felt by the majority of contemporary numismatists. To accomplish this desire, however, I think we must re-examine our entire methodology. In what ways does it need to be changed to meet our present goals? It is true, of course, that humanistic scholars do not like their work subjected to matter-of-fact review. I do not intend to criticise either the labors or theories of the numismatic scholar. I intend to discuss only the technical aids which can save him a great amount of time and thereby increase his productivity.

There are three distinct groups among those who occupy themselves with coins in the numismatic sense: collectors, dealers, and professional numismatic scholars. Yet there are no truly sharp lines of demarcation between them. Because of their

ability and knowledge, many collectors have become scholars and many dealers have engaged in research. The great amount of material available to dealers and the experience gained by them in handling and re-handling many specimens have enabled them to perform real service. Then, also, many of the scholars serving in public museums are collectors in the truest sense of the word. We should be thankful that, in general, they do not engage in trade. If any should have an inclination in that direction he would do better as a public servant not to indulge it.

The desire to possess as many coins as possible is common to all three groups. All of them are unconsciously imbued with the idea: "Many coins—great significance: few coins—little significance." It is well and good for collectors and dealers to think along this line, but curators of collections should not follow this maxim unconditionally. In my opinion, and I know many of my colleagues will disagree, the scientific importance of a collection depends on the quality of research carried on there rather than on the quantity of coins in its possession. Very often, to be sure, there is a reasonable balance between the attention given to research and that given to acquisition of additional coins. However, the more common practice is to spend all one's time in searching for new specimens and in arranging and cataloguing those which have been tracked down. As a result, particularly in general collections, there is less research than is usually believed. But one must not throw out the baby with the bath water and neglect the accumulation of coins. The view seems justified, none-the-less, that a curator should specialize in some regional field and leave general collecting to the private collector. Is it really desirable that all extant coins should eventually lie in public collections and that all private collecting cease? If such a condition were to exist, it would be impossible to bring together coins of a special field, for many of the most needed specimens would be in other collections. Therein lies the natural hindrance to completeness.

The necessity for intensifying our numismatic research is undeniable. Our research has been carried on for the past 150 years with the same aims and methods. Even so, to present a general picture of the development of coinage with essential detail or to offer it to kindred branches of scholarship in useful form can hardly be achieved within the span of our own generation. For many epochs there exist highly modern and representative corpora. On the other hand, there are wide areas for which no modern works exist, and where none are in sight. With such an uneven groundwork, it will be a long time before a comprehensive achievement can be built.

These gaps in our basic research cannot be closed solely by the individual efforts of curators working separately within the limits of the sources at their command. Such efforts lead to haphazard results. What is needed to bring about a more speedy achievement of our common goal is a systematic combined effort coupled with the use of modern methods.

Co-operative effort on the part of all is required. We fully understand that our world is split into two great camps and that the eastern part is in no way prepared for genuine co-operative effort. This is a condition we cannot change, but we should not let it influence our actions. We must firmly realize that we in the western world form a body sufficiently large and sufficiently capable to complete this task in common. But we must remove any restricting barriers that lie between ourselves. One must not only be a member of one's own museum, national numismatic society, etc. He must also be prepared to offer practical co-operation.

What is our remedy? For a long time I have been astonished at what small use is made among us of modern means of communication. True, there is in some measure a general exchange of letters between us, both by surface post and air mail. There is little use of telegraph, cable, teleprint and telephone. One-day flights and four-day steamers pass almost hourly over the Atlantic. They seldom bring colleagues to Europe from the New World, and almost never are they used for journeys from East to West. Let it not be said that there is not enough money. Considering the sums which are spent for new accessions to our collections, the cost could, in theory, be easily borne. No numismatist would, of course, undertake to bring about any such basic reform against the opposition of his government or other authority. Yet the fact remains that such travel is necessary to establish the effective co-operation we so much need. For those numismatists who live and work in Europe it would be of very great value to see the collections and museums of the New World. Only through actual visits will it be possible for them to obtain rapidly knowledge of coins belonging to a particular field of study in the New World and their exact location.

It is regrettable that many a numismatist, because of lack of funds, cannot travel widely in search of available material needed for a specialized study. Every numismatist and every study need not suffer because of this circumstance. It should be possible to establish a few national bureaus whose function would be to supply specific data. At such bureaus answers to inquiries would be made quickly by competent experts. For several years I have tried to organize such a research service in my own country (the West German Federal Republic). Owing

to lack of understanding, participation in the program, either by those seeking help or by those giving it, has not been satisfactory. Why should it be so hard to organize such a research service? Would not effort spent on such an enterprise prove more useful than that spent on the easier task of publishing the coins in one's own collection? To publish one's own coins is, according to the old German proverb, "to shoot at sparrows with cannons." It would be ideal if we could establish a quick and reliable research service. All of us should give full co-operation to such an enterprise. Each of us should be both giver and partaker.

May I, on this occasion, express an opinion on a matter of minor significance. One "modernization" in numismatics in Europe has been the substitution of photographs for plaster casts. This, I feel, is unwise. Anyone who has worked with coins knows that a doubtful legend cannot be checked on a photograph. The plaster cast with its reproduction of the original coin's relief is more useful than a photograph. Often it is more useful than the original itself because it eliminates the misleading reflections of bright metal.

Very soon there must be a discussion in the "Commission Internationale de Numismatique" of all the problems and possibilities I have touched upon. It cannot be argued that lack of money prevents the realization of these goals. Where there is the will there is always the way to find financial support. Step by step we must strive for true cooperation. We should have a common plan, a common reliable research service, rapid exchange of information, financial aid for travel, exchange of junior colleagues, scientific assistants, and lecturers. The "Commission Internationale de Numismatique" could without difficulty take on a new function, that of advocating the importance of our numismatic research to governmental authorities. The state, ignorant of the value of a specialized branch of learning, too often turns a deaf ear to the pleas of the individual scholar.

This volume, commemorating the Centenary of the American Numismatic Society, is the best place to discuss these proposals for a future cooperation based on freedom and mutual agreement. May these few lines—to which I add my very best wishes to the American Numismatic Society—contribute towards the erection of a firm bridge between the New World and the Old.

RECHNUNG UND ZAHLUNG

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Der nationale Geldverkehr kennt heute, von der englischen Guinea vielleicht abgesehen, nicht mehr den Unterschied von Rechnungsart und Zahlungsweise, der die monetäre Situation der Vergangenheit beherrscht und erschwert hat. Zeugen dieser säkularen Diskrepanz sind uns die zahlreichen Rechnungsmünzen, von denen die Geldgeschichte Kenntnis gibt. Das Institut der sogenannten Rechnungsmünze, von Anfang an gebunden an den kleinsten Wert eines Rechnungssystems, ist groß geworden im Zeichen der permanenten Scheidemünzenkrise, die die neuzeitliche Münzgeschichte bis zum 19. Jahrhundert durchzieht. Die wesentliche geistige Voraussetzung der Rechnungsmünze, aber im negativen Sinne, war das metallistische Denken, ein lange festgehaltener Irrtum, aus dessen Vorhandensein sich Dauer und Notwendigkeit ihrer Existenz erklären. Im Chaos endemischer Münzverschlechterungen gab die Rechnungsmünze Haltepunkte und Wertorientierung. Das spät erlangte Verständnis für das Wesen der Scheidemünze hat dann wesentlich zum Abbau und schließlich Verschwinden der Rechnungsmünzen beigetragen. Das im folgenden behandelte Thema ist also ein historisches, wenn auch lange noch nicht erschöpftes.¹

¹ Während der Abfassung des vorliegenden Aufsatzes ist mir die mit Temperament und Anschaulichkeit gestaltete Vortragsserie zur Kenntnis gekommen, die Carlo M. Cipolla an der Universität von Cincinnati gehalten und unter dem Sammeltitle *Money, Prices and Civilisation in the Mediterranean World* durch die Princeton University Press im Jahre 1956 veröffentlicht hat. Der vierte dieser fünf Vorträge umfassenden Folge beschäftigt sich mit dem Thema der sogenannten Rech-

Gegen die Bezeichnung "Rechnungsmünze" (money of account, monnaie de compte) ist der Einwand erhoben worden, daß sie den ihr zugrunde liegenden Begriffsinhalt nicht richtig ausdrücke und daher irreführend sei. Das Wesen der Rechnungsmünze bestehe ja gerade darin, daß sie in keinem Münzstücke verkörpert sei, sondern nur die rechnungsmäßige Zusammenfassung einer bestimmten Anzahl von Münzeinheiten darstelle. Der Historiker wird sich diesen logisch an sich richtigen Einwand aber nicht zu eigen machen können. Abgesehen davon, daß es aus Verständigungsgründen immer bedenklich ist, einen eingebürgerten Terminus deshalb abzuändern, weil sich die mit ihm verbundenen Vorstellungen nicht ganz mit seinem Wortsinne decken, so darf vor allem kein historisches Argument einem solchen Vorgehen entgegen stehen. Die jedem Numismatiker der Neuzeit geläufigen Münznamen "Goldgulden" und "Silbergulden" sind ihrem Wortsinne nach auch zweifellos widerspruchsvoll. Unter den Verhältnissen ihrer Entstehung aber waren sie praktisch berechtigt und sind uns dadurch historisch verständlich. Daß sie logisch anfechtbar bleiben, würde niemand veranlassen, post festum eine Änderung zu beantragen. Und ähnlich verhält es sich nun bei dem Begriffe der "Rechnungsmünze." Die Rechnungsmünze ist kein reines Abstraktum und ihre historische Entwicklung bietet Aspekte von oft recht dinglicher Natur. Die entwicklungsgeschichtlich feststellbaren Beziehungen zwischen ihr und der körperlichen Münze sind so enge und wechselseitig verschlungen gewesen, daß auch die Namengebung mit historischem Rechte den gedanklichen und faktischen Zusammenhang zwischen Rechnungsmünze und Zahlungsmünze zum Ausdruck gebracht hat.

Cipolla hat in seinem oben zitierten Aufsatz die Rechnungsmünzen als "Ghost Moneys" bezeichnet, wofür man im Deutschen wohl am besten "Geistergeld" sagt. Der Ausdruck hat mich trotz seiner zweifellosen Bildkraft anfänglich etwas befremdet, doch bringt er das, was er bezeichnen will, nämlich die Körperlosigkeit der primären Rechnungsmünzen, sehr anschaulich zum Ausdruck. Trotzdem diese Körperlosigkeit keine unbedingte ist, sondern nur für den bestimmten, an

rechnungsmünzen und deckt sich teilweise mit dem für die vorliegenden Ausführungen in Aussicht genommenen Gegenstande. Zur Vermeidung entbehrlicher Wiederholungen habe ich mich daher veranlaßt gesehen, bei aller Wahrung der allgemeinen Zusammenhänge den geographischen Bereich enger zu fassen, als es ursprünglich in Aussicht genommen war, und meine Ausführungen vor allem auf Material zu stützen, das die Münz- und Geldgeschichte des ehemaligen Römisch-Deutschen Reiches in so reichem Maße zu liefern imstande ist. Ansonsten aber wird hier die Frage der Rechnungsmünzen überhaupt im weiteren Blickwinkel des wechselseitigen Verhältnisses zwischen Rechnung und Zahlung gesehen und behandelt.

Ort und Zeit gebundenen Fall gilt, ist die Kennmarke "Geistergeld" auch auf die sekundären Erscheinungsformen der Rechnungsmünze nicht nur anwendbar, sondern für die sinnfällige Darstellung der Unterscheidungen sogar besonders geeignet. Eine Rechnungsmünze kann den Charakter eines "Geistergeldes" ablegen und vorübergehend oder auf Dauer, einmal oder in wiederholten Inkarnationen einen Körper annehmen, d. h. in Form einer wirklichen Münze in Erscheinung treten. Umgekehrt aber sind die sekundär entstandenen Rechnungsmünzen oft nur die Geister abgeschiedener Realitäten gewesen, will sagen, daß sie selbst erst aus vorausgegangenen wirklichen Münzen entstanden sind. In nicht seltenen Fällen ist der qualitative Niedergang einer bestimmten Münzsorte nur durch die Übernahme in den rettenden Status der Rechnungsmünze möglich gewesen. Dieser fließende Gestaltwandel zwischen "reiner Geistigkeit" und fester Körperlichkeit, Verstofflichung des Geistigen und Vergeistigung des Stofflichen, zeigt die Rechnungsmünzen nur im Idealfalle als reines "Geistergeld", in den überwiegenden Spezialfällen aber als Objekte differenter Realität im Wechselspiele von Rechnung und Zahlung.

Nachgeborene Theoretiker, die den Namen der Rechnungsmünze kritisieren, gehen von einer historisch nicht haltbaren, weil zu engen, späteren Begriffsbestimmung aus. Die Männer der Praxis aber, die mit der Rechnungsmünze wirklich zu tun hatten, erkannten den proteusartigen Charakter dieser Einrichtung und haben ihre verschiedenen Erscheinungsformen wohl unter einem gemeinsamen Nenner zu vereinen gewußt. Bei ihnen hieß "Rechnungsmünze" zunächst das, was die Kaufleute und der Geldverkehr ihrer Buch- und Rechnungsführung zugrunde legten. Wenn einer solchen Rechnungsmünze auch eine wirkliche, reelle Münze entsprach, wenn also Rechnungsmünze und Zahlungsmünze zusammenfielen, dann sprach man von "reellen Rechnungsmünzen". Im Verhältnis zu ihnen standen die "fingierten Rechnungsmünzen" als reines "Geistergeld", weil sie in der Wirklichkeit durch keine körperlichen Münzen vertreten waren. Dieser von der Praxis her gebildete mehrseitige Begriff der Rechnungsmünze hat in seinem weiten Rahmen Raum genug für alle ihre historisch ausgebildeten Erscheinungsformen.

Da sich diese Betrachtung auf das europäische Geschehen des Jahrtausends zwischen der Aufrichtung des christlich-abendländischen Kaisertums und der Auflösung des Römisch-Deutschen Reiches beschränkt, bleibt hier alles außer Betracht, was vor der Einführung des sogenannten karolingischen Denarsystems, dessen Grundlagen ich als bekannt voraussetzen darf, liegt. Der Ausgangspunkt

ist nicht willkürlich gewählt, sondern erfaßt vielmehr einen radikalen Wendepunkt in der damaligen Geldverfassung, wobei die Grundlagen einer die Jahrhunderte überdauernden monetären Rechnungsweise gelegt worden sind. Da nur die Werteinheit des neuen Münzsystems, der Denar (Pfennig), in einem wirklichen Münzstück ausgeprägt wurde, so stellten die höheren Wertstufen, der Solidus oder Schilling (= 12 Denare) und das Pfund (= 240 Denare) nur rechnungsmäßige Zusammenfassungen der gemünzten Werteinheit dar. Pfund und Schilling sind also die ersten Beispiele für reine Rechnungsmünzen und in ihren Anfängen ein "Geistergeld" im eigentlichen Sinne gewesen. Ihre Existenz manifestierte sich eigentlich nur in einer Funktion, in der Erleichterung der rechnerischen Manipulationen mit Summen, die hohe Pfennigbeträge ausmachten.

Pfund und Schilling haben ihren Charakter als reine Rechnungsmünzen nie ganz verloren. Daneben aber sind sie auch den Weg der Fleischwerdung gegangen und haben zum erstenmal den Typus der reellen Rechnungsmünze aus sich entwickelt. Es ist merkwürdig und gehört vielleicht in die Metaphysik des Geldes, daß diese Materialisierung einem Übel, nämlich der Verschlechterung des Pfennigs entsprungen ist, wie denn umgekehrt auch später die Flucht aus dem Chaos entarteter Geldverhältnisse so vielfach in die körperlose Sphäre der reinen Rechnungsmünze zurückführt.

Das erste Beispiel für die Darstellung eines Pfundes Pfennige in Gestalt einer Goldmünze war der Floren, der Goldgulden, den Florenz im Gegenwert von 240 dortigen Denaren im Jahre 1252 herausgebracht hat. Das erste Pfund als Silbermünze entstand im Jahre 1472 in der Lira des Dogen Niccolo Tron, die überhaupt für die Demonstration der verschiedenartigen Entwicklung der nationalen Pfennigssysteme ein besonders geeignetes Beispiel liefert, weil sie eine untere Grenze im Entwertungsprozesse dieser Münze markiert. Als 170 Jahre nach der Lira Tron das englische Pfund Sterling zum ersten- und letztenmale in einer Silbermünze dargestellt wurde, da betrug deren Gewicht noch immer fast das Zwanzigfache vom Silberquantum der um so vieles älteren venezianischen Pfundmünze. Bei gleichbleibenden Rechnungsgrößen haben sich die Zahlungspfunde beider Münzsysteme als Ausdruck differenter Wirtschaftsverhältnisse im diametralen Gegensatz von dem karolingischen Urtyp wegentwickelt.

Gleich der Lira Tron war auch der auf heute österreichischem Boden entstandene Tiroler Pfundner eine Zusammenfassung von 240 Berner Pfennigen, woher er ja auch seinen Namen bekommen hat. Freilich entsprachen diesem klein gewordenen Pfunde nur 12 Tiroler Kreuzer, während das Pfund von 240 damaligen Wiener

Pfennigen oder 60 Tiroler Kreuzern den Wert des später als Rechnungsmünze so wichtig gewordenen Gulden darstellte. Die Verschmelzung des Tiroler Münzsystems, das auf dem Berner (Piccolo) beruhte, mit dem österreichischen, das den Wiener Pfennig zur Grundlage hatte, bietet den interessanten Fall, daß nicht nur zwei Pfunde verschiedener Herkunft und Größe, sondern auch ihre wertmäßig differenten Münzüquivalente ineinander aufgegangen sind. Derselbe Münzherr, der den Tiroler Pfundner (= 240 Berner) als 12 Kreuzerstück prägt, gibt auch den Guldiner zu 60 Kreuzern (= 240 Wiener Pfennige), die erste Talermünze, heraus. In beiden Fällen haben wir es mit je 240 Werteinheiten, also mit Pfundgrößen zu tun, doch liegt dem Namen des Pfundners der Bezug auf die Tiroler Bernerwährung und dem Guldiner der Bezug auf die österreichische Währung zugrunde, welche zueinander im Verhältnis von 5 Bernern zu einem Wiener Pfennig standen. Das Pfund Berner fügte sich als $\frac{1}{5}$ des Pfundes in das nunmehr gesamtösterreichisch gewordene Rechnungs- und Münzsystem ein.

Das alte Tiroler Münzsystem kannte auch als Rechnungsmünze eine Zählmark im Werte von 10 Pfund Bernern. Im übrigen aber entspricht die Mark, sowohl beim Gewicht wie bei der Münze, im allgemeinen zwei Dritteln des Pfundes, also 160 Einheiten. Nach Zählmarken zu 160 Denaren wurde in Österreich im Gebiete des Friesacher Pfennigs gerechnet. In Norddeutschland ist die Mark als reine und reelle Rechnungsmünze nachweisbar.

Die zweite Rechengröße des Denarsystems, der Solidus oder Schilling zu 12 Denaren oder Pfennigen, hätte für seine Darstellung in einer Münze nicht unbedingt die Verschlechterung der Pfennige notwendig gehabt, weil bei der Zusammenlegung von 12 Pfennigen bester Art noch keine das Gewicht der späteren Großmünzen überschreitende Masse entstanden wäre. Sie ist aber doch auch erst auf dem Wege der Pfennigverschlechterung zustande gekommen und bezeichnenderweise ebenfalls zunächst auf dem Boden des schlechten Berners. Wenn der um das Jahr 1200 geschaffene venezianische Matapan, der urkundlich schon im Wert von 26 Piccoli aufscheint, den vermuteten ursprünglichen Emissionswert von 24 Bernern gehabt hat, so liegt hier die erste Inkarnation des Rechenschillings vor. Seine Ausgabe als Doppelstück wäre nur wieder eine Folge des großen Substanzverlustes der Berner Pfennige gewesen, von denen 12 Stücke eine zu kleine Schillingmünze geliefert hätten.

Es mag zweifelhaft bleiben, ob dem Matapan die Priorität der ersten Schillingmünze zuzuerkennen ist. Eine für das westliche Abendland wichtigere Schillingmünze ist jedenfalls die französische Turnose gewesen, die als Gegenwert von

12 Pfennigen von Tours im Jahre 1266 ausgegeben wurde und vor allem für das Deutsche Reich die Vorlage für viele Nachahmungen geliefert hat. Eine der bekanntesten in ihrem Gefolge entstandenen Schillingmünzen ist der im Jahre 1300 kreierte Prager Groschen, der nicht nur in Österreich lange Heimatrecht hatte, sondern auch vor allem in Süddeutschland eine durch zahlreiche Gegenstempel nachgewiesene weite Verbreitung fand.

Die Entwicklung der Schillingmünze im heutigen Österreich ist nicht im Sinne seines ursprünglichen Zählschillings erfolgt. Hier ist das Zählpfund nicht, wie sonst üblich, in 20 Schillinge zu je 12 Pfennige eingeteilt gewesen, sondern aus nur vermutbaren Gründen zu 8 Schillingen mit je 30 Pfennigen gerechnet worden. Dieser sogenannte "lange Schilling" ist hierzulande noch lange in lebendiger Erinnerung geblieben. Noch im Jahre 1696 wurden die damals aus dem österreichischen Verkehr gezogenen deutschen $\frac{2}{3}$ Taler (Nominalwert = 60 Kreuzer) mit dem Namen "Siebenschillinger" belegt, weil sie vom Wiener Hauptmünz-amte mit $52\frac{1}{2}$ Kreuzer (= 210 Pfennige oder 7 Schillinge à 30 Pfennige) eingelöst wurden. Auch hat diese aus dem Münzwesen stammende Rechengröße von 30 Einheiten über das monetäre Gebiet hinaus in den verschiedenen Zweigen der Landwirtschaft, im Forstwesen, bei der Salzgewinnung, in der Strafjustiz und auf anderen Gebieten Eingang und Verwendung gefunden, worüber ich an anderem Orte einige typische Fälle zusammengestellt habe.²

Dieser lange Schilling ist in Österreich, solange er verwendet wurde, immer eine reine Rechnungsmünze geblieben. In seinem Werte ist keine wirkliche Münze geschlagen worden. Die erste in Österreich gebrauchte Schillingmünze, der bereits genannte Prager Groschen, war überhaupt nicht heimischen Ursprungs, sondern stammte, wie bereits sein Name sagt, aus einem fremden Münzsysteme. Der später rezipierte Tiroler Kreuzer aber war weder im Rahmen des Pfundes Berner, von dem er $\frac{1}{12}$ darstellte, noch nach Wiener Rechnung, derzufolge er 4 Pfennige galt, eine Schillingmünze. Dagegen ist der Groschen zu 3 Kreuzern (= 12 Pfennigen), durch den der "kurze Schilling" doch auch noch in Österreich Existenz erlangt hat, im System des Guldens zu 60 Kreuzern sowohl eine reine als auch eine reelle Rechnungsmünze im Charakter eines Schillings gewesen.

Wo und wann immer die Rechnungseinheiten des Denarsystemes oder monetäre Zählgrößen anderer Herkunft eine Verkörperung in wirklichen Münzen gefunden haben, so ist die Existenz der Rechnungsmünze dadurch nie illusorisch geworden.

² "Pfund und Schilling als Zählgrößen auf außermonetärem Gebiete", *Carinthia*, I, 146. Jahrgang (1956), S. 653-57.

Die Identität von reiner und reeller Rechnungsmünze war ja infolge der permanenten Entwertung der Bezugsmünze eines Systems, vorwiegend des Pfennigs, nie lange aufrecht zu erhalten. Verschieden waren dann die eingeschlagenen Wege, das verlorene Gleichgewicht wieder zu erlangen. Ein kombinierendes Verfahren, das Rechnungssystem mit dem sinkenden Geldwert der silbernen Umlaufmünze und der Erhaltung beliebter Standardgepräge in Einklang zu bringen, zeigt die frühere Geschichte der englischen Goldmünze. Als der im Jahre 1344 geschaffene Nobel (Schiffsnobel), der einer halben Rechnungsmark (= 80 Pfennig oder $\frac{1}{3}$ Pfund) entsprach, sich durch Kurssteigerung von seinem Ausgangswerte so weit entfernt hatte, daß er 120 Pfennigen (= $\frac{1}{2}$ Pfund) gleichkam, wurde der im Jahre 1465 gewichtsgleiche neue Rosenoble an seine Stelle gesetzt. Um aber die vom ursprünglichen Nobel verlassene, sehr beliebte Rechnungsgröße von $\frac{1}{3}$ Pfund auch weiter in einer Münze verkörpert zu haben, wurde der durch Gewichtsreduktion auf diesen Zahlwert gebrachte Angel als neue Münzsorte geschaffen. In dieser Tendenz, die Rechnungsgröße bei geänderten Wertverhältnissen in neuen Münzen physisch zur Erscheinung zu bringen, offenbart sich eine indirekte Schöpferkraft der Rechnungsmünze, die sie aus dem rein begrifflichen Bezirk deutlich her aushebt.

Während bei dem englischen Beispiel die Realisierung der Rechnungsgrößen des Pfundsystems von Fall zu Fall die Schaffung neuer Münzsorten veranlaßt, bietet die Geschichte des rheinischen Goldgulden ein Beispiel dafür, wie durch eine Art von Stabilisierung während eines dauernden Entwertungsprozesses von einer im wesentlichen gleichbleibenden effektiven Standardmünze sich verschiedene Rechnungsmünzen abspalten, die gewissermaßen als Markierung der Kursentwicklung erscheinen. Im Laufe des 15. Jahrhunderts bildeten sich auf dem Gebiete der rheinischen Kurfürsten neben dem gemünzten Goldgulden nacheinander mehrere Rechengulden aus, die jeweils den Wert festhielten, den der Goldgulden zu einer bestimmten Zeit in der sich laufend verschlechternden Silbermünze gehabt hatte. Diese bestimmten Kurswerte lösten sich von dem Speziegoldgulden als stabile Rechnungsbegriffe ab, während der Goldgulden von einer Stufe zur andern im Zahlwerte weiter stieg, um schließlich, als man nicht mehr in natura mit ihm zahlte, selbst zu einem Rechnungsbegriffe zu werden. Eine besondere Regelmäßigkeit zeigt dieser Prozeß der Abspaltung von Rechnungsgulden in Trier, wo sich Moselgulden, Rheinische Gulden und Radergulden in einer arithmetischen Reihe von 24, 36 und 48 Werteinheiten von dem effektiven Gulden abgesetzt haben. Als dessen Prägung überhaupt aufhörte, verstand man unter ihm weiterhin einen Rechnungsbegriff von 72 Einheiten.

Dieses Beispiel des rheinischen Goldguldens, der vom Auslande stammte und in seine neue Heimat nur als Zahlungsmünze kam, dann aber mehrere Rechnungsmünzen ausbildete und zuletzt selbst nur als solche weiter bestand, zeigt wie vielleicht kein anderes, wie sehr der Prozeß der Bildung von Rechnungsmünzen auch eine Frage der Wertsicherung war. Wohl ist es sicher, daß die Rechnungsmünze ihren Ursprung dem Bestreben verdankt, durch Zusammenfassung von Münzeinheiten zu Zählgrößen das umständliche Rechnen mit größeren Pfennigbeträgen zu vereinfachen. Diese Bestimmung aber konnte nicht die einzige und auf die Dauer auch nicht die wichtigere bleiben, weil die fortschreitende quantitative und qualitative Verschlechterung der Pfennigmünze oder derjenigen Grundeinheit, auf welcher das Rechensystem beruhte, das Interesse allmählich der möglichen Sicherung des Zahlwertes zulenken mußte. Die Tatsache, daß die Rechnungsmünze auch dort, wo ihr keine reelle unmittelbar entsprach, immer eine bestimmte Anzahl effektiver Zahlungsgrundeinheiten bedeutete, gab ihr auch eine Funktionsmöglichkeit im Sinne einer wenigstens relativen Wertgarantie.

Eine Rechnungsmünze mit fallweisen Realisationen war der für die neuzeitlichen Jahrhunderte des deutschen und österreichischen Münzwesens so ungemein wichtige Rechengulden, eine Rechnungseinheit von 60 Kreuzern. Er gehört zur Sorte des sekundären Geistergeldes, das aus dem Verluste vorhanden gewesener Körperlichkeit hervorgegangen ist. Er war bereits als effektive Münze vorhanden, bevor er zur bevorzugten Rechnungsmünze geworden ist. Zur Zeit der Schaffung des oben bereits als Pfundmünze gekennzeichneten Tiroler Guldiners stand der rheinische Goldgulden, den Tirol gegenüber dem Dukaten bevorzugte, auf einem Kurse von 60 Kreuzern. Als wertgleiches Silberstück zu dieser Goldmünze wurde nun der Guldiner, die älteste Talermünze, geschaffen. Daß die anfängliche Wertgleichheit, durch die das Phänomen der gleichzeitigen Existenz einer Pfundmünze in Gold und Silber gegeben war, nicht bestehen bleiben konnte, liegt in der allgemeinen Problematik einer Doppelwährung überhaupt beschlossen. Goldgulden und Guldiner entwickelten ihren Wert kursmäßig verschieden und über 60 Kreuzer hinaus, so daß sich dieser ursprüngliche Gemeinschaftswert allmählich von beiden Münzen löste und zu einer Rechnungsmünze, eben dem Rechengulden, wurde. Durch die letzte der drei Reichsmünzordnungen erhielt dieser Rechnungswert von 60 Kreuzern zwar wieder die Gestalt eines Münzstückes, sodaß reine und reelle Rechnungsmünzen zusammenfielen, doch hinderte die Existenz dieses Guldentalers nicht, daß bei der Verschiedenheit der eigentlichen Talersorten der Begriff des Rechenguldens ein allgemeiner und als

Wertmaßstab unentbehrlicher wurde. Im Verlauf seiner Geschichte ist mehrmals der Fall eingetreten, daß dem Rechengulden auf längere oder kürzere Zeit auch wieder ein gleichwertiger effektiver Gulden zur Seite getreten ist. Dies ist bei den Gulden der großen und bei den $\frac{2}{3}$ Talern der kleinen Kipperzeit der Fall gewesen, vor allem aber in dem seriöseren Falle des Guldens der Konventionswährung, der mit einem Werte von 60 Kreuzern bis zum Jahre 1857 in Österreich bestanden hat, neben den süddeutschen Gulden gleichen Nominalwertes, aber leichteren Fußes.

Auch der mit dem Gulden aus einer Wurzel entsprungene Taler, der in der Konventionswährung schließlich den doppelten Wert des ersteren erreichte, ist zeitweise in der Funktion einer Rechnungsmünze gestanden. Der den Münzfüßen von Zinna (1667) und Leipzig (1690) zugrunde liegende Taler von 90 Kreuzern ist niemals ausgeprägt worden, sondern nur seine $\frac{2}{3}$ Stücke im Werte von 60 Kreuzern, die oben bereits als Gulden zur Erwähnung gekommen sind. Dieser später sogenannte Reichstaler von 90 Kreuzern spielte als Rechnungsmünze eine dem Rechengulden ähnliche, wenn auch geringere Rolle, und ermöglichte durch sein günstiges Wertverhältnis zum Reichsgulden von 60 Kreuzern bequeme Rechnungsverhältnisse zwischen den Taler-Ländern und den Gulden-Ländern des Römisch-Deutschen Reiches.

Diese Beispiele mögen genügen, um zu zeigen, daß die historischen Formen des Rechnungsgeldes nach Herkunft und Entwicklung sehr verschiedener Art sind und sich durch die einfache Formulierung als "Geldwerte, die in keiner geprägten Münze vorhanden sind" nicht ausreichend kennzeichnen lassen. Als gemeinsamer Urgrund ihrer Entstehung ist die im Grasham'schen Gesetz formulierte Erscheinung von der Verdrängung der guten Münze durch die schlechte nicht zu verkennen. Dies war schon der Fall bei der Abspaltung des Zählpfundes von dem Gewichtspfund, die durch die Verschlechterung der Pfennigmünze veranlaßt worden war. Damals erst ist das Pfund vom Gewicht auch zum Geld und durch die dauernde Bindung an bestimmte Vielfache einer Münzeinheit zu der später sogenannten "Rechnungsmünze" geworden. Und in dem Prozeß des Werdens und Vergehens der zahlreichen folgenden Rechnungsmünzen steht ihrem negativen Charakter als Produkte der Geldverschlechterung eine positive Wertung als Stabilisierungsversuche und wertsichernde Maßnahmen gegenüber.

Die Entwicklung der Rechnungsmünzen geht nicht notwendigerweise in einem Prozeß der geradlinigen Folge, der bloßen Ablösung älterer durch neu entstandene vor sich. Es ist im Gegenteil häufiger der Fall, daß innerhalb eines lokalen Münz- und Währungssystems mehrere Rechnungsarten gleichzeitig und nebeneinander

bestehen. Rechnungsarten, die im allgemeinen ihre Gültigkeit verloren haben, können für bestimmte Bezirke des öffentlichen oder privaten Lebens im Gebrauch weiter bestehen bleiben. Es ist dies vor allem dort der Fall, wo geldliche Verpflichtungen durch Satzungen oder Verträge festgehalten sind. Alte Kapitalien, Zinsen, Steuern, Zölle, Strafen fallen in den Rahmen des Anwendungsbereiches älterer Rechnungsweisen. Unter den oben besprochenen Rechnungsmünzen, die sich von dem rheinischen Goldgulden ablösten, gab es einen besonderen Zollgulden. Der alte Gulden meißnischer Währung, der schon dem Guldiner der Reichsmünzordnung von 1524 zugrundegelegt war, hatte noch fast 300 Jahre später lokale Verwendung bei Grundkäufen. Auch fand in Kursachsen das von der alten Groschenwährung herstammende Schock als Rechnungsmünze bei Steuer- und Strafgefällen noch lange Verwendung. Die schwarze Regensburger Münze blieb bei Grundzinsen und Strafgefällen bis ins 19. Jahrhundert gebräuchlich. Zum richtigen Verstehen und Beurteilen der Gerichtsbußen ist überhaupt auf die Tatsache des Fortlebens alter Rechnungsweisen im Bereiche der Rechtsprechung zu achten, wenn man den tatsächlichen Geldwert der Pönsummen und ihre finanzielle Bedeutung ermitteln will.

Die Rechnungsmünzen sind aber nicht nur untereinander different gewesen, sondern konnten auch innerhalb ein und derselben Art einen verschiedenen Zahlwert, die sogenannte Valuta, haben. Zunächst war eine Unterscheidung des Wertes im großen und kleinen Zahlungsverkehr sehr natürlich und häufig. Die "Moneta piccola" der Italiener und die Mehrzahl der sogenannten Landmünzen hatten dem allgemeinen Bedarf zu dienen, während die meist "Courant" genannte Valuta der eigentlichen Währungsmünzen für die darüber hinausgehenden Aufgaben in Verwendung kam. Wo eine Girobank bestand, kam noch deren Rechnungsmünze als dritte, meist höher wertige, sogenannte Bankvaluta hinzu. Aber selbst bei der Dreizahl von Valuten ist es nicht immer geblieben. Einige Beispiele sollen in das Nebeneinander solcher differenten Valuten Einblick geben. In Hamburg mußte man im ausgehenden 18. Jhdt. für Bankogeld $133\frac{1}{3}$ und für Courentgeld 120 Einheiten der leichten Valuta geben. Venedig unterschied bis zur Annahme der Lira austriaca einen Rechnungsdukaten von $6\frac{1}{5}$ Lire Banco von einem ebenso fiktiven zu $9\frac{3}{5}$ Lire piccoli; beide Valuten wichen von dem Kurswert des wirklich geprägten Silberdukaten, der sozusagen seine eigene Valuta hatte, ab. Ähnlich lagen die Verhältnisse beim deutschen Reichstaler zu 90 Kreuzer (Rechentaler), der valutarisch verschieden, etwa in Spezies oder Banko, ausgedrückt werden konnte. Bei dem Taler der Konventionswährung standen die

Rechnungsarten nach 20 oder 24 Gulden (natürlich ebenso die weniger gebräuchlichen nach 21 und 25 Gulden) in der Funktion von Valuten.

Die vorgenannte Bankvaluta hängt mit dem besonderen Rechnungsgeld der Girobanken zusammen, von denen nur der Banco von Venedig und die Hamburger Bank als die bedeutendsten genannt seien. Nach Luschin wäre das Bankgeld, wenigstens in bestimmten Erscheinungsformen, von den Rechnungsmünzen zu unterscheiden und als eine "besondere Art fingierter Münzen" anzusprechen, weil damit "dem Empfänger nicht eine bestimmte Anzahl geprägter Münzen, sondern eine unveränderliche Menge Edelmetall" gesichert werden sollte. Abgesehen davon, daß dieser zu eng gefaßte Begriff der Rechenmünze, wie gezeigt, historisch nicht haltbar ist und der fiktive Charakter für die reine Rechenmünze überhaupt ein Kennzeichen darstellt, so ist die Tendenz der Wertwahrung auch der Rechenmünze nicht fremd gewesen oder geblieben, sodaß in dieser Hinsicht gegenüber dem Bankgelde kein wesentlicher, sondern nur ein gradueller Unterschied vorliegt. Die zeitgenössische Praxis hat unter dem Bankgeld jedenfalls auch eine Rechnungsmünze verstanden, die mit dem Zahlwert der anderen Rechnungsarten in einem bestimmten, durch Kurse ausdrückbaren Verhältnis stand. Die Bankvaluta war der individuelle, von einer bestimmten Bank den von ihr zugelassenen Zahlungsmitteln beigelegte Zahlwert, ausgedrückt in der eigenen Rechnungsmünze.

Daß die Rechnungsmünze im Wechselverkehre eine große Rolle gespielt hat, ist angesichts der Bedeutung des Wechsels in der Technik des Geldverkehrs überhaupt leicht verständlich. Am deutlichsten tritt dies dort in Erscheinung, wo das Wechselgeschäft über Banken in deren Rechnungsgeld abgewickelt wurde. Dabei fielen Bankvaluta und Wechselvaluta zusammen. Während aber hier nur die Verwendung einer allgemeinen Rechnungsmünze für einen bestimmten Zweck vorliegt, gab es auch Rechnungsgeld, das nur als Wechselvaluta in Verwendung stand. Für die Wechselzahlung selbst hatte man vielfach eigenes Wechselgeld, entweder die valutarisch beste Verkehrsmünze oder sogar eigens dafür geprägte Münzsorten, in Deutschland da und dort die sogenannten "Wechseltaler". Ideelles und reelles Wechselgeld waren beide in ihrer Valuta von der Kursbildung abhängig.

In keinem Verhältnis zur Rechnungsmünze, aber zu deren negativer Kennzeichnung doch auch zu erwähnen, stehen die Handelsmünzen. Sie halten sich außerhalb des monetären Rechnungssystems ihres Ursprungslandes. Hier galt es, den Handelspartner entweder mit einer Münze zu bezahlen, die dessen hei-

mischen Gewohnheiten und Erfordernissen entsprach, oder einer von dritter Seite bereits durchgesetzten anderen Handelsmünze durch eigene Schöpfungen gleichzukommen. Im besonderen Falle konnte dabei erreicht werden, einem fremden Rechnungswert eine eigene reelle Zahlungsmünze zur Seite zu stellen, wie es im Wirtschaftsverkehr von Grenzgebieten vielfach festzustellen ist.

Im Gegensatz zum Theoretiker, dem die Kenntnis der Münzen nach dem bekannten Ausspruch eines berühmten Nationalökonomen als "Kassenbotenweisheit" erscheinen mag, sind dem praktischen Numismatiker und Geldhistoriker die Formen des Geldes wohlbekannt, die bei der Zahlung wirklich in Verwendung gekommen sind. Das Münzgeld, das in den Sammlungen Läden und Kasten füllt, ist reich an unterschiedlichen Formen und Werten. Trotzdem dürfte ein naiver Betrachter folgern können, daß der Vielseitigkeit der einstigen Rechnungsmünzen eine weitaus größere Reichhaltigkeit an historischem Münzgeld entsprechen müßte, als es tatsächlich der Fall war. Die Antwort auf diese Frage führt zu dem letzten Punkte dieser Ausführungen, wie die in den Rechnungsmünzen gelegenen Zahlwerte in wirklichen Münzen zur Liquidierung gekommen sind.

Grundsätzlich ist dazu zu sagen, daß die größte Annäherung zwischen Rechnung und Zahlung dort zu finden ist, wo die Geld- und Währungsverhältnisse in Ordnung waren. Dies war etwa in Preußen nach dem Siebenjährigen Kriege und in Österreich nach der Einführung der Konventionswährung in besonderem Maße der Fall. Der hier weitgehend zu beobachtende Zusammenfall von Rechnungs- und Zahlungsmünze beweist deutlich den sozusagen negativen Existenzgrund der reinen Rechnungsmünze. Dort aber, wo fremde Einflüsse die heimischen monetären Verhältnisse bestimmten, ging der eigene Beitrag an Zahlungsmünzen über die Groschenmünze nicht viel hinaus. In diesem Falle fiel der Rechnungsmünze eine konstruktive Rolle zu, weil auf ihrer Grundlage allein ein gemeinsamer Nenner für die autoritativ valvierten oder nach freier Kursbildung bewerteten fremden Zahlungsmünzen gefunden werden konnte.

In der Regel stellt sich die gewesene Praxis so dar, daß die Form der Zahlung mehrere Rechnungsarten umfaßt, und ein in verschiedenen Valuten ausdrückbarer Betrag prinzipiell in einer Zahlungsmünze abgegolten werden konnte. Der gemünzte venezianische Silberdukat war theoretisch sowohl für Zahlungen in Bankvaluta als auch in Moneta piccola verwendbar. Mit geprägten Speziestalern ließen sich Summen bezahlen, die auf verschiedene der oben bereits genannten Taler-Valuten abgestellt waren. Dasselbe war bei dem Taler der Konventionswährung der Fall, der überhaupt ein gutes Beispiel für das Verhältnis von Rech-

nung und Zahlung gibt. In Österreich, wo der 20 Guldenfuß herrschte, fielen Rechnung und Zahlung zusammen. In Süddeutschland, wo man nach einem 24 Guldenfuß rechnete und der 20 Guldenfuß allenfalls Wechselvaluta war, gingen Rechnung und Zahlung auseinander. Man zahlte mit 20 Zahlgulden einen Betrag, der 24 Rechnungsgulden oder 24 Gulden in Scheidemünze entsprach. Trotzdem man aber in Österreich 20 Gulden, in Tirol 21 Gulden, in Salzburg und Bayern 24 Gulden, anderwärts auch 25 Gulden auf den Konventionstaler rechnete, so konnten doch alle diese Rechnungsarten in eine einzige Zahlungsweise zusammenfließen, wenn man bei der Durchführung des Geldgeschäftes nur konventionsmäßig ausgebrachte Geldsorten dazu verwendete. Auch die Anwendung alter Rechnungsmünzen stand meist nur mehr auf dem Papier. Wenn man z. B. in Sachsen noch zur Zeit der Konventionswährung in bestimmten Fällen mit der alten meißnischen Währung operierte, so standen für die wirkliche Zahlung doch nur die Münzen der ersteren zur Verfügung und man mußte dem Konventionsgulden eben noch fünf Groschen zulegen, um damit einen Gulden Meißner-Währung begleichen zu können.

Diese wenigen Beispiele zeigen, wie sich die Zahlung gegenüber der Rechnung im Sinne einer Vereinfachung ändern konnte. Die Fälle, wo mit auswärtigen Geldsorten gezahlt wurde, gehören nicht zum engeren Thema, weil bei ihnen kein organisches Verhältnis zur inländischen Rechnungsmünze besteht. Hier schiebt sich zwischen Rechnung und Zahlung die wertbestimmende Funktion der Kurse ein.

Im Zentrum der wirtschaftlichen Bedeutung des Geldes steht die Frage nach seinem Werte, nach seiner Zahlkraft. Es ist erfreulich, daß nach langer Nichtbeachtung die für diese Zentralfrage wichtigen Faktoren der Preise und Löhne immer mehr die ihnen zukommende Würdigung erfahren. Aber auch auf der Seite des Geldes ist noch nicht alles getan, was zum richtigen Verständnis der auf seinem Sektor vorkommenden Erscheinungen notwendig ist. Mancherlei Hilfsmittel, vielfach aus der Praxis stammend, liegen für eine monographische Behandlung des Themas von Rechnung und Zahlung bereits vor. Sie müssen aber erst systematisch ausgewertet und handgerecht gemacht werden. Das Material der Archive, das den schriftlichen Niederschlag der mit dem Geldwesen zusammenhängenden Verwaltungseinrichtungen aller Art, vor allem aber der wirtschaftlichen und finanziellen Instanzen birgt, ist auf seine Eignung für den Gegenstand hin durchzusehen. Steuerlisten, Zollprotokolle, Mauttarife, Rechnungs- und Handlungsbücher, Pflugschaft- und Gerichtsakten und ähnliche Quellen sind es,

die uns neben den Kronzeugen der Münzfunde einen unmittelbaren Einblick in die Praxis des Geld- und Zahlungsverkehres einer Epoche zu geben vermögen. Die Darstellung wäre nicht an politische Grenzen zu binden, sondern nach der Art der geübten Praxis zu orientieren. Österreich, das im 20 Guldenfuß rechnete, mußte seinen westlichsten Provinzen den 24 Guldenfuß gestatten, weil sie von Ländern dieser Rechnung umgeben waren. Andererseits wurde in den Salzburger Herrschaften, die auf Tiroler Boden lagen, nach dem dort heimischen 21 Guldenfuß gerechnet. Wie in diesem Falle ein Währungsbezirk mit drei Rechnungsarten vorliegt, die sich nicht nach den Landesgrenzen halten, wird auch sonst die territoriale Hoheit oft zugunsten der geldwirtschaftlichen Zusammenhänge in den Hintergrund treten. Auf Grund der oben genannten Quellen müßten die historischen Rechnungsarten und Zahlungsweisen erschlossen werden, um von der Seite des Geldes zu einer objektiven Feststellung der tatsächlich geübten Praxis zu gelangen. Erst wenn der äußere Zahlwert und die Art seiner Liquidierung sicher stehen, kann unter Heranziehung der außergeldlichen Faktoren an die Erarbeitung des inneren Geldwertes in Form der wirtschaftlichen Kaufkraft geschritten werden.

Die allmähliche Erschließung von Quellen geldgeschichtlichen Inhaltes, zu der auch der Verfasser dieser Zeilen noch beitragen zu können hofft, wird das hier skizzierte Thema "Rechnung und Zahlung", dessen methodische Behandlung auf die hervorgehobenen drei Blickpunkte der Rechnungsart, des Zahlwertes und der Zahlweise auszurichten wäre, in Zukunft hoffentlich zum Gegenstande umfassenderer Untersuchungen machen.

A NOTE ON CORINTHIAN COINS IN THE WEST

G. K. JENKINS

This paper is in the nature of a footnote to certain remarks, more particularly those affecting coinage, by the late T. J. Dunbabin in chap. VIII of *The Western Greeks* (Oxford, 1948), and equally to some of the conclusions reached by C. H. V. Sutherland in his important article 'Overstrikes and Hoards' (*NC*, 1942, pp. 1ff.). Anyone discussing the question will owe a great deal to both writers; I aim only by drawing some further distinctions with regard to the chronology of hoards to fill out the picture somewhat and to correct it in some particulars.¹

Dunbabin has assembled, in masterly fashion, the archaeological evidence for trade between Greece and the western colonies in the early period; he has established that this trade was virtually monopolised by Corinth in the seventh and early sixth centuries B.C., but that during the course of the sixth century Corinthian exports suffered a gradual but total eclipse in face of competition from Athens. This development seems to have occurred at different sites at varying times, rather earlier on the whole in Italy than in Sicily (Dunbabin, p. 244).

¹ I must refer here also to Karl Christ's very useful tabulation of Sicilian hoards in his article "Historische Probleme der griechisch-sizilischen Numismatik", *Historia*, III, 4, pp. 395 ff. There are now some addenda and corrigenda to his list, which I mention below.

An earlier article by F. Heichelheim "Historische Beiträge zur griechischen Münzhortstatistik", in *Transactions of the International Numismatic Congress* (London, 1936), pp. 68 ff., was based only on the first (1925) edition of Noe's hoard bibliography.

My thanks are due especially to the authorities of the Syracuse and the Reggio (Calabria) museums for opportunities of looking at the coin hoards in their charge.

Coins and coin hoards begin rather too late to illuminate directly the phase of the early Corinthian monopoly, and on the whole attest only the succeeding period of Athenian dominance. In Sicily, there are no hoards which can have been buried as early as the sixth century, and in all those of fifth century date not a single Corinthian coin occurs. The presence of coins of Corinth during the period of her early trade monopoly, in Sicily at least, must be inferred not only from the general situation revealed by the archaeological evidence but from certain features of the early Sicilian coinages. For instance, Selinus, the first of the Dorian cities of Sicily to mint her own coins, strikes staters on the Corinthian standard, as later happens at Akragas and finally at Gela; each of these mints starts with silver pieces which are the exact equivalent of the Corinthian stater (Syracuse being of course the notable exception). We might expect to find overstrikes on pegasi, but apart from two isolated instances at Selinus – which are actually of the very early fifth rather than of the sixth century (Schwabacher, *Tetradrachmenprägung von Selinunt*, p. 29, n. 4, not in Sutherland's list) – there seem to be none.² Another feature of the early Sicilian coinages which, beside the standard, may point to Corinthian influence, is the evolution of the fabric: similarly to the change which comes over the 'incuse' fabric in Italy, so the flat spread fabric of the earliest Selinus and Akragas pieces (and indeed also those of Himera, though Himera was coining on the Chalcidian standard) becomes, towards 500 B.C., thick and dumpy. Doubtless this occurred for the same reason as has been suggested for the Italian mints by Sutherland in *ANSMN*, III (pp. 25–6): it was following the development from broad to thick which occurred at Corinth in the latter part of the sixth century when the change was made from the type with incuse reverse to the type with the Athena reverse.³

These are the indirect traces of Corinthian influence which we may find in Sicily as in Italy; clearly we must not overrate them in terms of the actual amount of Corinthian coin which reached the West, as we shall see on examining the hoards. In Sicilian hoards, the first 'foreign' coins which appear, at the beginning of the fifth century, are those of Athens. The Messina hoard (Noe 685) has 20 Athens

² An Eryx overstruck on Corinth, *NC*, 1925, pl. I, 3, is of the end of the fifth century.

³ As regards the adoption of the Corinthian standard in the west, I may remark that so far as I can ascertain at present, the Sicilian mints of Selinus, Akragas and Gela come much closer to the true Corinthian norm – c. 8.50–8.60 gm. – than any of the Italiote mints. The lower norm evidently in use at the latter mints, see Sutherland's frequency table (*ANSMN*, III, p. 23), is explained by him as the result of only worn pegasi being imported: whether or not this is correct, it would not apply to Sicily.

out of 36 coins; and a large and important hoard recently discovered at Gela, totalling over 1,000 coins, contained nearly 200 Athenian.⁴ Both these hoards seem to be datable to the 480's as both contain coins of Anaxilas of the *Lion's head/Calf's head* type. The fact that coins of Athens remain, until 400 B.C., the sole imported coins in any Sicilian hoard, there being none of Corinth, would show if nothing else did how completely Athens had come to dominate the western trade; and it is no surprise that during the fifth century all the Sicilian mints adopted the Attic tetradrachm standard. Summarising the data, and not reckoning for this purpose hoards containing only small change or metals other than silver, we can say that there are some twenty-six hoards of the fifth century from Sicily.⁵ Of these, roughly a quarter contain coins of Athens. We may add to these one or two hoards from the Italian side of the straits of Messina, from the neighbourhood of Reggio; for it is clear that economically Rhegion was in the Sicilian orbit. There is a high incidence of Rhegine coins in Sicilian hoards, and the use at Rhegion of the Attic tetradrachm standard, otherwise unknown in Italy, points the same way. It is worth noting then that two hoards (Noe 854 and 857) from Reggio are of typically Sicilian composition and that both contain Athenian coins. It is incidentally from this area that the only western overstrikes on Athenian pieces occur; two are noted by Sutherland for Rhegion (Luynes 791 and Lloyd 678: add Egger 40.277), and two are known at Messina (Nav. 6.404 and Rizzo xxv. 12). Finally coins of Athens are also present in a hoard of typically Sicilian character from Bizerta (Noe 155).

So far as Sicily and the areas immediately in touch with Sicily are concerned, then, the only imported coins in the fifth century are Athenian. Italy, apart from Rhegion, is evidently not on quite the same footing, for there is in the first place the evidence of the overstrikes, among which we find the re-use of a number of Corinthian – and also of Sicilian – originals. It is the quantity of such imported coins which is rather hard to assess. In any case it seems reasonably clear that the proportion of Italiote coins restruck (whether on Corinthian or on Sicilian

⁴ I owe the warmest thanks to Dr. D. Adamesteanu of the Gela museum for kindly sending me information about this new and so far unpublished hoard.

⁵ These are the hoards in Christ's list nos. 1–26, without nos. 15, 19, 20, 21, 23, 26. The equivalent in Noe or other references are: nos. 932, 685, 686, 785, 968, 1042, 667(=188), 974, 975, 794, 972, 953, 611, 1161, 109, 931, 949, *Not. Scav.*, 1954/77, 218, 441. To these add: Gela 1934 (Cesano, *Studi di Num.*, I, 1, Rome 1940, p. 63), burial c. 480 B.C.; Gela 1956 (unpublished, see above, n. 4), burial probably c. 490–480 B.C.; Scornavacche 1949, Monteraci 1953, Augusta 1954 (all in *Annali* 1955, 63 ff.); S. Caterina Villarmosa (*Annali*, 1955, p. 199).

flans), compared with the whole bulk of the coinage struck at the Italiote mints,⁶ cannot be large, and there is no sign of anything approaching a wholesale or even partial recoinage such as is met with sometimes at other times and places.⁷ The sole exception seems to be Noe's group XI at Metapontum, where of a total of sixty-seven coins recorded by Noe some fourteen, or 30 per cent of the total, are overstruck: a result largely accounted for by the single pair of dies, Noe 234, nine recorded specimens from which are all overstruck (though only one is on a coin of Corinth). Of the overstrikes there are, and they are usually fairly sporadic, we have during the first half of the fifth century as many which are overstrikes on Sicilian originals as on Corinthian pieces (though this is perhaps less true at Taras than at other mints). Such concentration of Italiote overstrikes as there is seems to be in the first half of the fifth century, in fact at a time when, as hoard evidence shows, Italy was by no means the sole 'foreign' destination of Corinthian coins: they appear in only one hoard from Italy (the Taranto hoard) but in no less than five from Egypt.⁸ In view of these factors we should not, I think, be prepared to rest too much on the evidence of the Taranto hoard, which has tended to assume a somewhat disproportionate role in the discussion of Corinthian trade with the west: this hoard is evidently the foundation for such remarks as that of Dunbabin (p. 248) "archaic Corinthian coins are found in Italy and Sicily more commonly than those of any other city of Greece". In fact, a glance at the figures for the Taranto hoard itself would seem to show just the opposite: a quite modest number of Corinthian pieces makes little impression among the list of many mints of central and northern Greece also represented, and can in no way be regarded as an indication of any special Corinthian monopoly. And apart from the Taranto hoard only one other Italian hoard, from the very end of the century (Noe 183,

⁶ The prolific output of the Italiote mints is worth stressing, vis-à-vis that of Corinth, which until the late fifth century was comparatively modest. Metapontum alone used, down to the end of the 'incuse' series, viz. to c. 450 (?) B.C., no less than 236 stater obverse dies and about as many reverse. Croton, though its series has not yet received a detailed study, probably used not appreciably less, it may be conjectured: and then there are also Sybaris (down to 510 B.C.) and Caulonia. Corinth only used 136 stater obverse dies, and 180 reverse, in the whole period down to c. 457 B.C. (Ravel's date), or in other words a good deal less than Metapontum alone.

⁷ E. g., the early Ptolemaic issues on the so-called 'Rhodian' standard, well studied recently by Brooks Emmons (*ANSMN*, VI, pp. 69ff.); the figures there given for the ANS collection are 70 overstruck out of 350 pieces, or 20%. The BM has 57 pieces of which 17 are overstruck, or 30%. At a later date, the Boeotian bronze coins in the Copais hoard (Noe 262) were all overstruck, without exception, on Macedonian pieces.

⁸ Demanhur (Noe 323), Egypt (Noe 362), Myt Rahineh (Noe 722), Sakha (Noe 888), Zagazig (Noe 1178).

Calabria 1864)⁹, contains a single Corinthian coin. Otherwise there is nothing. On the other hand there are recorded two Italian hoards, one of which consisted entirely of Syracusan and Athenian coins (Pianura, Noe 813), and the other (Calabria, Noe 180) in which Sicilian coins formed easily 10 per cent of the total: this is of course reckoning without the two Reggio hoards mentioned above, which both included Athenian coins.

Down to 400 B.C., then, we find that in Sicily there was no imported coin at all except that of Athens: and for Italy, in spite of some signs of Corinthian import, it is difficult to see that this can have constituted a really significant amount. By contrast, when we turn to the fourth century, the hoards both from Italy and Sicily present a very different picture. In Sicily the change is most marked. There are some thirty-six hoards:¹⁰ of this total, there are still nearly a quarter (nine) containing some Athenian coins, so that the continuance of Athenian trade with Sicily is not to be underestimated. Nor are such Athenian coins in fourth-century hoards merely older pieces surviving in circulation, for in three hoards (Contessa, Licata, Nissoria) there are Athenian pieces of the fourth-century type. Yet on the whole it is beyond doubt Corinth which makes the biggest impression as an importer. Out of the thirty-six hoards, there are pegasi in no less than twenty-two, and in eighteen of these, pegasi (of Corinth and colonies) form an absolute majority of the contents. We shall presently attempt to define at what point the pegasi began to have this absolute predominance: but first it is worth noting that the same general tendency is present in Italy, though to a lesser extent. There, out of some twenty-four fourth-century hoards,¹¹ less than a third (eight) contain some

⁹ Sambon's dating of this hoard 'before 433' on account of the absence of coins of Heraclea is not in itself cogent: the proportion of Tarentine 'Horsemen' given surely suggests a date as late as possible in the fifth century (if it is fifth century at all). But detailed data are lacking, especially for Taras and Thurium where they would be most enlightening.

The list of fifth century hoards from Italy, Noe, nos. 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 187, 253, 277, 285, 425, 499, 500, 506, 507, 607, 782, 813, 854, 857, 915, 929, 1052, 1054, 1118 – twenty-four, including the two from the Reggio area.

¹⁰ Nos. 27–68 in Christ's list, without nos. 36 (= 43), 42, 46 (probably = 48), 53, 56 (probably = 95, if so second century), 57, 60, 62, 63. In the same order, Noe and other refs.: nos. 217, 612, 728, 195, Caltanissetta (Cesano, p. 63), 749, 261, 917, 1095, 198, 977, Centuripe (*Not.Scav.*, 1954/70), Licata (Cesano, p. 63), Nissoria (*Not.Scav.*, 1954/58), 108, 9, Canicattini (Cesano, p. 63), Cesaró (Cesano, p. 63), 684, 789, 814, 970, 1092, 1096, 745, 784, 1027, Megara (*Mél. d'Arch.*, 1951, p. 45), Camarina (Cesano, p. 63), 193, 779, 227. Add: Gela 1948 (*Annali*, II, p. 200), Noe 160, 946, 1097.

¹¹ Noe refs.: nos. 127, 147, 186, 203, 208, 222, 416, 437, 438, 444, 497, 498, 501, 505, 662, 677, 688, 704, 876, 897 ("Salonika", really Metapontum), 910, 1002, 1045, 1055, 1058, 1120, Vito Superiore (G. Procopio in *Rendiconti dell'Accademia di Arch. Lett. e belle Arte di Napoli*, XXVII, 1953).

Corinthian pieces – and only a few in any one hoard, with one exception.¹² Hoards consisting primarily or almost entirely of pegasi are thus almost unknown in Italy, although quite normal for fourth-century Sicily. At the same time Italiote mints continued, sporadically, to overstrike pegasi, much as they had done in the fifth century.¹³

Turning now to the question, which are the earliest Sicilian hoards with an absolute majority of pegasi, I consider, with all due reservations, that these are the hoards from Licata, Centuripe and Nissoria. The three hoards are of similar composition with only minor differences:

Licata	70 pegasi (incl. 46 Corinth), 17 others
Centuripe	73 pegasi (incl. 41 Corinth), 14 others
Nissoria	297 pegasi (incl. 160 Corinth), 26 others

It will be seen that in each case, coins of Corinth itself form a high proportion; and of them, in each case, the great bulk consists of pieces belonging to period IV of Ravel's arrangement, on his dating 415–387 B.C.¹⁴ There is also in each case a certain number of pieces from period V of Ravel, which he dates 387–307 B.C.

It is here necessary to discuss briefly the dating and arrangement proposed by Ravel for his period V, in connexion with the three hoards. We may say at once that his lower limit, 307 B.C., seems well attested by the evidence of the Chiliomodi hoard,¹⁵ and need not be doubted. It is however less clear that his upper limit can be regarded with any satisfaction; but before touching on that something must be said about the sequence of issues which constitute period V. It is one great merit of Ravel's work that he is able to distinguish the apparently orderly succession of issues, each marked by a letter or letters, that are grouped under period V, from the more complex and closely interlinked issues of period IV (some of the latter also have letter marks, and were formerly mixed up with period V issues). But the trouble with Ravel's actual arrangement of the period

Pegasi in three third century hoards from Italy: Noe nos. 900, 1016, 1119. This citation of course excludes hoards from Etruria and northern Italy.

¹² Noe nos. 497; find-spot not recorded, though Ravel who published the hoard in *Numismatica*, II, states that it is certainly from Magna Graecia.

¹³ Add to Sutherland's list in *NC*, 1942, the following fourth century overstrikes of Taras on Corinth: Ravel, *Vlasto Cat.*, 438, 472, 502, 512 (513?). Some earlier additions to the list of overstrikes, from the same catalogue are: 73, 108, 119.

¹⁴ *Les Poulains de Corinthe*, Tome II (1948).

¹⁵ *Transactions of the International Numismatic Congress* (London, 1936), pp. 98ff.

V issues is that in the absence of almost all definite links between the various letter-marked groups, the sequence of groups as he gives it is open to considerable doubt, and in several respects it is very difficult indeed to follow his reasons for placing the groups as he does. It is clearly a case where we very much need the evidence of hoards, if it is available, to establish the sequence: given enough hoards the sequence could be built up like the sequence of, for instance, the later Roman republic.

Unfortunately there is nothing available on this scale, but what little evidence there is is valuable. Now we need not disagree with Ravel as to which is the first group of his period V: it is surely, as he says, the letter E group. This group alone out of period V is represented in two of our hoards, Licata and Centuripe, and to this extent confirms Ravel's finding. The Nissoria hoard on the other hand contains specimens of two groups from period V, the letter E and letter N groups (8 of the former and 32 of the latter), which respectively are the first and the eighth of Ravel's sequence. As the hoard is a large one its contents should be the more representative, and the absence of all the intermediate groups is virtually inexplicable if Ravel's order is right. In fact it seems to me preferable to infer that the two groups which appear in this hoard together must after all be the first two of period V. There would also appear to be other reasons in favour of putting the N group substantially earlier than Ravel does. As he rightly observes, the group is the only one in period V in which the Athena head can face either to right or to left, which should be an argument for a relatively early position. Further, some at least of the other groups which Ravel places between the E group and the N group are almost certainly later on style alone, e. g. those with letter Γ , letter I, and letters AP.¹⁶ The three last mentioned are all stylistically much closer to the group which is by common consent and by the evidence of the Chiliomodi hoard¹⁷ one of the last two sizeable groups of period V. The late style has a distinctive deep-chested type of Pegasus with the wing feathers shown separated rather than in a solid mass; in groups Γ and I, but with one exception not otherwise, the second wing is visible. The exceptional case forms a link between the Γ and I groups and the AP group, inasmuch as one AP variety, Ravel 1024, has an obverse

¹⁶ Also placed later by Oman (*NC*, 1926, pp. 20ff.), just before the ΔI and AY groups. A further argument for putting the AP group relatively late is its representation in the Chiliomodi hoard with groups ΔI , AY , ΔO . The AP coins in Chiliomodi certainly show signs of wear, but that does not mean that they must be so radically dissociated from the last three groups as Ravel would have it.

with the second wing shown as in the Γ and I groups. Provisionally, then, I think the sequence of the letter groups should be somewhat as follows:— first E followed by N; next, three groups Δ , A, Λ , for whose internal sequence there seems to be no evidence at present; next, Γ , I, AP; and finally (once more in step with Ravel) Δ I, AY, Δ O.

Returning to the date of the Nissoria hoard, we have a good *terminus post quem* for the deposition of the hoard because it contains one of the latest issues of Ambracia, as Ravel, *Colts of Ambracia*, NNM, No. 37, no. 180. This issue can have been struck only a very little while before the closing of the Ambracia mint in 338 B.C., when Philip II of Macedonia occupied the town: comparison with most of the other Corinthian colonies shows that the late fourth century stage of coinage is indeed missing at Ambracia and that the mint there must have been closed at the date mentioned, which is the most likely on every count. The burial of the Nissoria hoard therefore cannot be before ca. 338 B.C. and very probably should be estimated as a few years after that, say the middle or late '30's.¹⁷ By this date, then, only two groups of period V of the Corinthian coinage will have been issued, or at any rate reached Sicily, and it will clearly be very difficult to put the start of period V before about 350 B.C.: indeed much of period IV will accordingly have to be brought lower into the fourth century.

With a date for the Nissoria hoard in the 330's, the Licata and Centuripe hoards cannot be more than a few years earlier, since all three are similar in their salient characteristics, which may be summarised for clarity:

	<i>Licata</i>	<i>Centuripe</i>	<i>Nissoria</i>
Corinth			
per. IV	bulk	bulk	bulk
per. V	E group	E group	E group
			N group
Ambracia	R. 110 latest	R. 162 (166?) latest	R. 180 latest
Syracuse			
(pegasi)	none	as <i>BMC, Corinth</i> pl. XXV, 2-3	as <i>BMC, Corinth</i> pl. XXV, 2-3

¹⁷ In a footnote to his table of hoards (*Historia*, III, 4, pp. 395ff.) Christ suggests that the Nissoria hoard should be dated very much later than its contents appear to indicate, in fact at the time of Pyrrhus. Dr. Christ kindly informs me in a letter that the subject will be discussed shortly by Dr. P. Franke. I can only say that having seen the coins in Syracuse museum I find nothing whatever to suggest a date for this hoard other than the one which I give in the text above, and

The latest Ambraciot piece at Centuripe would be ca. 350 B.C., the latest at Licata many years earlier, yet it is clear that the two hoards as such are of the same date, as the E group of Corinth period V is the latest in both. Then the only really significant difference between the Centuripe and Nissoria hoards is the inclusion in the latter of the Corinth N group, whereas both contain the same Syracusan pegasi in quite fresh condition. With the date already arrived at for Nissoria, it may be concluded that none of the three hoards can very well date from before the time of Timoleon's refoundation of Syracuse in 344 B.C.: and in that case the great mass of this coinage present in Sicily down to and beyond the end of the century must in one way or another be a direct reflexion of that key event. I would not be disposed to think that such hoards as the ones I have just been discussing could plausibly be regarded as representing a gradual accumulation of pegasi in Sicily over a protracted period: the 'flood' seems to begin quite abruptly, and were it otherwise we should see it in the hoards of the preceding period, where in fact no more than a very few such coins are ever found to occur in any single case.

So far as I can see there are no hoards with a majority of pegasi which can be or are even likely to be earlier than those I have been discussing, though certain hoards of this type have on occasion been given earlier dates. Unfortunately some of these are cases where the material is now either totally lost or inaccessible and where we have no adequate details. For instance, Dr. Christ dates the Leonforte (1895) hoard 'um 400'; Sutherland also refers to this hoard together with that of Avola as probably representing some accumulation of fifth century coins (*NC*, 1942, p. 9, n. 7).¹⁸ But the Avola hoard which is here meant is the silver hoard included in Noe's no. 108 (and wrongly included by Löbbecke as part of the same deposit as the gold hoard) though the silver is adequately listed by Löbbecke (*ZfN*, 1890, pp. 167ff.) and is clearly of the later fourth century. The Leonforte (1895) hoard was dispersed and we shall never now know any more about it than the entry in Noe (612): the only details there set out give no positive justification for dating it anywhere near 400 B.C. and its numerical composition strongly resembles that of Licata, Centuripe and other later hoards.¹⁹ Next, there is a more

moreover there does not appear to be any suggestion that there is some further portion of the hoard in existence which might contain any later coins; nor is there any archaeological context for the hoard.

¹⁸ Dunbabin, *Western Greeks*, pp. 249–50, n. 2, refers to Licata and Leonforte as fifth century hoards.

¹⁹ I have not seen the hoard given by Noe, no. 977: it is there said to be at Syracuse, but I could not find it there, and neither evidently did Cesano, for none of the hoards recorded by her can be this

recent 'Leonforte' hoard (1952) which Dr. Christ puts at the beginning of the fourth century: this must be disregarded, for it is evidently one and the same hoard as Nissoria (in *Not.Scav.*, 1954, p. 59, it is specifically stated that Leonforte was the place where this hoard was recovered). We may note here another suspected 'doublet.' It concerns the Bronte hoard of 1915 (Noe 167) which was apparently one with a majority of pegasi, but which included also, according to the entry in Noe, some archaic tetradrachms of Syracuse and Messana. These latter would not however warrant us in supposing that the hoard was thereby necessarily any earlier than the latter part of the fourth century, for it is by no means impossible for such pieces to occur in much later hoards (there are some archaic Syracuse in e.g. the Licata hoard). But it is further curious that Bronte does not occur in Cesano's inventory (*Studi di Numismatica*, I, 1, Rome, 1940), whereas a hoard from Cesaró (1916) does, though this is not in Noe: this last-mentioned hoard consists also primarily of pegasi. As Bronte and Cesaró are two places very close together and the dates also are almost identical, it does not seem too hazardous to think that they are probably one and the same hoard: and the Cesaró hoard, which is in the Syracuse museum, is certainly of the later fourth century.²⁰

There seems then to be no real evidence to invalidate the conclusion advanced above, that hoards with a majority of pegasi belong to the time of Timoleon and after. Before concluding however it may be well to glance at the earlier fourth century, during which there are a number of Sicilian hoards in which pegasi begin to appear in quite modest numbers. This stage dates from the beginning of the fourth century. Evans indeed stated that the Schiso hoard (Noe 931), which, whether or not one agrees with his precise date is certainly towards the end of the fifth century,²¹ contained pegasi 'in considerable abundance' (*Syracusan*

one. It is to be hoped that someone will rediscover it; anyhow it is another hoard of a 'pegasus-majority' character, and by all analogy should thus be late in the fourth century (Christ, no. 38 puts it early). Can it be a further portion of the Cesaró (Bronte?) hoard (on which see above p. 371, n. 10) with which its date of discovery would agree? The Cesaró hoard as it is in Syracuse and as recorded by Cesano is recognised as only a portion of a larger find (Cesano, p. 63).

²⁰ It contains specimens of Corinth, Ravel period V groups E, N, A, AA, AP.

²¹ Evans (*Syracusan Medallions*, p. 171) dates the Schiso hoard c. 410 and says the latest types of Naxos were absent: but in *Bull. Inst.*, 1853 are mentioned Naxian pieces with 'la testa di Bacco giovanile' (cf. Cahn, *Naxos*, p. 85) which can only be of Cahn's last period 420-403. I see no reason for not giving the hoard the obvious date, 403. The presence of a Syracusan facing head by Eukleidas is surely not, *pace* Evans, an "indication of the comparatively early date of this type" (*op. cit.*, p. 172) as much as of a later date for the burial!

Medallions, p. 152): but this is not correct, for no pegasi are mentioned by Caccopardi in *Bull. Inst.*, 1853. Actually a modest intake of pegasi is first apparent in the hoards from Ognina (Noe 749) and Terranova (viz. present-day Gela, Noe 1095): the first of which included five pieces of Corinth (and the same number of Athens), the second, one pegasus of Ambracia. These two hoards must date from at least the first decade or so of the fourth century. Slightly later comes the Contessa hoard (Noe 261) with one or more pieces of Leukas. If we may take into account the recently published hoard from Vito Superiore, in the Reggio area, which must be about contemporary with Contessa, having very similar contents, we find again a smallish number of pegasi – eight of Corinth and five of Corinthian colonies (and only a single coin of Athens) – not a large proportion out of a total of 134 coins in the hoard.²² Then, probably buried towards the end of Dionysios I's reign, there is the S. Maria Licodia hoard (Noe 917): Evans mentions some pegasi in his account (*Syracusan Medallions*, pp. 13ff.) but was not able to establish how many. One gets the impression that they are unlikely to have been numerous, for it is clear anyhow that the great bulk of the find consisted of decadrachms.

During the earlier part of the fourth century, then, the number of pegasi in circulation in Sicily was still quite restricted; and at the same time coins of Athens were still present or even still arriving, as we know from the hoards of Ognina, Contessa (fourth-century specimens), S. Maria Licodia, Vito and above all of Gela 1948. This last find, which I have not seen, but of which a summary account appears in *Annali*, II, p. 200, evidently contained a very large number of the Euainetos type decadrachms – and on that score would, on my reckoning, be a hoard of the early fourth rather than of the fifth century – and also of Athenian tetradrachms: it would be extremely interesting to know if any of the latter were of the fourth century type also present at Contessa, Licata and Nissoria. Nevertheless the more significant new feature of all these early fourth century hoards, except Gela 1948, is still that they contain specimens of Corinth and her colonies at all, albeit on a very small scale. Clearly, commercial relations with Sicily were no longer being monopolised by Athens as had been the case during the fifth century.

²² The undeniable fact that the Vito hoard contains a Corinthian piece from near the end of Ravel period IV (no. 129 in Procopio's publication: Ravel IV, series xiv) might at first sight be invoked to defend Ravel's chronology, with its high date for the end of period IV, as against what I have argued above. But it is to be noted that as apparently there are no die-links between Ravel IV. xiv and other series of period IV we cannot necessarily assume that it belongs inevitably where he puts it, and it may be earlier.

To what extent if at all this reorientation may have been due to any deliberate policy on the part of Dionysios I is debatable. It may be relevant to recall what Diodoros says (XV. 13.1) of the motives for Dionysios' expansion in the Adriatic – τοῦτο δὲ ἔπραττε διανοούμενος τὸν Ἰόνιον καλούμενον πόρον ἰδιοποιεῖσθαι ἵνα τὸν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑπείρον πλοῦν ἀσφαλῆ κατασκευάσῃ : this might well be held to suggest, amongst other things, an attempt to draw closer the links between his own and the Corinthian sphere of influence²³. Yet the very limited extent of the change which comes over the coin hoards in the early fourth century must warn us against supposing that any very fundamental alteration took place in the basis of the Syracusan economy under Dionysios. Attempts to explain the tradition (Arist. *Oikonom.* ii. 20) of the tyrant's financial manoeuvres as reflecting a wholesale replacement of the older tetradrachm coinage by Corinthian pegasi are not borne out by any really significant intake of the latter at an early enough date.²⁴ This is not the place to discuss the Syracusan coinage of Dionysios' time, except to say that there is unlikely to have been a complete hiatus, especially if the bulk of the decadrachms and the high-value gold belongs to this period, as I believe it does;²⁵ though one would be prepared to see a prolonged suspension of minting between the death of Dionysios I and the arrival of Timoleon with his new colonists.

At all events I hope to have shown that on the evidence available there is no good reason for dating the arrival of large quantities of Corinthian coin in Sicily before Timoleon. From his time down to and including the tyranny of Agathokles this is the coinage which dominated the scene as it is revealed by the hoards,²⁶ as

²³ R. L. Beaumont in *JHS*, 1936, pp. 202f. justly emphasises the Diodoros passage as confirming that Dionysios never in any case aimed at the control of the whole Adriatic.

²⁴ For such rationalisations of Dionysios' alleged countermarking, cf. Gardner, *History of Ancient Coinage*, p. 415.

²⁵ Attempts have been made to fill up the apparent gap in the coinage in Dionysios' reign by importing coins which cannot belong there, e.g. Seltman, *Greek Coins*, pl. XLIII, 10–11, and Pl. XLIV, 6–7: none of these appear in hoards before the end of the fourth century. Giesecke, in *Sicilia Numismatica*, prolongs the fifth century tetradrachm series to the death of Dionysios I and gives the electrum to Dionysios II. I hope to discuss the whole question elsewhere.

²⁶ It is interesting to note that Syracuse, during the period following Timoleon, struck not only pegasus staters, as is well known, but also smaller denominations which I think can best be described as the Corinthian drachm and its half. These are the pieces which Head calls 3- and 1½-litrai respectively, e.g. *BMC, Sicily*, nos. 272–3 (Drachm) and 274–7 and *SNG, Lloyd Collection*, nos. 1446, 1448–9 (hemidrachm): also a drachm at Camarina (Jameson 532). There were specimens of the Syracusan 'drachm' in the Avola (Noe 108) hoard, together with drachms of Corinth, which also occur in other Sicilian hoards of the later fourth century (e.g. Camarina-Scoglitti).

late as those from Cammarata (Noe 193) and from Camarina-Scoglitti (1928),²⁷ both of which date from a late period in Agathokles' reign. But this overwhelming Corinthian monopoly, attested by so many sizeable hoards that give a decided impression of pegasi being the commonest of all coins found in Sicily, must clearly have been due in the first instance as much to political as to purely economic causes: and it must not be allowed to contaminate our view of earlier periods when the circumstances were different.²⁸

²⁷ Cesano, p. 63. Christ, no. 65, has omitted the 82 Corinthian coins mentioned by Cesano, and certainly forming part of the hoard (of which there is now more in Syracuse than the numbers given by Cesano; it certainly deserves full publication); they appear to run to the end of Ravel period V.

²⁸ Cf. Heichelheim, *op. cit.* (n. 1 above), p. 72. Contrast Sutherland, *NC*, 1942, p. 11.

DER OSTFRIESISCHE MÜNZMEISTER DIETRICH IDEN

Ein Beitrag zur Geld- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte des 16. Jahrhunderts

KARL KENNEDY

Das 16. Jahrhundert ist jenes Jahrhundert, in dem sich in Deutschland erstmalig kapitalistische Denkweise durchzusetzen beginnt; es sei in diesem Zusammenhang nur auf die Geschäftsgrundsätze der damaligen oberdeutschen Handelshäuser hingewiesen. Diese neuen kaufmännischen Gedankengänge erhielten durch das Ausgreifen des europäischen Handels auf die überseeischen Länder, vor allem aber durch die gesteigerte Silberausbeute in Tirol, im Erzgebirge und im Harz weiteren Auftrieb. Diese wiederum fand in der vermehrten Tätigkeit der deutschen Münzstätten ihren sichtbaren Ausdruck.

Der Geldhandel in Deutschland, der sich im Mittelalter in verhältnismäßig engen Grenzen bewegt hatte, nimmt jedoch unter dem Einfluß des erhöhten Umlaufs an Zahlungsmitteln im 16. Jahrhundert ebenfalls umfassende Formen an. An diesen, häufig genug recht dunklen Geschäften sind neben Kaufleuten im allgemeinen Sinne und Silberlieferanten für die Münzstätten vielfach auch die Münzmeister selbst beteiligt. Es sei für die in Rede stehende Zeit aus dem niederländischen und niederrheinisch-westfälischen Raum nur an die verschiedenen Mitglieder der Münzmeisterfamilien Fleming, Wyntgens, Bossenhoven, Kerckmann u. a. erinnert, die über ihre eigentliche Tätigkeit hinaus mehr oder weniger alle auch im Geldhandel ihre Hand im Spiele hatten.¹

¹ Noß, *Münzen von Kleve* (München, 1931), S. 196f., 232f., 249, 254, 263. – Peus, "Der Münzmeister Lambert Vlemynck", *Frankf. Mztg.*, 1932, S. 465. – Kennepohl, *Münzen von Osnabrück* (München, 1938), S. 131f., 155. – Tangelder, *Muntheer en Muntmeester* (Arnhem, 1955), Kap. 3 bis 6.

In diesen Kreis gehört auch Dietrich Iden, der in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts als Gräflisch Ostfriesischer Münzmeister für ein Menschenalter die Münzstätte Emden geleitet hat. Er stammte, wie so manche seiner Zunftgenossen, aus den Niederlanden; ob seine Familie aber hier ursprünglich beheimatet war, ist zweifelhaft. Denn es bleibt die Möglichkeit offen, daß jene aus Goslar stammte, da Geismars Goslarer Chronik zum Jahre 1501 meldet: "Ock worden 3 muntehern gekoppedt des namiddages, alse Henning Tilli, Hinrick Iden und N: Barniseke".² Jesse bemerkt mit Recht zu diesem Ereignis, daß es sich nicht um Münzmeister handelt, sondern um Münzherrn, d. h. vom Rate der Stadt bestellte Aufsichtsorgane der Münze,³ die zweifellos von vornehmen, eingesessenen Familien gestellt wurden, zumal Geismar über die drei Hingerichteten weiterhin berichtet: "und worden in der broder kirchen under einem stein begraben". Ein Beweis für den verwandtschaftlichen Zusammenhang zwischen Hinrick und Dietrich Iden kann jedoch nicht geführt werden.

Dietrich Idens Lebensweg läßt sich bis zum Jahre 1553 zurückverfolgen. Damals wohnte er in Hammont (= Helmond; Niederl. Prov. Noord-Brabant) und machte hier aus unbekanntem Grunde in dem genannten Jahre bankrott.⁴ Es ist anzunehmen, daß er in Helmond auch geboren ist, denn im Jahre 1558 wird er in Emden als "Dirck Iden van Hammundt" bezeichnet.⁵ Es darf vermutet werden, daß er das Goldschmiedehandwerk erlernt hat, denn am 7. September 1553 erwarb er in Lüttich das Bürgerrecht und wurde Mitglied der dortigen Goldschmiedegilde. Der schnelle Wechsel seines Wohnsitzes ist wohl damit zu erklären, daß er wegen seines Bankrotts sich nur durch Flucht der drohenden Verhaftung in Helmond entziehen konnte. Doch auch in Lüttich war seines Bleibens nicht; er zog es vor, alsbald abermals zu fliehen, da er in mehrere Prozesse verwickelt und in deren Verfolg durch das bischöfliche Gericht exkommuniziert wurde. Leider sind wir über die Art der Prozesse nicht unterrichtet, immerhin müssen Idens Verfehlungen so schwer gewesen sein, daß nach ihm gefahndet wurde. Wir treffen ihn im Gefängnis in Helmond wieder, aus dem er jedoch auszubrechen vermochte.⁶ Daraufhin hat er die Niederlande verlassen; der Boden war ihm zu heiß geworden. Als schwer belasteter Mann taucht er spätestens 1558 in Emden auf, wohl in der

² Cordes, *Die Goslarer Chronik des Hans Geismar* (Goslar, 1954), S. 123.

³ Jesse, Goslar bestraft die Urheber der "Tumeler", *Berl. Num. Ztschr.*, 1955, Nr. 20, S. 171.

⁴ St.-A. Aurich, Rep. 101. I. 113.

⁵ Emden Kontr. Prot., Bd. 7, S. 53.

⁶ St.-A. Aurich, Rep. I. 113.

Hoffnung, auf dem Boden des Hl. Reiches vor Verfolgungen sicher zu sein. Aber wenigstens einer seiner Gläubiger wußte ihn auch hier aufzuspüren, denn am 26. Februar dieses Jahres gibt er zu Protokoll, dem Arendt Truyens zu Brey im Lütticher Lande 102 Gulden (zu je 20 Stüber Brabantisch) schuldig zu sein.⁷

Zu der Wendigkeit Dietrich Idens, sich auf neue Verhältnisse schnell umzustellen, paßt es auch, daß es ihm bereits im Jahre 1559 gelang, sich in Emden einbürgern zu lassen. Auch ein ihm ursprünglich fremdes Gewerbe hat er zunächst dort betrieben, denn seit demselben Jahre führt er den Beinamen "Kruetkremer",⁸ auch "Kraut Kramer".⁹ Aber es bleibt unklar, ob er mit Gemüse, in erster Linie wohl Kohl, oder mit Schießpulver gehandelt hat. Jedenfalls hat er in diesen Jahren schon ausgedehnte Geschäftsbeziehungen besessen; so schuldet er einem Soester Bürger 100, bzw. 500 Taler, und im folgenden Jahre einem Bürger in Köln 230 Taler.¹⁰ Auf seine Kenntnisse als Goldschmied ist es wohl zurückzuführen, daß er spätestens 1560 Münzmeister des Fräuleins Maria in Jever und unter vorläufiger Aufgabe dieser Tätigkeit anstelle des wegen unredlicher Amtsführung geflüchteten Heinrich Meinerts am 10. Februar, bzw. 3. Mai 1563 Gräfl. Ostfriesischer Münzmeister wurde.¹¹

Trotz dieser ebenso wichtigen wie einträglichen Stellung war Dietrich Iden aber nach wie vor stark verschuldet. Er muß verschiedentlich Darlehen und Hypotheken aufnehmen, um seine Gläubiger befriedigen und überhaupt leben zu können. Zeitweise geriet er Wucherern in die Hände, denen er bis zu 60% Zinsen zu bezahlen hatte. Nach einem Schuldregister vom 16. Oktober 1576 betrugen die Forderungen seiner verschiedenen Geldgeber fast 3600 Taler.¹² Diese Geldgeschäfte hängen zwar teilweise mit Grundstückskäufen, bzw. -spekulationen in Emden zusammen. So besaß er neben dem 1574 bis 1576 erbauten neuen Rathaus an der Stelle des jetzigen Hauses Neutorstraße 10 ein ansehnliches Anwesen mit einem Turm und verschiedenen Nebengebäuden, in dem seine Wohnung und die

⁷ Emd. Kontr. Prot., Bd. 7, S. 53. – Sauer, "Beitr. z. Mzgesch. Ostfr.", *Emder Jb.*, Bd. 3, I, S. 54, spricht von verwandtschaftlichen Beziehungen Idens zu dem früheren ostfr. Münzmeister Nykamer, ohne jedoch Belege beizubringen. Es wäre möglich, daß Iden eine Tochter oder Enkelin des damals längst verstorbenen Nykamer geheiratet hat.

⁸ Emd. Kontr. Prot., Bd. 8, S. 444.

⁹ St.-A. Aurich, Rep. 4. O.A. B. II. c. 15.

¹⁰ Emd. Kontr. Prot., Bd. 8, S. 444, 737.

¹¹ St.-A. Aurich, Rep. 4. O.A.B. II. c. 15. – Stadt-A. Emden, I, 304, S. 117f. – Auf Idens zweimalige kurzfristige Tätigkeit in Jever soll in diesen Ausführungen jedoch nicht näher eingegangen werden.

¹² Emd. Kontr. Prot., Bd. 12, S. 778, 871; Bd. 15, S. 405, 466 u. a. – Auch sein Sohn Johann hatte wiederholt mit Schulden zu kämpfen: ebd. Bd. 15, S. 293, 895.

Münzschmiede untergebracht waren.¹³ Der älteste Emdener Stadtplan von Braun und Hogenberg aus der Zeit um 1570 vermittelt eine klare, perspektivische Ansicht dieses Besitzes. Andererseits ist Dietrich Iden an seinen mißlichen wirtschaftlichen Verhältnissen sicherlich auch nicht unschuldig gewesen. Einblick in sein persönliches Wesen gewährt uns ein Kriminalprozeß aus dem Jahre 1576, in den er verwickelt war.¹⁴ Aus den Akten erfahren wir, daß Dietrich Iden vor Gewalttätigkeiten nicht zurückschreckte und daß die Hauptangeklagte, die damals siebenundzwanzigjährige Geske Johanns Kruitzelmans, die ihr – angeblich – totes geborenes Kind in einen Tümpel geworfen hatte, Idens Magd war und kurz nach dem Tode seiner Frau das Kind von ihm empfangen hatte.¹⁵ Die Aussagen der Magd aber verraten einen so erstaunlich guten Einblick in die Tätigkeit und in die zerrüttete Vermögenslage Idens, daß dieser ihr wenigstens einige Jahre lang vorher in irgendeiner Form schon hörig gewesen sein muß. Auf Grund eines Gutachtens der Marburger Universität verurteilte ihn Graf Johann zum Tode, doch wurde das Urteil unter Vermittlung seines Gönners, des Grafen Edzard, vom Kaiser niedergeschlagen.¹⁶

Ob Dietrich Iden nach seiner Anstellung als Münzmeister in Emden sich noch in Geschäften versucht hat, die ihm ursprünglich den Beinamen "Kraut Kramer" eingebracht haben, läßt sich aktenmäßig nicht belegen. Dagegen erfahren wir, daß er im Jahre 1568 in Köln ein Weingeschäft getätigt hat,¹⁷ und 1574 kauft er Roggen in Danzig.¹⁸ Auch sein Sohn Johann hat in den nächsten Jahren von dorthier Roggen bezogen.¹⁹ Das sind zwar nur wenige Nachrichten; es ist aber zu bedenken, daß diese nur deswegen auf uns gekommen sind, weil bei den gedachten Geschäften sich Schwierigkeiten ergeben hatten. In Köln fühlten sich die Verkäufer wegen Zahlung des Kaufpreises in falscher und zu leichter Münze betrogen, und in Danzig blieben beide Iden den Kaufpreis überhaupt schuldig, so daß Klagen bei den Grafen Edzard und Johann, bzw. beim Emdener Rate einliefen, die uns erhalten sind. Von Geschäften Dietrich Idens, die offenbar keine Weiterungen nach sich gezogen haben, erfahren wir dagegen nichts.

¹³ Kennepohl, "Der Emdener Münzmeisterstein", *Ztschr. Ostfriesland*, 1956, Heft 3, S. 3f. – Das neue Rathaus und Idens Anwesen sind im letzten Kriege zerstört worden.

¹⁴ St.-A. Aurich, Rep. 4. BIV, e, 144.

¹⁵ Hahn, "Der gräfliche Münzmeister Iden. Eine Episode aus der Zeit des Bruderzwistes", *Ztschr. Ostfriesland*, 1950, Nr. 2, S. 7f. – St.-A. Aurich, Rep. 4. O.A.B. II. c. 13, 15, 16; B. II. c. 23.

¹⁶ Wiarda, *Ostfriesische Geschichte*, 3. Bd., Aurich, 1793, S. 137.

¹⁷ St.-A. Aurich, Urk. 566.

¹⁸ Stadt-A. Emden, I, 304.

¹⁹ Emdener Kontr. Prot., Bd. 15, S. 895.

Ausgedehnter als Idens Handel mit Verbrauchsgütern scheint sein Geldhandel gewesen zu sein. In den Jahren um 1570 hören wir wiederholt von der Ausfuhr "böser Taler" unbekannten Gepräges durch Emder Schiffer nach Danzig, auch schlechtes Geld aus Jever, Brederode und Vianen wird im Jahre 1569 durch ihn unter Vermittlung von Seeleuten verschoben.²⁰ Darüber hinaus erfahren wir aus den Angaben der oben erwähnten Magd Geske vor dem Untersuchungsrichter, daß Dietrich Iden an der Herstellung unterwertiger Taler unmittelbar und mittelbar beteiligt gewesen ist. So sandte er in einem nicht genannten Jahre, vermutlich 1575, Silber nach Jever, um dafür Taler zurückzuerhalten, und in demselben Jahre erhielt er "ein Commission van Graff Edzardt, vmb verboden Dalers tho mogen munten". Diese wurden heimlich in einem Hinterraum der Münze trotz Geskes wiederholter Warnungen hergestellt. Aber er fühlte sich sicher, da er ihr gegenüber äußerte: "Ick munte dese muntinge nicht sunder Verloeffnisse van Mein Herr Graff Edzardt". Der durch diese Aussagen schwer belastete Graf war an der verbotenen Ausmünzung finanziell beteiligt. Nicht nur, daß er für den gedachten Zweck seinem Münzmeister 6000 Gulden vorschob, er sorgte außerdem durch ein Empfehlungsschreiben dafür, daß jener weitere 3000 Gulden in Emden aufnehmen konnte. Mitwisser, vielleicht auch Mitverdiener, bei dem dunklen Geschäft war ferner des Grafen Drost in Emden, Ocko Frese.²¹ Trotz dieser eingehenden Kenntnisse von dem geheimen Treiben Idens wußte Geske aber über das Gepräge und den Fuß der verbotenen Taler keinerlei Angaben zu machen, ein vom münzgeschichtlichen Standpunkt aus recht bedauerlicher Mangel.

Das Bild, das wir von Dietrich Iden in persönlicher und geschäftlicher Beziehung erhalten, ist also wenig erfreulich, und das Urteil des Antwerpener Kaufmanns Gerhardt Michelss über ihn wird von der Wahrheit nicht allzu weit entfernt sein, wenn er ihn als "Bankerottierer, Betrüger und Meineidigen" bezeichnet. Zwar beauftragte Iden am 23. August 1574 einen Advokaten in Speyer, beim Kammergericht gegen Michelss wegen dieser Beleidigungen vorzugehen,²² aber über den Ausgang des Prozesses sind wir nicht unterrichtet.

Als Münzmeister des Fräuleins Maria von Jever kam Dietrich Iden in die Lage, einen genauen Einblick in den Geldumlauf Ostfrieslands zu gewinnen. Diese

²⁰ Stadt-A. Emden, I, 304. — Nach dankenswerter Mitteilung des Herrn Dr. Enno van Gelder in Den Haag handelt es sich bei den letztgenannten niederländischen Sorten offenbar um Erzeugnisse aus der Münzstätte des Herrn von Brederode in seinem Schloß Vianen.

²¹ S. Anm. 15.

²² St.-A. Aurich, Rep. 101, I, 113.

Kenntnis konnte er verwerten, als er nach der Flucht des Münzmeisters Heinrich Meinerts,²³ jedenfalls auf Anfordern der Gräfin Anna, die bis 1565 für die drei Junggrafen die Regierung führte,²⁴ ein Gutachten zur Verbesserung des Geldwesens in Ostfriesland anfertigte.²⁵ Das Schriftstück ist zwar ohne Datum, da aber in ihm wiederholt von der Überschwemmung des Landes mit schlechter einheimischer Kleinmünze die Rede ist, muß es aus inneren Gründen in die Zeit zwischen 1563 und 1568, dem Jahre der Aufwechslung dieser Münze,²⁶ fallen. Da nun weiterhin in dem Gutachten nur grundsätzliche Vorschläge ohne Bezugnahme auf die Ausmünzungsanordnungen in den Bestallungen vom 10. Februar und 3. Mai 1563²⁷ gemacht werden, muß seine Entstehung vor dem erstgenannten Datum liegen. Andererseits fehlen alle aktenmäßigen Hinweise auf den Zeitpunkt der Flucht des Münzmeisters Heinrich Meinerts. Von diesem liegen aber noch, allerdings äußerst seltene, Taler und Arensgulden (zu 6 Stübern Brabantisch) mit der Jahreszahl 1563 vor, die nach Lage der Dinge kaum anders als im Januar dieses Jahres geschlagen sein können. Das Gutachten wird also kurz vor dem 10. Februar 1563 entstanden sein.

In diesem bemüht sich Dietrich Iden, Wege aufzuzeigen, wie Ostfriesland von dem Übermaß an kleinen Münzen, über das in der Bevölkerung laut Klage geführt wurde, befreit werden könnte. Insbesondere scheinen die halben Syfert den Verkehr des Landes belastet zu haben. Diese Münzsorte im Werte von $2\frac{1}{2}$ Witt wurde nach dem Vorbilde gleichartiger Stücke Graf Ennos II. (1528–1540) in den Jahren 1560 und 1561 vom Münzmeister Heinrich Meinerts geprägt, aber mit stark vermindertem Gehalt. Iden macht nun den Vorschlag, die halben Syfert, wenn nicht ganz zu verbieten, so doch auf 2 Witt abzuwürdigen und bei Zahlungen vom Gulden aufwärts nur in Höhe von 20% zuzulassen. Er verspricht sich von dieser Maßnahme ein Abwandern der halben Syfert in das Ausland. Der im Lande verbleibende Rest soll eingeschmolzen und umgeprägt werden. Etwas Ähnliches empfiehlt er für die Stücke zu 1 Witt. Um den Kleinhandel mit den täglichen Bedürfnissen nicht zu stören, sollen diese zuletzt unter Enno II. stark ausgeprägten Münzchen zwar nicht herabgesetzt, aber bei größeren Zahlungen wie oben nur zu 10% zugelassen werden, um sie ebenfalls nach Möglichkeit aus dem Lande zu

²³ Vgl. Anm. 11.

²⁴ König, *Verwaltungsgeschichte Ostfrieslands* (Göttingen, 1955), S. 465.

²⁵ St.-A. Aurich, Rep. 4, B. II. c. 11. – Der Druck bei Sauer, *a.a.O.*, S. 85 f., ist stellenweise fehlerhaft.

²⁶ Stadt-A. Emden, I, 304.

²⁷ St.-A. Aurich, Rep. 4, B. II. c. 15. – Der Druck bei Sauer, *a.a.O.*, S. 84, ist ebenfalls stellenweise fehlerhaft.

drängen. Er erkennt klar, daß auf diese Weise die inflationistische Wirkung der übermäßig stark umlaufenden Kleinmünzen gebannt wird und es dann möglich sein müßte, diese wieder mit dem Taler in ein festes Verhältnis zu bringen. Um allen diesen Maßnahmen den notwendigen Rückhalt zu geben, hält er es für notwendig, neues, gerechtes Silbergeld im Werte von 1 Schaf, $\frac{1}{2}$ Schaf (= 1 Stüber) und $\frac{1}{4}$ Schaf (= Syfert), ferner Goldgeld zu prägen, das unter den obwaltenden Umständen aus dem Lande verschwunden ist. In diesem Gutachten entwickelt Iden eine anzuerkennende volkswirtschaftliche Einsicht, der er vermutlich seine baldige Anstellung als Ostfriesischer Münzmeister zu verdanken hat. Die von ihm stammenden Erzeugnisse sind an seinem Münzzeichen, einem Kleestengel mit vier Blättern, gekreuzt mit einem Zainhaken, erkennbar, das auch auf seinem Siegel erscheint (Abb. 1). Auf einzelnen Münzen finden sich auch nur die Kleeblätter, mit und ohne Stengel.



Abb. 1

In der Bestallung vom 10. Februar 1563 beschränkt sich der Ausprägungsbefehl in allgemeiner Form auf Dukaten, Goldgulden und Rosenobel nach Reichsordnung, ferner auf 14-lötige Taler. Die Anordnung über die Goldprägung wird in der Bestallung vom 3. Mai d. J. wiederholt, aber mit genauer Angabe des Reichsfußes. Auf diesen hat Dietrich Iden Goldgulden geprägt, die sich jedoch in ihrer Zeichnung von den üblichen Typen für Goldgulden völlig unterscheiden; sie zeigen den geharnischten Grafen in ganzer Figur a. d. Vs. und das Hüftbild des Kaisers a. d. Rs. (TAFEL XXIII, 1). Es wird also die Absicht deutlich, diese Goldgulden auswärts als Dukaten unterzubringen. Der Versuch ist auch gelungen; denn in einer Replik der Ostfriesischen Grafen während des Prozesses des Reichsfiskals gegen sie wegen der Aufhebung ihrer Münzgerechtigkeit im Jahre 1566 wird von den Goldgulden dieser Art eingeräumt, "von etlighen geitzighen vntreuwen leuthen in anderen landen vor halb (!) Ducaten" ausgegeben zu werden. Hingegen wird in diesem Schriftstück in Abrede gestellt, jemals Dukaten und Rosenobel geschlagen zu haben. Diese Behauptung wird stimmen, denn sie sind uns nicht erhalten und außerdem war an ihnen bei Einhaltung des Reichsfußes nichts

zu verdienen. Andererseits müssen die Grafen zugeben, "etlighe gulden genannt Embder, Jtem Norder und andere gulden, vngeferligh drei Ordt vom Goldtgulden werdt, in vorigen Zeithen slahen laessen" und daß diese Gulden wider ihren Willen oft für rheinische Gulden ausgegeben wurden.²⁸ Beide Angaben sind richtig, nur ist es zu bezweifeln, daß der gelungene Betrug mit den sog. Emden Gulden ohne Wissen und Willen der Grafen geschehen ist. Diese in der erwähnten Bestallung nicht aufgeführte Guldenart ist in starkem Maße zuerst von Graf Edzard I. (1491–1528) auf einen gegenüber dem rheinischen etwas leichteren Fuß geschlagen worden. Entsprechend dem Prägebeginn in den ersten Jahren der Regierung Edzards I. zeigen alle Stücke gotische Schrift. Der Schlag der Emden Gulden wurde unter Enno II. (1528–1540) mit gleichen Typen fortgesetzt, die Schriftform jedoch der neuen Zeit angepaßt. Dietrich Iden aber wählt für die von ihm herausgebrachten, ebenfalls typengleichen Emden Gulden wieder die gotische Schrift, der Name Edzard wird wie auf den Urstücken vollständig gebracht, während diejenigen seiner Brüder abgekürzt werden (TAFEL XXIII, 2). Es war also beabsichtigt, im Auslande diese Emden Gulden möglichst als gute, alte rheinische Gulden, im Inlande als von Edzard I. stammend in den Verkehr zu bringen. Die Emden Gulden Edzards I. wurden zwar im Jahre 1502 in einer Utrechter Münzordnung, statt 24 Stüber für die vollwertigen, auf 23 Stüber gesetzt,²⁹ waren aber wesentlich besser als die Emden Gulden Dietrich Idens, die im Jahre 1578 bei einem Kurse von 18 Schaf für die guten Goldgulden mit nur 11 Schaf tarifiert wurden.³⁰ Die Grafen Edzard II., Christoph und Johann, bzw. die regierende Gräfin-Mutter Anna, müssen an dem Goldguldengeschäft ihres Münzmeisters erheblich interessiert gewesen sein, da sie in der Bestallungsurkunde von jeder vermünzten Mark Gold nicht weniger als 10 Schaf oder 20 Stüber Brabantisch, d. h. ein Drittel mehr als damals üblich, als Schlagschatz verlangten, sich aber bei jeder vermünzten Mark Feinsilber mit einem Schaf oder zwei Stübern Brabantisch begnügten.

In diesem Schriftstück werden dann noch eine ganze Reihe von Silbermünzen verschiedener Wertstufen aufgeführt, die für die Ausprägung vorgesehen sind. Aus den beigefügten Vorschriften für ihren Fuß geht zunächst hervor, daß die Taler wesentlich geringer ausgebracht werden sollten, als das in der Reichsordnung von 1551 und auch in der späteren von 1566 vorgeschrieben ist.

²⁸ St.-A. Aurich, Rep. 4, B. II. c. 23.

²⁹ Tergast-Meier, "Die Münzen der Grafen von Ostfriesland (1464–1540)", *Emden Jb.*, 21. Bd. (Emden, 1924), S. 56.

³⁰ St.-A. Aurich, Rep. 4, B. II. c. 17.

Sorte	Schrot a. d. M.	Korn	Rauhgew. g	Feingew. g	Feingeh. 1:1000
Reichstaler 1551	7½	14 L. 2 Gr.	31,18	27,499	882
Reichstaler 1566	8	10 d. 16 Gr.	29,232	25,987	889
Ostfr. Taler nach der Ord- nung von 1563	8¼	13 L. 3 Q.	28,358	24,359	859

Es ist einleuchtend, daß die unterwertigen Ostfriesischen Taler nach dem Fuß von 1563 nicht aus volkswirtschaftlichen Gründen geprägt werden sollten, vielmehr war beabsichtigt, durch ihre Ausfuhr, besonders in das Ostseegebiet, ein gutes, allerdings auch ein recht schmutziges Geschäft zu machen. Dietrich Iden hat von diesen Talern zwei Arten herausgebracht, die auch bereits sein Vorgänger Heinrich Meinerts geschlagen hatte, vermutlich nach demselben Fuße, und die gemäß ihrer Zeichnung scheinbar vollwertige Stücke vortäuschen sollten. Die erste Art (TAFEL XXIII, 3) ahmt die seit 1537 geprägten Konstanzer Taler mit knieendem Ritter und Schild ziemlich genau nach. Ebenso zeigt der Lübecker Brömsetaler von 1537 auf der Vorderseite dieselbe Figur. Der zweiten Art (TAFEL XXIII, 4) haben die Taler der Österreichischen Erblande mit dem Hüftbild des Kaisers oder Erzherzogs zum Vorbild gedient.

Allerdings stand Iden mit seinen betrügerischen Prägungen damals nicht allein; er folgte nur dem Beispiel der Äbtissin von Thoren, der Herren von Gronsfield und Bergh,³¹ deren Erzeugnisse im Niederrheinisch-Westfälischem Kreise am 22. März 1563 verboten wurden.³² Ebenso schritt der Niedersächsische Kreis auf seiner Braunschweiger Tagung vom 20. Dezember 1565 gegen dieses und anderes schlechte Geld, das nun noch durch das Ostfriesische vermehrt war, durch ein gedrucktes Mandat ein, das jedoch leider nicht erhalten ist. In erster Linie handelte es sich aber um "etliche niederlendische, friesische und da umblangs gemünzte Thaler", die "allerhandt Unrichtigkeit in Bezalungen" angerichtet hatten, wie aus einem in diesem Zusammenhange abgefertigten Schreiben der Stadt Lüneburg an die Stadt Lübeck vom 3. Januar 1566 hervorgeht.³³ In der oben bereits angezogenen Replik der Ostfriesischen Grafen vom Jahre 1566 wird

³¹ Tangelder, *a.a.O.*, S. 264.

³² von Lehmann, *Die Thaler und kleineren Münzen des Fräuleins Maria von Jever* (Wiesbaden, 1887), S. 104.

³³ von Bahrfeldt, *Niedersächsisches Münzarchiv*, I. Bd. (Halle [Saale], 1927), Nr. 392, 393.

die Unterwertigkeit wenigstens der Taler mit dem kaiserlichen Hüftbild sogar halbwegs eingestanden, wenn die Grafen wissen lassen: "Sollten diese Thaler und halbe Thaler – was aber nicht zugegeben wird – wirklich an Gehalt und Valor der Reichsordnung nicht gemäß sein, so ist es Wahrheit, daß diese Reichsmünzordnung im Niederländischen, Westfälischen und Sächsischen Kreis nicht in voller Kraft gehalten wird" (!). Umso merkwürdiger erscheint es, daß die beanstandeten Taler nach der Behauptung der Grafen in demselben Schriftstück zu Danzig bei der Probation aufrichtig befunden wurden und daher auch überall als gangbare Münze anerkannt seien.³⁴ Wenn auch die letztere Behauptung nach dem oben angeführten Lüneburger Zeugnis mindestens stark eingeschränkt werden muß, so ist es bei der Wichtigkeit des Ostfriesischen, insbesondere Emder Handels mit Danzig der Skrupellosigkeit Idens durchaus zuzutrauen, daß er ein Werk Taler und Halbtaler mit dem kaiserlichen Hüftbild vollwertig angefertigt und von diesem dann einige Stücke zur Probe nach Danzig geschickt hat. Denn auffallenderweise sind die Taler mit dieser Zeichnung und der Jahreszahl 1564, im Gegensatz zu denen mit knieendem Ritter, nach Ausweis der erhaltenen Stücke und Stempelvarianten massenweise geprägt worden. Ihr Absatz in den baltischen Raum ist wahrscheinlich gut gewesen, da sie dort auf Grund der Danziger Probe Vertrauen genossen. Aber noch ein anderer Schluß darf aus ihrer starken Ausprägung gezogen werden. Es ist in höchstem Grade unwahrscheinlich, daß sie alle in demselben Jahre entstanden sind, vielmehr werden sie auch in der Folgezeit noch hergestellt sein, ja, daß es sich bei dem geheimen Schlag verbotener Taler in den 70er Jahren, von dem in anderem Zusammenhange bereits die Rede war, um Stücke mit der Jahreszahl 1564 gehandelt hat, ist keineswegs abwegig, waren jene doch auch offenbar für Danzig, bzw. das Baltikum bestimmt.

Gemäß der Bestallung vom 3. Mai 1563 sollen ferner Stücke zu 6 Stübern gemünzt werden, und zwar nach folgendem Fuße:

<i>Sorte</i>	<i>Schrot a. d. M.</i>	<i>Korn</i>	<i>Rauhgew. g</i>	<i>Feingew. g</i>	<i>Feingeh. 1:1000</i>
6 Stüber	32	10 L.	7,308	4,567	625

Auch Doppelstücke auf denselben Fuß sind vorgesehen, aber gemäß einem Bericht der gräflichen Brüder vom November 1566 an das Kammergericht nicht geschlagen,³⁵ ebensowenig sind Originale bekannt geworden.

³⁴ St.-A. Aurich, Rep. 4. O.A.B. II. c. 23.

³⁵ St.-A. Aurich, Rep. 4, B. II. c. 23.

Es handelt sich um Stücke zu 6 Stübern Brabantisch, die bereits unter Graf Enno II. seit 1530 in umfangreichem Maße als silberner Gegenwert der heruntergekommenen Gulden des Herzogs Arnold von Geldern (1423–1473) gemünzt wurden. Im Ostfriesischen Volksmunde hießen sie daher "Arensgulden", meistens jedoch "Dicke Penning".³⁶ Diese ansehnlichen Münzen hatten sich in Ostfriesland schnell eingebürgert³⁷ und wurden daher auch unter den Grafen Edzard, Christoph und Johann von Heinrich Meinerts und anschließend von Dietrich Iden ausgiebig hergestellt (TAFEL XXIII, 5). Die starke Ausprägung dieser Stücke beruhte allerdings nicht allein auf ihrer Beliebtheit in ihrer Heimat, vielmehr dienten auch sie wenigstens teilweise als Exportgeld, um in der Ferne als Orte (= Vierteltaler) in den Verkehr geschoben zu werden. Das war leicht möglich, da ihr Rohgewicht von 7,308 g nur wenig hinter dem der Reichsorte mit 7,795 g zurückblieb, während ihr Feingewicht um 2,308 g (6,875 g minus 4,567 g) unter dem der letzteren lag. Der Kölner Kreistag vom 15. März 1563 erkannte ihren wahren Charakter als 6 Stüber Brabantisch und befand sie als gut und gerecht.³⁸ Aber die gleichartigen Jeverischen Stücke beurteilte er durchaus falsch, wenn er sie als "ortthalers, so daß Freuchen von Jheuern muntzen lassen" ansprach und demgemäß im ganzen Niederrheinisch-Westfälischem Kreise verbot.³⁹ Wenn schon den Beamten des Probationstages solche Irrtümer unterlaufen konnten, wie leicht mußte es dann sein, im Auslande dem gemeinen Mann die Ostfriesischen Arensgulden als Orte in Zahlung zu geben! Gelang das, hatte der Geldhändler über 9 Gramm Feinsilber auf den Reichstaler verdient. Der Schlag der Arensgulden war daher für Dietrich Iden und seine Amtsvorgänger ein gutes Geschäft und erklärt die stattliche Reihe der verschiedenen Emissionen und den Reichtum an den uns heute noch erhaltenen Stempelvarianten.

Weiterhin sind Stücke zu 3 Witt (= 6 Heller Kölnisch) und zu 2 Witt (= 4 Heller Kölnisch) in der oben angezogenen Bestallungsurkunde vorgesehen, die aber in Originalen bisher nicht bekannt geworden sind. Aber es gibt dort nicht genannte halbe Arensgulden oder "halbe Dicke Penninge" zu 3 Stübern Brabantisch, für deren Zeichnung die Groninger Flabben (= 4 Stüber Groningisch) als Vorbild gedient haben, um in den benachbarten Niederlanden zu diesem Wert umlaufen zu können (TAFEL XXIII, 6). Ferner hat Dietrich Iden Syfert (= 5 Witt)

³⁶ Stadt-A. Emden, I, 304.

³⁷ St.-A. Aurich, Rep. 4, B. II. c. 23.

³⁸ *Ebd.*

³⁹ von Lehmann, *a.a.O.*, S. 104.

geschlagen (TAFEL XXIII, 7), ohne daß über sie in jener Urkunde sich eine Andeutung fände. Andererseits geben die Grafen in dem bereits erwähnten Bericht vom Jahre 1566 aber zu,⁴⁰ Kleingeld im Werte von 2 Hellern (= 1 Witt) und 3 Hellern (= 1½ Witt) geschlagen zu haben, von dem sie vieldeutig behaupten, daß es so gut wäre wie das der anderen Reichsstände. Witt-Stücke, die in die Frühzeit der Emdener Münzmeistertätigkeit Dietrich Idens gelegt werden könnten, haben sich anscheinend noch nicht gefunden, wohl aber gibt es aus dieser Zeit, allerdings recht seltene Münzchen mit behelmtten Harpyienschild a. d. Vs. und Reichsadler a. d. Rs. ganz nach dem Vorbild der niedersächsischen Dreier gemäß der Ordnung von 1555.⁴¹ In diesen Nachahmungen dürften die Stücke zu 1½ Witt zu erblicken sein (TAFEL XXIII, 8). Entsprechend ihrem kupfrigen Aussehen sind sie jedoch wohl auf einen wesentlich geringeren Fuß ausgebracht als ihre Vorbilder. Man ist versucht anzunehmen, daß Iden bezüglich ihres Gehaltes sich nach den schlechten Mindener Dreiern von 1562 gerichtet hat, deren Proben nur einen inneren Wert von rd. 1½ bis 2 Hellern ausweisen.⁴² Im übrigen ist es unerheblich, ergründen zu wollen, welchen Umlaufswert diese Münze fremdartigen Typs in Ostfriesland gehabt hat oder haben sollte, wesentlich aber war es, daß sie in Niedersachsen erfolgreich in den Verkehr geschoben wurde, wenigstens für ihren Urheber Dietrich Iden.

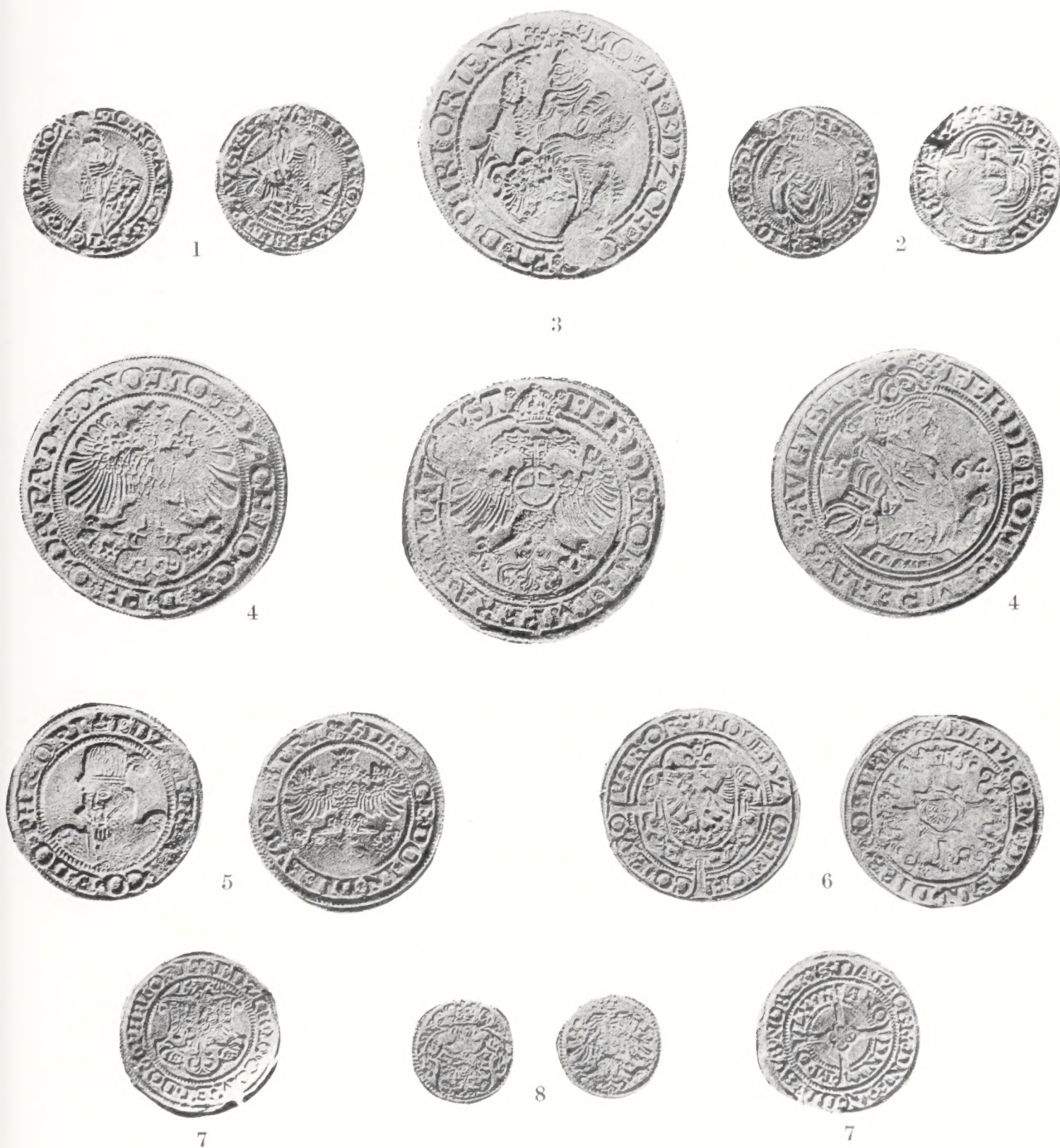
In wie starkem Maße diesem der Schlag von Exportgeld am Herzen lag, zeigt in besonders unmißverständlicher Weise die letzte Prägebestimmung seiner Bestallungsurkunde. Es heißt da: "Noch soll er muntzen halbe witten oder Colnische heller auff die heller manier, sol er muntzen achtzig vff ein lot, sollen halten zwey lot zwey grein, Auf halbe witten manier virtzig ins lot sollen halten Jnn feinem silber ein lot". Es war also vorgesehen, für denselben Wert zwei ganz verschiedene Münzen herauszubringen, und zwar für den Export Halbwitt in der Form hohler rheinischer Heller, für den einheimischen Verkehr aber doppelseitig geprägte Stücke gewohnten Typs, in diesem Falle also wohl der Halbwitt Graf Ennos II. Stücke nach Ostfriesischem Typ, die hier eingereiht werden könnten, haben sich bisher nicht gefunden, obwohl sie vermutlich geprägt sind. Jedenfalls werden bei einem Aufruf des vor 1567 geprägten Ostfriesischen Kleingeldes vom 24. Januar 1572 u. a. Halbwitt vom Umtausch ausgenommen.⁴³ Ob unter diesen nur die Halb-

⁴⁰ S. Anm. 32.

⁴¹ von Bahrfeldt, *a.a.O.*, I. Bd., Nr. 89, 94, Tf. IV.

⁴² Stange, *Geld- und Münzgeschichte des Bistums Minden* (Münster i. W., 1913), S. 99ff.

⁴³ Stadt-A. Emden, I, 304.



DER OSTFRIESISCHE MÜNZMEISTER DIETRICH IDEN

witt Ennos II. oder auch Iden-Prägungen nach heimischem Typ zu verstehen sind, bleibt unklar. Es wäre jedoch abwegig anzunehmen, daß Halbwitt nach rheinischem Typ gemeint sind, da dieser in Ostfriesland keinen Kurs hatte.

Der Gehalt der Ostfriesischen Halbwitt nach rheinischem Typ war selbstverständlich wesentlich geringer als derjenige seiner Vorbilder, da sich sonst das Ausfuhrgeschäft mit ihnen nicht gelohnt hätte. Um den Unterschied zu verdeutlichen, wird neben den Fuß der hohl und doppelseitig geprägten Halbwitt auch derjenige der vergleichbaren Heller des Kölnischen Erzbischofs Friedrich IV. von Wied (1562–1567) gestellt.⁴⁴

<i>Sorte</i>	<i>Schrot</i>	<i>Korn</i>	<i>Rauhgew.</i> g	<i>Feingew.</i> g	<i>Feingeh.</i> 1:1000
Halbwitt Ostfr. Typs	40 a. d. L.	1 L.	0,366	0,023	62
Halbwitt rhein. Typs	80 a. d. L.	2 L. 2 Gr.	0,183	0,024	132
Rhein. Heller E. B. Friedr. von Wied	992 a. d. M.	2 L. 4 Gr.	0,235	0,032	139

Bis vor kurzem waren die Halbwitt rheinischen Typs ebenfalls unbekannt. Aber der Fund von Zuidlaren bei Assen (Niederländische Provinz Drente) enthielt einen Heller, der zweifellos hier einzureihen ist.⁴⁵ Leider ist das Stück etwas matt geprägt, so daß die Figur im dritten Schild nicht mit Sicherheit erkennbar ist (Abb. 2).



Abb. 2

Der erste Schild zeigt als entscheidendes Kennzeichen die Harpyie, der zweite drei sechsstrahlige Sterne, deren Bedeutung nicht zu klären ist; vielleicht handelt es sich um ein Phantasiewappen, wie es auch sonst häufig auf Nachahmungen beobachtet wird. Der vierte Schild enthält einen Löwen, der als derjenige der Ukena aufgefaßt werden kann. Der Fund enthielt weiterhin in größerer Anzahl rheinische

⁴⁴ Noß, *Die Münzen der Erzbischöfe von Köln*, 3. Bd. (Köln, 1925), S. 36.

Heller, deren vier Schilde je einen Löwen zeigen und solche mit je einem Löwen in drei Schilden, während der vierte die Jahreszahl 59 aufweist. Die letztere Sorte ist bereits durch einen Fund in Hattingen (Ruhr) bekannt geworden und von Peus nach Jülich-Berg verwiesen.⁴⁶ Werden aber alle neueren Gesichtspunkte zusammengefaßt: der weit nördlich vom Niederrhein gelegene Fundort Zuidlaren, die hohe Zahl der dort gefundenen Heller mit den Löwenschilden, bzw. mit diesen und der Jahreszahl (15)59 (von der letzteren Sorte allein 79 Stücke!), die aktenmäßig feststehende Tatsache, daß Dietrich Iden den Schlag rheinischer Heller in Emden beabsichtigte und diese Absicht, wie Abb. 2 beweist, auch ausgeführt hat, so ist kaum noch daran zu zweifeln, daß die beiden Arten Löwenheller in Jever, das einen Löwen im Wappen führt, entstanden sind, und es darf dem Geschäftsmann Iden unterstellt werden, daß er auch der Urheber dieser für die Ausfuhr bestimmten unterwertigen Machwerke gewesen ist. Sollte das zutreffen, müßte seine Tätigkeit als Münzmeister in Jever um ein Jahr früher angesetzt werden,⁴⁷ was mit seinen übrigen Lebensdaten in keinerlei Widerspruch steht. Es darf noch angefügt werden, daß auf dem Probationstag des Kurrheinischen Kreises zu Bacharach am 5. Oktober 1594 schlechte Löwenpfennige im Gewichte der rheinischen Heller verboten wurden, die angeblich vom Ostfriesischen Münzmeister herrühren sollten, auch der Kölner Kreistag vom 22. Mai 1595 befaßte sich mit der Angelegenheit, die aber mangels Beweises im Sande verlief.⁴⁸ Selbstverständlich dürfen diese und die vermutlich Jeverschen "Löwenpfennige" um 1560 nicht identifiziert werden. Allein die Tatsache, daß der Schlag schlechter Heller in Ostfriesland am Rhein für möglich gehalten wird, sollte zu denken geben und ist, neben bestimmten, uns nicht erhaltenen Verdachtsgründen, vielleicht als Nachklang der Hellerprägung Idens in Jever und Emden aufzufassen.

Bei der Häufung beabsichtigter und größtenteils auch ausgeführter Prägungen höchst fragwürdigen Charakters ist verständlich, daß der Münzmeister gegen fremde Eingriffe in seine Tätigkeit möglichst gesichert werden mußte. Dietrich Iden war daher auch nur gehalten, innerhalb der Grafschaft Ostfriesland ein- oder zweimal jährlich seine Erzeugnisse zur Probation vorzulegen; der Einfluß des Reiches, bzw. des Kreistages sollte also ausgeschaltet werden.

⁴⁵ Enno van Gelder, "De 16e-Eeuwse Muntschat van Zuidlaren", *Nieuwe Drentse Volksalmanak*, 75e jaar (Assen, 1957), S. 76, Nr. 85. — Für frühzeitige Mitteilungen aus diesem Funde habe ich Herrn Dr. Enno van Gelder, Direktor des Kgl. Münzkabinetts in Den Haag, zu danken.

⁴⁶ *Deutsche Münzblätter*, 1935, S. 352.

⁴⁷ Vgl. Anm. II.

⁴⁸ Hirsch, *Münzarchiv*, 7. Bd. (Nürnberg, 1761), S. 327ff.

Der Gesamteindruck, den die Bestallungsurkunde vom 3. Mai 1563 vermittelt, ist also wenig erfreulich, und von den gesunden volkswirtschaftlichen Überlegungen in Idens Gutachten aus der Zeit kurz vor dem 10. Februar 1563⁴⁹ ist nichts übrig geblieben. Vielmehr kam es dem Grafenhouse und seinem Münzmeister nur darauf an, ohne Rücksicht auf etwa entstehende Schwierigkeiten in Ostfriesland selbst oder im Auslande aus der Münzgerechtigkeit möglichst hohe Gewinne zu erzielen.

Die beiden Geschäftspartner übersahen aber oder wollten nicht sehen, daß gerade in diesen Jahren im Niederrheinisch-Westfälischen Kreise, dem die Grafenschaft Ostfriesland angehörte, die Aufsicht über das Münzwesen der Kreisstände zu einer festen Ordnung heranreifte. Die Annahme der Reichsmünzordnung von 1559 durch einen im Sommer 1566 in Köln abgehaltenen Kreistag bot den kreis-ausschreibenden Fürsten, dem Herzog von Jülich-Berg und dem Bischof von Münster, endlich eine Handhabe, den Kaiser zu veranlassen, gegen die unterhältig prägenden Münzstände energisch vorzugehen. So kam es, daß der kaiserliche Fiskal am Kammergericht in Speyer die Suspension des Münzrechtes der Ostfriesischen Grafen beantragte und auch am 8. November 1566 durchzusetzen vermochte.⁵⁰ Über die wenig stichhaltige Verteidigung der fragwürdigen Erzeugnisse der Emdener Münzstätte seitens der gräflichen Brüder ist oben bei der Besprechung der Bestallungsurkunde vom 3. Mai 1563 bereits das Nötige gesagt worden. Die fadenscheinigen Erklärungsversuche für den Schlag unterwertiger oder irreführender Geldsorten hat vermutlich beim Kammergericht wenig Eindruck gemacht. Die Grafen wandten sich daher in einem Schreiben, d. d. Aurich, 24. Dezember 1566, unmittelbar an Kaiser Maximilian II.⁵¹ Sie versicherten ihm, aus Gehorsam gegen des Kaisers Majestät ihrem Münzmeister jedes weitere Prägen verboten zu haben, und behaupteten, daß in den letzten 10 Monaten überhaupt nicht mehr gemünzt sei. Unter dem Druck der Beweise die Ausgabe unterwertiger Taler weiter ableugnen zu wollen, wäre unklug gewesen. Aber nun schoben die Grafen die Schuld an diesen Prägungen dem Münzmeister Heinrich Meinerts zu, der ihrer "Kommission zuwider geringhaltige Thaler gemünzt hat und mit der Probe als ein Ehrvergessener entlaufen ist". Die Grafen suchten also ihren jetzigen Münzmeister Dietrich Iden zu schützen, von dem sie sich für die Zukunft noch Vorteile erhofften, und setzten den Kaiser davon in Kenntnis, daß jener inzwischen vor den

⁴⁹ Vgl. Anm. 25.

⁵⁰ St.-A. Aurich, Rep. 4, O.A.B. II. c. 23.

⁵¹ *Ebd.*, Rep. 4, O.A.B. II. c. 16.

Abgesandten der Kreisstände den Eid abgelegt habe, allerdings müsse er mit dem Prägen einhalten, bis die Suspension des Ostfriesischen Münzrechts aufgehoben sei. Um diese Gnade bitten sie zum Schluß den Kaiser, verbunden mit dem Versprechen, in Zukunft die Reichsmünzordnung unverbrüchlich zu halten. Ob der Inhalt dieses Schreibens in Wien Eindruck gemacht hat, mag füglich bezweifelt werden. Wenn trotzdem im Jahre 1568 die Suspension des Ostfriesischen Münzrechts aufgehoben wurde, so daß die Ostfriesische Münzbüchse noch in demselben Jahre zur Probation in Köln vorlag,⁵² so mögen für die schnelle Bereinigung des Streitpunktes die besonderen wirtschaftlichen und politischen Verhältnisse der Grafschaft und ihrer Hauptstadt maßgebend gewesen sein. Ostfriesland mußte so nachhaltig wie möglich an das Reich gebunden werden, um nicht bei dem inzwischen ausgebrochenen Kampfe zwischen Spaniern und Niederländern einer der streitenden Parteien politisch anheimzufallen. Außerdem war Emden damals eine so bedeutende Hafenstadt, daß das Fehlen einer Münzstätte in ihren Mauern eine schwere Schädigung ihres Handels bedeutet hätte.

Nach der Wiedereröffnung der Emder Münze im Jahre 1568 hat Dietrich Iden in seinen offiziellen Erzeugnissen sich nach den Vorschriften des Niederrheinisch-Westfälischen Kreises gerichtet. Eine ausgedehnte Reihe von soliden Prägungen, angefangen vom Goldgulden und Taler bis abwärts zum Halbwitt, breitet sich in den folgenden Jahren, bzw. Jahrzehnten vor unsern Augen aus. Beanstandungen seiner Münzen seitens des Kölner Kreistages sind selten und so geringfügiger Art,⁵³ daß ein Eingehen auf sie an dieser Stelle sich erübrigt. Das äußere Bild der Münzmeistertätigkeit Dietrich Idens unterscheidet sich also seit dieser Zeit in keiner Weise von demjenigen seiner zuverlässig arbeitenden Berufsgenossen jener Tage. Eine Darstellung der einzelnen von ihm geschaffenen Münzen und der Intensität der Ausprägungen würde jedoch den Rahmen der vorliegenden besonderen Betrachtung sprengen und gehört in eine künftige Ostfriesische Münzgeschichte.

Trotz des günstigen Eindrucks, den wir seit 1568 von den Prägungen Dietrich Idens gewinnen, mußte er gleichwohl zweimal eine Verhaftung wegen des Verdachtes, unterhältig zu münzen, über sich ergehen lassen. Denn wegen seiner unterwertigen Ausmünzungen bis zum Jahre 1566 blieb das Mißtrauen gegen ihn bei den gräflichen Brüdern rege, besonders bei dem Grafen Johann, der an den

⁵² St.-A. Aurich, Urk. 566.

⁵³ Lennartz, *Die Probationstage und Probationsregister des niederländisch-westfälischen Kreises* (Münster i. W., 1912), S. 46.

dunklen Machenschaften Idens wohl niemals Anteil hatte und diese in den 70er Jahren schon aus Feindschaft gegenüber seinem älteren Bruder Edzard scharf zu verfolgen suchte. Zunächst wurde Iden in Verbindung mit dem oben bereits erwähnten Kölner Weingeschäft durch gräfliche Beamte wegen betrügerischer Zahlung⁵⁴ im Herbst 1568 verhaftet und eine Haussuchung in seiner Emder Wohnung vorgenommen. Da aber nichts Belastendes sich ergab und außerdem der Emder Bürgermeister erklärte, die von Iden geprägten Münzen seien auf dem Kölner Probationstag als der Reichsmünzordnung gemäß, z. T. sogar besser als andere bei der Probe befunden worden, erteilten die Grafen am 4. November 1568 die Anweisung, Iden gegen Kaution für den Fall späterer Unstimmigkeiten sofort aus dem Gefängnis zu entlassen.⁵⁵ An dem Versuch Dietrich Idens, die Kölner Kaufleute mit schlechtem Gelde zu betrügen, ist nicht zu zweifeln, aber es wird sich um Ostfriesisches Geld aus der Zeit von 1563 bis 1566 oder um fremde Sorten gehandelt haben. Abermals wurde er am 26. März 1576 in Emden auf Befehl des Grafen Johann verhaftet und gegen den Willen seines Bruders Edzard nach Leerort, der Burg des Grafen Johann, verbracht. Diese Verhaftung steht mit dem ebenfalls bereits oben besprochenen Kindsmordprozeß seiner Magd im Zusammenhang.⁵⁶ Iden wanderte jedoch nicht in den Kerker, weil er der Beihilfe bei dem vermuteten Kindsmord bezichtigt wurde, sondern weil ihn die Aussagen der Magd über seine geheime Münztätigkeit schwer belastet hatten. Graf Johann war durchaus im Recht, wenn er alles daransetzte, Dietrich Iden als Falschmünzer zu entlarven, aber es war unklug, sich zu Ungesetzlichkeiten hinreißen zu lassen. Iden hingegen war es offenbar gelungen, alle Spuren seiner geheimen Tätigkeit zu verwischen oder verwischen zu lassen, so daß eine Haussuchung bei ihm am 18. April 1576 ergebnislos verlief.⁵⁷ Es war für ihn weiterhin ein Glück, daß der unglückseligen Magd die Folter erspart blieb, da sie in Wahnsinn verfiel.⁵⁸ Graf Edzard aber war auf diese Weise in der Lage, ihre Aussagen dem Kaiser gegenüber als unglaubwürdig hinzustellen und Iden die Freiheit wiederzugeben. Trotz dieses Mißerfolges hat aber Graf Johann die Angelegenheit nicht ruhen lassen. Denn am 30. November 1578 machte sein Bruder den Bürgermeister und Rat von Emden darauf aufmerksam, daß Graf Johann den Prozeß nochmals aufgreifen wolle. Sofern ein

⁵⁴ Vgl. Anm. 17.

⁵⁵ St.-A. Aurich, Urk. 566. – Brenneysen, *Ost-Friesische Historie und Landesverfassung* (Aurich, 1720), Tom. I, Lib. VI, Nr. 45, S. 324.

⁵⁶ Vgl. Anm. 14, 15.

⁵⁷ Stadt-A. Emden, I, 304, S. 117.

⁵⁸ Hahn, *a.a.O.*, S. 9.

solches Vorhaben sich in den gesetzlichen Bahnen bewegte, sei zwar nichts dagegen einzuwenden, Edzard verbot den Emdern jedoch ausdrücklich, zu irgendwelchen Gewalttätigkeiten dabei die Hand zu reichen.⁵⁹



Abb. 3

Das Münzzeichen Dietrich Idens (s. Abb. 1) erscheint zuletzt auf Münzen des Jahres 1573; vom Jahre 1574 an findet sich als Münzzeichen ein stehender Klee- stengel mit vier Blättern, belegt mit zwei gekreuzten Zainhaken (Abb. 3). Dieser Wechsel ist darauf zurückzuführen, daß in ersterem Jahre Dietrich Iden zugunsten seines Sohnes Johann auf sein Amt als Münzmeister verzichtete.⁶⁰ Die Gründe für diese Veränderung können nur vermutet werden. Wahrscheinlich wollte Dietrich Iden sich mehr seinen Handelsgeschäften zuwenden und vor allem bei dem geheimen Schlag unterwertigen Geldes ungebundener sein. Familien- zwistigkeiten haben ihn zu diesem Schritt kaum bewogen, jedenfalls sind solche aus den Quellen der 70er Jahre, die sich auf Verkäufe und dgl. durch Vater und Sohn Iden beziehen, in keiner Weise zu erkennen, eher kann auf das Gegenteil geschlossen werden.⁶¹ Auch eine Entfremdung zwischen Dietrich Iden und seinem Gönner, dem Grafen Edzard, liegt nicht vor. Vielmehr sind die Dinge so aufzu- fassen, daß der Vater nach wie vor die Seele des Münzunternehmens blieb, wäh- rend der Sohn gegenüber dem Kölner Kreistag nur die Rolle des Strohmannes zu spielen hatte. Wenigstens wurde der Vater zu Beratungen bei Ausgabe neuen Geldes hinzugezogen; so heißt es in einem Briefe Graf Edzards an die Stadt Emden vom 25. Oktober 1578: "demnach ist an Euch unser gnädiger Befehl, daß Ihr Dietrich Iden, Johann Iden jetzigen unsern Muntzmeister und den Werdein bei Euch bescheiden und ... ein Moderation auf allerlei gulden und silbern Muntz ... findet."⁶² Aber Johann Iden starb bereits im Jahre 1582.⁶³ Nach dessen Tode ergab sich aus der Sachlage von selbst, daß Dietrich Iden wieder das Amt eines Münzmeisters übernahm. Wie lange er diese Tätigkeit noch ausgeübt hat,

⁵⁹ Stadt-A. Emden, I, 304.

⁶⁰ Emder Kontr. Prot., Bd. 12, S. 871, 883.

⁶¹ Stadt-A. Emden, I, 304. – Emder Kontr. Prot., Bd. 15, S. 317, 405.

⁶² Stadt-A. Emden, I, 304.

⁶³ Emder Kontr. Prot., Bd. 15, S. 895. – Hirsch, *a.a.O.*, Bd. 7, S. 205. Die dortige Angabe, daß Dietrich Iden verstorben sei, beruht auf einem Irrtum; es handelt sich wohl um einen Hörfehler.

bzw. wann er gestorben ist, konnte aktenmäßig noch nicht festgestellt werden. Auch aus den Ostfriesischen Münzen ist in dieser Beziehung nichts zu erschließen, da diese von 1574 bis zum Tode des Grafen Edzard II. im Jahre 1599 merkwürdigerweise dasselbe Münzzeichen (s. Abb. 3) tragen, obwohl in dieser Zeit wenigstens vier verschiedene Münzmeister nacheinander in Emden tätig gewesen sind. Jedenfalls war Dietrich Iden am 15. Dezember 1589 noch im Amte, da an diesem Tage Graf Edzard ihn auffordern ließ, vor dem Emder Rate die Münzrechnung zu legen.⁶⁴ Andererseits geht aus dem Abschied des Kölner Kreistages vom 9. Mai 1596 hervor, daß spätestens seit dem Jahre 1595 Johann Jansen Ostfriesischer Münzmeister war.⁶⁵

Der Tod seines Sohnes Johann muß auf Dietrich Iden von tiefgehendem Einfluß gewesen sein, denn seit dieser Zeit fehlen alle Nachrichten, die über sein privates Leben oder über seine geschäftliche Tätigkeit Auskunft geben könnten. Das kann kaum auf Zufall beruhen, vielmehr drängt sich der Gedanke auf, daß der alternde Mann, der Jahrzehnte hindurch in rücksichtslosem Erwerbssinn den Gütern dieser Welt nachjagte, ohne doch zu gesichertem Reichtum zu kommen, den Verlust des Sohnes nicht verschmerzen konnte, flügelahm wurde und sich auf seine amtliche Tätigkeit beschränkte. Sein Ende wird friedlich gewesen sein.

⁶⁴ Stadt-A. Emden, I, 304, S. 309.

⁶⁵ Hirsch, *a.a.O.*, Bd. 3, S. 69.

A PROPOS DES REPRÉSENTATIONS DE BOUCLIERS SUR LES MONNAIES GRECQUES

LÉON LACROIX

Les représentations de boucliers, nombreuses sur les monnaies grecques, pourraient donner lieu à maintes observations. Je me bornerai ici à quelques remarques sur la signification des boucliers et sur les emblèmes qui les décorent.¹

Le bouclier rond, l' ἄσπις εὐκυκλος d'Homère,² est un motif qui s'adapte aisément au champ de la monnaie. On pourrait même dire que la forme de la monnaie grecque n'est pas sans offrir quelque rapport avec celle d'un bouclier, le droit représentant la face extérieure de l'arme et le revers la partie concave. Il semble que les graveurs aient parfois cherché à tirer parti de cette analogie. On en trouve des exemples curieux parmi les statères d'Élis qui ont été publiés par Ch. Seltman dans ses *Temple Coins of Olympia*. Sur certaines de ces pièces, la surface bombée qui sert de champ au type de la monnaie, tête d'aigle, aigle luttant contre un serpent ou terrassant un bélier, revêt l'aspect d'un bouclier décoré de son épisème; le revers lui-même se creuse comme la partie interne de l'arme, dont le graveur aurait même indiqué les poignées.³

¹ Pour l'illustration, on voudra bien se reporter à L. Anson, *Numismata graeca*, II (1911), pl. XV à XXII, et aux ouvrages cités dans les notes suivantes.

² *Il.*, V, 453, 797; XII, 426; XIII, 715; XIV, 428. Sur ce type de bouclier, voir H. L. Lorimer, *Homer and the Monuments* (Londres, 1950), p. 186.

³ Ch. Seltman, *The Temple Coins of Olympia* (Cambridge, 1921), p. 49 ss., nos 161 à 172 (pl. V, BU à BX). Cf. p. 54: "In Series XVIII the obverse types are placed upon a round shield. It is curious that on the reverse dies δδ (nos 161. 162) the inside of this shield with its looped handles for carrying is shown".

Dès l'époque archaïque, les graveurs ont cherché à donner au champ de la monnaie une forme régulière, en inscrivant le motif dans un cercle⁴ ou sur un disque en relief⁵. Seltman établit un rapprochement entre les monnaies d'Élis, dont il vient d'être question, et des statères de Cyzique qui montrent l'image d'un aigle entourée d'une bordure circulaire.⁶ Je ne sais si le graveur de Cyzique a réellement voulu représenter un bouclier, mais on trouverait aisément d'autres analogies si l'on examinait le monnayage des dynastes lyciens. Sur ces monnaies, en effet, le champ de la pièce prend souvent l'aspect d'un bouclier et le motif qui le décore joue ainsi le rôle d'épïsème; ici encore, on observera que c'est toujours le droit de la monnaie qui est utilisé pour figurer la face extérieure de l'arme.⁷

Cette surface bombée en forme de bouclier est-elle un simple ornement ou doit-on lui attribuer une signification particulière?⁸ Il paraît difficile d'en décider. Les Grecs, qui consacraient des armes dans les sanctuaires,⁹ ont pu sans doute dans

⁴ L'exemple le plus caractéristique est celui des *Wappenmünzen*; voir C. T. Seltman, *Athens, Its History and Coinage before the Persian Invasion* (Cambridge, 1924), pl. I à IV.

⁵ Voir par exemple les monnaies que Seltman attribue à la Chersonèse de Thrace (*Athens, Its History and Coinage*, p. 137, pl. XXIV; *Greek Coins*, 2^e éd., 1955, p. 85, pl. XI, 5 à 7), mais qui appartiennent à Chalcis d'Eubée, selon H. Gaebler, *JDAI*, 40 (1925), pp. 2-3 (pl. I, 1 à 3). Voir aussi les monnaies de Chios: A. Baldwin, "The Electrum and Silver Coins of Chios", dans *AJN*, 48, 1914, p. 6, et les statères d'électron de Cyzique: W. Greenwell, "The Electrum Coinage of Cyzicus", dans *NC*, 1887, p. 90, n° 77 (pl. III, 29 et 30); H. von Fritze, "Die Elektronprägung von Kyzikos", dans *Nomisma*, VII (1912), p. 8, n° 105 (pl. III, 24). A Cyzique, il s'agirait, selon E. Babelon, d'un discobole: *Traité*, II, 1, n°s 278 à 280 (pl. VI, 36 et 37); cf. H. von Fritze, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

⁶ Ch. Seltman, *The Temple Coins of Olympia*, p. 54, n. 3. Sur ces monnaies, voir W. Greenwell, *op. cit.*, p. 120, n°s 152 et 153 (pl. VI, 14 et 15); Babelon, *Traité*, II, 2, n°s 2789 à 2791 (pl. 177, fig. 25 à 27); H. von Fritze, *op. cit.*, p. 16, n°s 221 à 223 (pl. VI, 33 à 35); K. Regling, dans *ZfN*, 41 (1931), p. 23, n°s 142 à 160 (pl. III, 142). Seltman cite également, dans ses *addenda* (p. 114), un bronze de Chalcis où le motif de l'aigle luttant contre un serpent se détache sur un disque ou un bouclier: *BMC, Central Greece*, p. 116, n° 105 (pl. XXI, 7); *SNG, Copenhagen, Aetolia-Euboea*, pl. 9, 454.

⁷ Pour les motifs ainsi figurés sur un bouclier, voir Babelon, *Traité*, II, 2, n°s 212 et 213 (griffon), 219bis à 229 (Pégase), 232 et 233 (protomé de cerf ailé), 311 (tête d'Arès), 322 (protomé de sanglier), 324 à 326 (lion ailé), 328, 359 et 360 (coqs affrontés), 422 (protomé de sanglier ailé).

⁸ Voir l'explication singulière proposée par E. Babelon à propos des monnaies d'Élis: *Traité*, II, 3, n°s 1096 et 1097 (pl. 231, fig. 20).

⁹ Pour les armes trouvées à Olympie, voir L. Robert, *Collection Froehner*, I (Paris, 1936), p. 35; R. Hampe, "Neue Funde aus Olympia", dans *Die Antike*, 15 (1939), pp. 19 ss.; R. Hampe et U. Jantzen, *Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Olympia* (1936-1937), pp. 49 ss.; E. Kunze et H. Schleif, *II. Bericht* (1937-1938), pp. 67 ss.; *III. Bericht* (1938-1939), pp. 76 ss.; E. Kunze, *V. Bericht* (Berlin, 1956), pp. 35 ss. Le trophée de Leuctres décorait le bouclier d'Asopichos, consacré dans un portique de Delphes: Théopompe, 115 F 247; Jacoby (Athénée, XIII, 604f.).

certains cas représenter un bouclier sur leurs monnaies pour commémorer quelque succès militaire, mais il existe d'autres possibilités d'explication que l'on ne saurait négliger. Des didrachmes de Camarina, que l'on date du milieu du V^e siècle, montrent une véritable panoplie: au droit, un casque qui se détache en relief au centre d'un bouclier rond; au revers, deux cnémides placées de part et d'autre d'un palmier.¹⁰ G. F. Hill a cherché à justifier le choix de ces types monétaires par une victoire sur les Carthaginois.¹¹ Mais les décadrachmes de Syracuse qui portent la légende ΑΘΛΑ suggèrent une autre interprétation. Des armes pouvaient servir à récompenser les vainqueurs dans les concours¹² et la panoplie disposée à l'exergue des décadrachmes syracusains est sans doute le prix qui était décerné à l'attelage victorieux, dont nous voyons l'image sur les monnaies. Il semble que l'on doive, avec J. Liegle, attribuer la même signification à la panoplie des monnaies de Camarina.¹³

A côté du bouclier rond, il existe un autre type de bouclier bien attesté sur les monnaies grecques, c'est le bouclier béotien, reconnaissable à sa forme ovale et à ses échancrures latérales.¹⁴ Ce bouclier, qui caractérise le monnayage des Béotiens, est parfois décoré d'un épisème, qui est l'emblème de la cité.¹⁵ Il apparaît aussi sur le numéraire de Salamine, mais il revêt dans ce cas une autre signification. De nombreux sanctuaires possédaient des boucliers qui étaient considérés comme des reliques, évoquant le souvenir de l'un ou l'autre héros.¹⁶ On conservait à

¹⁰ G. E. Rizzo, *Monete greche della Sicilia* (Rome, 1946), pl. V, 4 et 5; pl. VI, 1 et 2.

¹¹ G. F. Hill, *Coins of Ancient Sicily* (Westminster, 1903), p. 80 (fig. 6).

¹² Aux Héraia d'Argos, le vainqueur recevait un bouclier de bronze: schol. Pindare, *Ol.*, VII, 152. Cf. M. P. Nilsson, *Griechische Feste* (Leipzig, 1906), p. 43; Stengel, dans Pauly-Wissowa, *RE*, s. v. *Heraia*, col. 417.

¹³ J. Liegle, *Euainetos*, 101. *Winckelmannsprogramm* (Berlin, 1941), p. 29: "Wahrscheinlich dürfen wir auch die Darstellungen von Waffen auf älteren Geprägten von Kamarina und Himera als Darstellungen von Kampfpreisen deuten; denn die gewöhnliche Erklärung, dies seien erbeutete Waffen aus dem letzten Krieg mit Karthago, ist chronologisch unmöglich".

¹⁴ Sur le bouclier béotien, voir G. Lippold, "Griechische Schilde", dans *Münchener archäol. Studien dem Andenken A. Furtwänglers gewidmet* (Munich, 1909), pp. 410 ss. On notera la forme du bouclier que Taras porte parfois sur les monnaies de Tarente: M. P. Vlasto, Τάρας οἰκιστής, *NNM*, N° 15 (New York, 1922), pp. 162 ss., nos 49 à 53 D (pl. XI et XII); O. Ravel, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Collection of Tarentine Coins formed by M. P. Vlasto* (Londres, 1947), nos 235 à 245 (pl. VIII et IX). Ce bouclier, appelé à tort "mycénien" ou "béotien", est propre à l'Italie méridionale: Lippold, *op. cit.*, pp. 500-501. Sur le bouclier béotien (?) des monnaies de Polyrrhenia, voir M. Guarducci, *Inscriptiones Creticae*, II (1939), p. 241.

¹⁵ Je reviendrai sur ces emblèmes dans une étude consacrée aux "blasons" des villes grecques.

¹⁶ Voir les exemples réunis par Fr. Pfister, *Der Reliquienkult im Altertum, Religionsgeschichtliche Vorarbeiten und Versuche*, V (Giessen, 1909), p. 332.

Argos, dans le temple d'Athéna, le bouclier de Diomède,¹⁷ dans le pronaos de l'Héraion, le bouclier d'Euphorbe,¹⁸ dans le sanctuaire de Trophonios à Lébadée, le bouclier d'Aristomène.¹⁹ Le bouclier d'Ajax, fils de Télamon et père d'Eurysakès, compte parmi les armes les plus célèbres.²⁰ C'est ce bouclier que nous voyons sur les monnaies de Salamine; il est parfois décoré d'un emblème et il est accompagné de l'épée du héros, qui est placée dans le champ de la pièce ou figurée en épisème.²¹

Le bouclier macédonien, fréquent sur les monnaies de l'époque hellénistique, a, comme le bouclier béotien, le caractère d'un emblème national.²² Il s'agit cette fois d'un bouclier rond, reconnaissable à ses ornements en forme de croissant. Le centre est occupé par un épisème, qui est parfois un emblème dynastique ou le symbole personnel du souverain. L'ancre, emblème des Séleucides,²³ et le

¹⁷ Callimaque, *Pour le bain de Pallas*, v. 35.

¹⁸ Pausanias, II, 17, 3.

¹⁹ Pausanias, IV, 16, 7.

²⁰ Sur les représentations d'Ajax armé d'un bouclier béotien, voir Lippold, *op. cit.*, pp. 425 ss. C'est à ce fameux bouclier que Télamon et Eurysakès doivent leurs noms; voir Lippold, *op. cit.*, p. 429; W. S. Ferguson, "The Salaminioi of Heptaphylai and Sounion", dans *Hesperia*, VII (1938), p. 15: "The name Eurysakes is derived from the broad shield of Aias, his reputed father; that of Aias' father, Telamon, comes from the shield strap (τελαμών) or some distinguishing quality of his redoubtable son". Sur le culte d'Eurysakès et le γένος des Salaminien, voir Ferguson, *ibidem*; M. P. Nilsson, "The New Inscription of the Salaminioi", dans *AJP*, 59 (1938), pp. 388-389; M. Guarducci, "L'origine e le vicende del γένος attico dei Salaminii", dans *Rivista di filologia classica*, 76 (1948), p. 234; M. P. Nilsson, *Cults, Myths, Oracles and Politics in Ancient Greece* (Lund, 1951), pp. 30-31.

²¹ Parmi les épisèmes qui décorent le bouclier d'Ajax, notons la triskèle, la jambe humaine et l'aigle; voir Imhoof-Blumer, *Monnaies grecques*, 1883, pp. 154-155, nos 104 à 105a.

²² Les monnaies de Pélagia et du roi de Péonie, Patraos, attestent que ce type de bouclier n'était pas exclusivement macédonien: J. M. F. May, *The Coinage of Damastion* (Oxford, 1939), pp. 170 ss. (pl. X, 1); G. K. Jenkins, dans *NC*, 1955, p. 138, n° 11. Sur le bouclier macédonien, voir G. Lippold, *op. cit.*, p. 501 ss. A propos de la représentation d'un bouclier macédonien sur une peinture de la villa de Boscoreale, voir F. Studniczka, dans *JDAI*, 38-39 (1923-1924), p. 70 et p. 75 (fig. 7); Ph. W. Lehmann, *Roman Wall Paintings from Boscoreale in the Metropolitan Museum* (Cambridge Mass., 1953), pp. 36-37 (fig. 27). Sur les motifs qui décorent le bouclier, voir l'étude de R. Zahn, "Makedonischer Schild, makedonischer Becher", dans *Studien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte C. Schuchardt dargebracht* (Berlin, 1940), pp. 48 ss. Des décrets honorifiques, publiés par Arvanitopoulos, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφημ.*, 1912, p. 69, et 1914, p. 183, sont ornés du bouclier macédonien.

²³ E. T. Newell, *WSM*, p. 79, nos 880 et 881 (pl. XIII, 6 à 8); pp. 105 ss., nos 942 à 948 (pl. XVIII, 12 à 19; pl. XIX, 1 à 7); p. 158, n° 1134 (pl. XXXIII, 9). Des bronzes de Séleucus I montrent le bouclier au droit et l'ancre au revers: p. 102, n° 930 (pl. XVII, 26, 27). L'ancre figurait sur le sceau royal: E. Bickerman, *Institutions des Séleucides* (Paris, 1938), p. 33, et elle se retrouve fréquemment sur les cachets d'archives: R. H. McDowell, *Stamped and Inscribed Objects from Seleucia on the Tigris* (Ann Arbor, 1935), p. 33. Voir en particulier un cachet d'Ourouk avec l'ancre en épisème

trépied, attribut d'Apollon, l'ancêtre de la dynastie,²⁴ ornent le bouclier macédonien sur des bronzes d'Antiochus I.²⁵ Les monnaies des rois de Macédoine montrent en épisème le portrait du souverain, assimilé à un dieu ou à un héros. Antigone Gonatas nous apparaît ainsi sous les traits du dieu Pan,²⁶ Philippe V et Philippe Andriskos, sous la physionomie de Persée.²⁷ Ailleurs, le centre du bouclier porte le monogramme royal,²⁸ l'effigie d'Héraclès²⁹ ou la massue du héros,³⁰ dont les rois de Macédoine se considéraient comme les descendants. Après la défaite de Persée et la suppression de la royauté, on frappe encore en Macédoine des tétradrachmes avec le bouclier macédonien décoré d'une tête d'Artémis.³¹

Plusieurs villes d'Asie Mineure, qui sont des fondations macédoniennes ou qui ont été peuplées de colons originaires de la Macédoine, ont adopté ce bouclier comme type monétaire.³² Il apparaît aussi sur le monnayage d'Eupolemos, qui fut dynaste en Carie dans la seconde moitié du IV^e siècle. Ces monnaies offrent la re-

sur le bouclier: M. Rostovtzeff, "Seleucid Babylonia", dans *Yale Classical Studies*, III (1932), p. 41, n° 58 (pl. VIII, 9).

²⁴ E. T. Newell, *op. cit.*, p. 158, n°s 1132 et 1133 (pl. XXXIII, 6 à 8). Le trépied apparaît également sur les cachets d'archives: Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.*, p. 47, n° 79 (pl. IX, 1); McDowell, *op. cit.*, p. 31. Sur Apollon, ancêtre de la dynastie, voir E. Bickerman, *op. cit.*, p. 253; J. et L. Robert, *Bull. épigr.*, 1955, n° 122.

²⁵ Les bronzes d'Antiochus I montrent aussi le bouclier macédonien décoré d'une tête de Méduse: Newell, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-49, n°s 789 à 796 (pl. VI, 8 à 16).

²⁶ H. Gaebler, *Die antiken Münzen Nord-Griechenlands*, III, 2 (1935), pp. 185 ss., n°s 1 à 3 (pl. XXXIV, 1 à 3).

²⁷ Philippe V: H. Gaebler, *op. cit.*, p. 190, n° 3 (pl. XXXIV, 18); Philippe Andriskos: H. Gaebler, *op. cit.*, p. 197, n° 1 (pl. II, 3).

²⁸ Monogramme de Pyrrhus (Gaebler, *op. cit.*, p. 185, n°s 1 à 3, pl. XXXIII, 22), d'Antigone Gonatas (p. 189, n°s 15 et 16, pl. XXXIV, 11 et 12), de Démétrius II (*ibidem*, n° 1, pl. XXXIV, 13). Pour d'autres exemples de monogrammes, voir mon étude sur les "blasons" des villes grecques.

²⁹ Gaebler, *op. cit.*, pp. 174-175, n°s 12 à 16 (pl. XXXVI, 8 à 12).

³⁰ Gaebler, *op. cit.*, p. 1, n°s 1 à 4 (pl. II, 9 à 12); p. 174, n° 11 (pl. XXXVI, 7). On en rapprochera un disque de marbre provenant de Lysimacheia et portant les "armes" de Philippe V: L. Robert, *Hellenica*, X (1955), pp. 266 ss. (pl. XXXV). Voir aussi la base aux trophées de Délos avec, sur un des boucliers, une tête de Persée, sur l'autre, une massue: A. J. Reinach, dans *JIAN*, XV (1913), pp. 97 ss. (pl. XVI-XVII).

³¹ Gaebler, *op. cit.*, pp. 6 ss., n°s 40 et 41 (pl. III, 2 et 3), 44 à 46 (pl. III, 4 à 6). Pour les autres emblèmes (foudre, double hache, Gorgoneion, caducée, torche, étoile à huit rayons et étoile à rayons recourbés) qui décorent le bouclier macédonien, voir Imhoof-Blumer, *Zur griech. und röm. Münzkunde*, 1908, pp. 263 ss. (pl. X, 3 et 4), et l'index de Gaebler, *op. cit.*, s. v. *Rundschild*. Le bouclier macédonien qui figure sur la peinture de Boscoreale (voir ci-dessus, p. 404, n. 22, est décoré d'une étoile à huit rayons.

³² Voir les monnaies d'Alexandrie de l'Issos (avec la tête d'Antiochus IV sur le bouclier), de Philadelphie et d'Apollonis de Lydie citées par L. Robert, *Collection Froehner*, I, p. 73.

présentation de trois boucliers macédoniens, ornés au centre d'une pointe de lance. Le choix de ce motif s'explique, comme l'a montré Monsieur L. Robert, par les origines macédoniennes du personnage.³³

Pour compléter cette rapide enquête, je me contenterai d'attirer l'attention sur l'emploi du bouclier comme symbole monétaire. Le bouclier est fréquent, comme l'a noté Imhoof-Blumer, sur les statères des villes de l'Acarnanie, où il prend des formes diverses et où il est parfois décoré d'un épisème.³⁴ On notera la présence du bouclier ovale à Argos d'Amphilochie,³⁵ du bouclier béotien à Thyr-rheion³⁶ et à Leucas,³⁷ du bouclier rond noré d'une torche à Leucas.³⁸ Le bouclier macédonien apparaît aussi sur les monnaies des villes de l'Acarnanie: il porte un foudre en épisème sur des statères attribués à Coronta,³⁹ une image d'Athéna combattante sur des monnaies de Métropolis.⁴⁰

Les archéologues qui se sont intéressés aux représentations de boucliers ont demandé surtout des renseignements aux peintures de vases.⁴¹ Cependant, le bouclier n'est souvent pour le peintre qu'un ornement qu'il traite au gré de sa fantaisie.⁴² Il en est autrement des monnaies, où les boucliers et leurs emblèmes peuvent avoir dans certains cas une signification très précise. On aurait tort de négliger ces témoignages, dont l'intérêt méritait, me semble-t-il, d'être souligné.

³³ L. Robert, *ibidem*. Pour les monnaies d'Eupolemos, voir Gaebler, *op. cit.*, p. 177, n^{os} 1 à 3 (pl. XXXII, 15 et 16).

³⁴ Imhoof-Blumer, *Die Münzen Akarnaniens* (Vienne, 1878), p. 114. Voir aussi J. B. Cammann, *The Symbols on Staters of Corinthian Type*, NNM, N^o 53 (New York, 1932), p. 104, n^o 110 (pl. IX).

³⁵ Imhoof-Blumer, *op. cit.*, pp. 86-87, n^{os} 15 à 22; BMC, *Corinth*, pp. 122-123, n^{os} 11 à 13 (pl. XXXIII, 8); O. Ravel, *The "Colts" of Ambracia*, NNM, N^o 37 (New York, 1928), p. 163 (pl. XVIII, 5 à 7); SNG, *Copenhagen, Epirus-Acarnania*, pl. 7, 312.

³⁶ Babelon, *Traité*, II, 4, n^{os} 241 et 242 (pl. 279, fig. 3 et 4); SNG, *op. cit.*, pl. 9, 412.

³⁷ Babelon, *Traité*, II, 4, n^{os} 115 et 116 (pl. 274, fig. 26); SNG, *op. cit.*, pl. 8, 340.

³⁸ Imhoof-Blumer, *op. cit.*, p. 125, n^o 32. Des statères de Corinthe ont en symbole un bouclier rond décoré d'un trident: O. Ravel, *Les "poulains" de Corinthe*, II (1948), n^o 1043 (pl. LXV).

³⁹ Imhoof-Blumer, *op. cit.*, p. 114, n^o 3 (pl. III, 8); BMC, *Corinth*, p. 124, n^o 1 et 2 (pl. XXXIII, 11); SNG, *op. cit.*, pl. 7, 323.

⁴⁰ Imhoof-Blumer, *op. cit.*, p. 142, n^o 1; BMC, *Corinth*, p. 138, n^o 1 (pl. XXXVIII, 1); SNG, *op. cit.*, pl. 9, 399.

⁴¹ G. H. Chase, "The Shield Devices of the Greeks", dans *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XIII (1902), p. 61 ss., s'est contenté de signaler les monnaies dans son catalogue des épisèmes.

⁴² Voir les réflexions de Chase, *op. cit.*, p. 83: "We must conclude, therefore, that although the artists, both vase-painters and others, imitated closely the devices actually in use among their contemporaries, they used these devices, for the most part, simply as a decorative system".

TRÉSOR DE MONNAIES CAROLINGIENNES DÉCOUVERT DANS LE JURA¹

JEAN LAFaurie

Les trésors monétaires carolingiens antérieurs à la réforme de Charlemagne sont particulièrement rares. Un seul a été jusqu'ici signalé sur le territoire français, cinq à l'étranger: 1 en Italie, 2 en Suisse, 1 aux Pays-Bas, 1 en Allemagne. Un nouveau trésor nous est connu grâce à l'extrême obligeance de MM. Emile Bourgey et Maurice Grenier-Laforex, experts à Paris, qui ont bien voulu nous signaler son acquisition. Malgré les imprécisions sur les circonstances et le lieu de sa découverte, nous pensons qu'il est nécessaire de le publier afin que ce document ne soit pas totalement perdu comme tant d'autres.

M. Bourgey a acheté en 1954 ce petit trésor à un orfèvre parisien qui le tenait d'un de ses clients habitant le département du Jura, où les pièces auraient été découvertes. Les sept deniers qui le composent paraissent constituer la totalité du dépôt car aucune monnaie semblable, fort rares, n'est apparue sur le marché numismatique depuis plus de trois ans malgré la valeur marchande élevée de ces diverses pièces (PLANCHE XXIV, 1-7).

Il s'agit uniquement de monnaies émises par Charlemagne avant la réforme de 790.²

¹ Ce trésor a déjà été signalé par l'auteur dans le *BSFN*, 9^e année, décembre 1954, pp. 317-318.

² Pour la date de la réforme de Charlemagne voir en dernier lieu Philip Grierson, "Cronologia delle riforme monetarie di Carlo Magno", dans *RIN*, LVI (1954), pp. 65-79. Une première réforme eut lieu en Italie en 781 (Capitulaire de Mantoue), une seconde, valable pour tout le royaume, en 790, introduit le denier lourd.

1. – $\text{C}\overline{\text{A}}\text{O}|\text{LVS}-\text{R}-+\text{VID.DVH}$ autour d'un globule dans un cercle perlé.

Argent, 1, 20 gr.

Verdun. E. Gariel, *Les monnaies royales de France sous la race carolingienne*, II (Strasbourg 1884), p. 143, pl. XI, 151 var.

2. – Même description, variétés de coins.

Argent, 1, 11 gr.

Verdun. E. Gariel, *op. cit.* II, p. 143, pl. XI, 151 var.

3. – $\text{C}\overline{\text{A}}\text{O}|\text{LV}\cdot\text{S}-\text{R}-+\text{VID.}\square\text{VN}$ autour d'un globule dans un cercle perlé.

Argent, 0, 88 gr.

Verdun. Inédit.

4. – $\text{C}\overline{\text{A}}\text{O}|\text{LVS}-\text{R}-\text{VD.}\overline{\cup}\cdot\cdot$ en cantonnement d'une croix au centre évidé autour d'un globule.

Argent, 1, 22 gr.

Verdun. E. Nöbbe, "Der Karolingische Münzschatz von Kringberg", dans *Festschrift zur Hundertjahrfeier des Museums vorgeschichtlicher Altertümer in Kiel*, 1936, nos 32, 33.

5. – $\text{C}\overline{\text{A}}\text{O}|\text{LVS}-\text{R}-\overline{\text{REM}}|\cdot\cdot$

Argent, 0, 998 gr.

Reims. Inédit.

6. – $\text{CAR}|\text{LVS}-\text{R}-\text{CARHOTI}\infty$ autour d'un grand S.

Argent, 1, 16 gr.

Chartres. E. Gariel, *op. cit.*, II, p. 104, pl. VI, 25.

7. – $\text{C}\overline{\text{A}}\text{O}|\cdot|\text{LVS}-\text{R}-\overline{\text{R}}:\overline{\text{F}}$.

Argent, 1, 26 gr.

Atelier indéterminé d'Italie du nord. E. Gariel, *op. cit.*, II, p. 96, pl. V, 1.

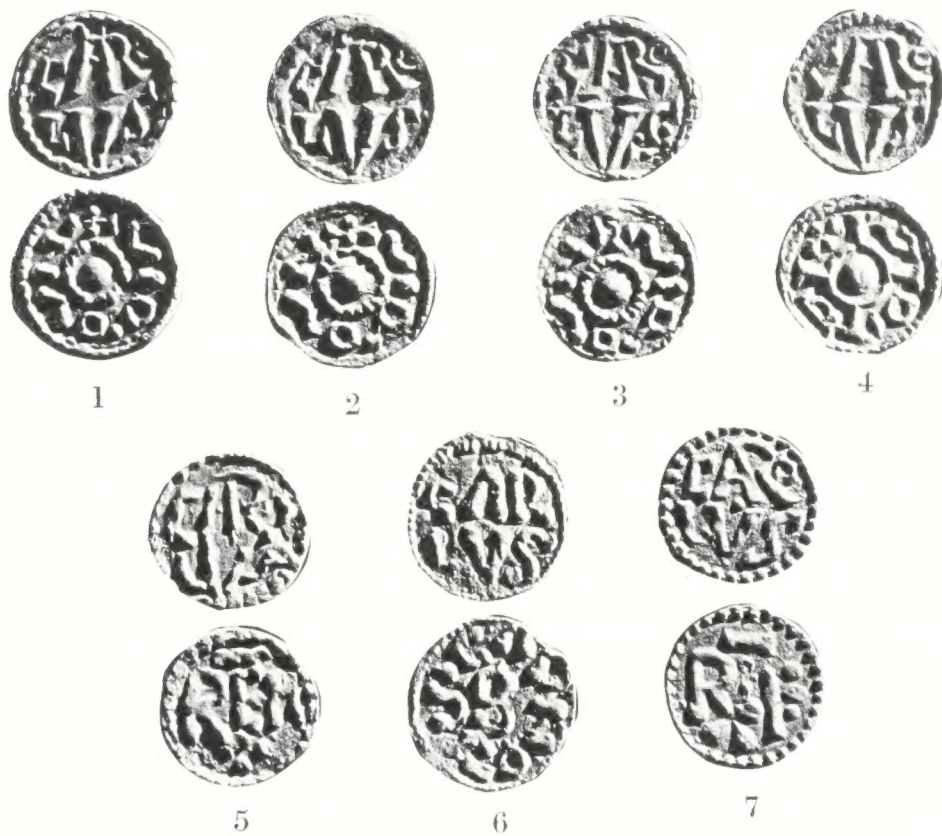


Le nombre peu important des deniers constituant ce petit trésor n'est pas anormal pour l'époque à laquelle se situe son enfouissement.

Si la plupart des monnaies frappées avant la réforme de Charlemagne sont connues grâce aux trois grands trésors d'Imphy (Nièvre),³ d'Ilanz (Grisons),⁴ de

³ A. de Longpérier, "Notice sur cent deniers de Pépin, de Carloman et de Charlemagne trouvés près d'Imphy en Nivernais", dans *RN*, 1858, pp. 202-262 (pls. XI, XII). Cette publication a été reprise par E. Gariel, *op. cit.*, I (Strasbourg, 1883), pp. 53-58, pls. I-II.

⁴ F. Jecklin, "Der langobardisch-karolingische Münzfund bei Ilanz", dans *MBNG*, XXV (1906-1907), pp. 28-79; du même auteur autre édition en italien, revue, "Il rinvenimento di monete langobarde e caroline presso Ilanz, nel canton de'Grigioni" dans *Memorie Storiche Forogiuliesi*, III, 1907, fasc. 1 et 2. La date d'enfouissement de ce trésor a été examinée récemment par Philip Grierson, "La trouvaille monétaire d'Ilanz", dans *Schweizer Münzblätter*, IV (1953), pp. 46-48.



TRÉSOR MONÉTAIRE CAROLINGIEN TROUVÉ DANS LE JURA

Pöschendorf-Krinkberg (Holstein),⁵ plusieurs trouvailles n'ont fourni qu'un petit nombre de deniers: Jessum (Frise),⁶ Chézy-sur Marne (Aisne),⁷ Bel-Air (Lausanne),⁸ Vercelli (Novare),⁹ Sarzana (Ligurie).¹⁰

Les ateliers représentés dans le petit trésor du Jura: Verdun, Reims, confirment par leur proximité le lieu de trouvaille. Seuls les deniers n° 6 et n° 7 proviennent d'ateliers plus lointains, le n° 6, en particulier, frappé à Chartres, pourrait faire supposer un lieu de trouvaille différent de celui qui a été indiqué. Mais l'atelier paraît avoir émis de nombreux deniers. Des exemplaires semblables à celui de notre trésor ont été découverts à Pöschendorf-Krinkberg (n° 11), à Jelsum (n° 6),¹¹ à Ilanz (n° 75) et cette dispersion ne permet pas de considérer comme anormale la présence d'un exemplaire isolé dans le Jura.

Le denier n° 7 pose des problèmes plus complexes. S'il porte en toutes lettres le nom du roi, au revers ne sont inscrites que les lettres R X, en monogramme, et F avec le trait d'abréviation. Ces sigles doivent être développés: *Rex Francorum*. S'il subsistait quelque doute sur cette interprétation, un denier trouvé à proximité de Mosciano S. Angelo, (Teramo), un peu au nord de Chieti, dans une tombe,

⁵ E. Nöbbe, *op. cit.*, pp. 136-160. Krinkberg est une petite colline à côté du village de Pöschendorf (Holstein).

⁶ P. C. J. A. Boeles, "Les trouvailles de monnaies carolingiennes dans les Pays-Bas, spécialement celle des trois provinces septentrionales", dans le *Jaarboek Munt-en Penningkunde*, 1915, pp. 23 à 25, pl. I. Le lieu exact de la trouvaille est donné dans une publication sommaire de R. Serrure dans *Bull. de num.*, I, 1891-92, p. 146; à l'inventaire de Boeles il convient d'ajouter un troisième denier de Mayence signalé par R. Serrure. En tout 10 deniers.

⁷ Chézy-sur-Marne (c. Charly, ar. Château-Thierry, Aisne). Cette trouvaille, dont on connaît trois deniers, a été faite dans les ruines de l'Abbaye de Chézy. M. Pille, son propriétaire, a fait don en 1871 au Cabinet des Médailles de deux deniers: M. Prou, *Les monnaies carolingiennes*, n° 289 (Ste Marie de Reims) et n° 292 (Reims). Un troisième denier de Charlemagne est mentionné dans les archives du Cabinet des Médailles, au revers $\Lambda \mathfrak{H} \Lambda$ — $|\Lambda \mathfrak{H} \Lambda$.

⁸ A. de Longpérier, "Quelques deniers de Pépin, de Carloman et de Charlemagne", dans *RN*, 1856, pp. 180-189, pl. V. En tout, 10 deniers.

⁹ La plus grande partie de cette trouvaille a été achetée par M. Herbert A. Cahn qui a bien voulu me la signaler et m'en communiquer l'inventaire ce dont je le remercie bien vivement. Tous les deniers sont au nom de Charlemagne types de Gariel, 21, 32 var., 62 var., 86, 87, 102 (2 exemplaires), 135 (8 exemplaires dont 3 de mêmes coins), 167, 168 (surfrappé), d'autres exemplaires paraissant provenir de la même trouvaille ont été achetés par d'autres experts, plusieurs de Strasbourg (Gariel 135), plusieurs de Milan (type de Sarzana), une pièce de Trévise (Gariel 180), deux pièces de Ardis (Gariel 12 et 13 var.). En tout 25 à 30 deniers.

¹⁰ A. de Longpérier, "Deniers de Charlemagne trouvés près de Sarzana", dans *RN*, 1868, pp. 345 à 356, pl. XIV. Etude reprise par E. Gariel, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 58-59, pl. III. En tout 16 deniers.

¹¹ P. C. J. A. Boeles, *op. cit.*, p. 26, n° 10.



Trésors monétaires enfouis avant la réforme de 794

- | | |
|-------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1 PÖSCHENDORF-KRINKBERG | 6 BEL-AIR |
| 2 JELSUM | 7 ILANZ |
| 3 CHÉZY-sur-MARNE | 8 VERCELLI |
| 4 IMPHY | 9 SARZANA |
| 5 Dép. du JURA | × Trésors de deniers mérovingiens. |

Fig. 1

permettrait de les lever. Au droit est inscrite la légende traditionnelle, CARO|LVS , en deux lignes, au revers: R FRAC (RAC en monogramme).¹²

Ce denier unique, trouvé en Italie centrale, n'apporterait aucune aide à la solution du problème de la localisation géographique de l'atelier monétaire qui l'a frappé, si un autre denier publié en 1856 par A. de Longpérier,¹³ ne portait, en abrégé mais facilement compréhensible un nom d'atelier inscrit en accostement et sous la barre d'abréviation: PARM (Fig. 2), qui peut être lu *Parma*. D'autres



Fig. 2

attributions, plus hypothétiques, ont été proposées pour des deniers de même style présentant, à côté des lettres, plus petites: CE,¹⁴ V,¹⁵ T,¹⁶: *Cenomani* (Mantoue), *Verona*, *Ticino* (Pavie).

Toujours avec comme élément principal de décoration les lettres R F mais d'un style complètement différent: lettres élancées, flans larges, l'atelier monétaire de Milan a émis des séries importantes de deniers révélés en nombre par les trésors de Sarzana (12 deniers de Milan sur 16), Ilanz (nos 92-105), Bel-Air (7 deniers de Milan sur 10). Quelques exemplaires se trouvaient dans le trésor de Vercelli. Le nom de l'atelier est inscrit en monogramme à gauche du champ, contre la haste verticale du R.¹⁷

Ces deniers n'apparaissent pas dans le trésor d'Imphy, ni dans le lointain trésor de Pöschendorf-Krinkberg, ni dans celui de Jelsum.

¹² *Atti e Mem. dell'Istituto italiano di num.*, V (1925), p. 85, fig. Cf. RN, 1868, pl. XIV, 5, un denier provenant du trésor de Sarzana, de style milanais, portant l'abréviation FRA conçue différemment.

¹³ RN, 1856, pl. V, 12. E. Gariel, *op. cit.*, pl. XI, 166, cf. Giulio Sambon, *Repertorio generale della monete coniate in Italia. Periodo dal 476 al 1266* (Paris, 1912), pp. 90-91, n° 563.

¹⁴ E. Gariel, *op. cit.*, pl. XI, 164; M. Prou, *op. cit.*, n° 893; G. Sambon, *op. cit.*, n° 569.

¹⁵ E. Gariel, *op. cit.*, pl. XI, 168; M. Prou, *op. cit.*, n° 894; G. Sambon, *op. cit.*, n° 574. Cette pièce est de même style que les deniers de Milan.

¹⁶ E. Gariel, *op. cit.*, pl. XI, 167; G. Sambon, *op. cit.*, n° 572. Ce denier provient du trésor d'Imphy. Un autre exemplaire a été signalé dans le trésor de Vercelli, un troisième se trouve dans le trésor de Pöschendorf-Krinkberg.

¹⁷ Cf. M. Prou, *op. cit.*, pp. 124-125, n° 895; l'auteur détruit l'hypothèse de A. de Longpérier qui lisait ce monogramme: *imperator*.

La distance considérable qui sépare le lieu de trouvaille de ces deux trésors du nord de l'Italie, n'est pas suffisante pour expliquer l'absence de deniers de Milan. Le trésor de Jelsum est trop peu important pour appuyer un raisonnement, mais le trésor de Pöschendorf-Krinkberg constitue un document d'une valeur exceptionnelle. Le n° 2 de ce trésor porte, à côté du F, le T initial de *Ticino*; cinq deniers seulement avec $\overline{\text{R}}\text{F}$, de même style que celui découvert dans le Jura, sont représentés dans ce trésor de 88 deniers, mais aucun denier de Milan. Le trésor d'Imphy, riche en deniers de Pépin, a conservé 10 deniers avec $\overline{\text{R}}\text{F}$ et un avec le $\text{R}\text{F}\tau$ mais aucun denier de Milan. Cette constatation permet de proposer une date assez tardive pour la frappe des deniers de Milan. Le trésor de Pöschendorf-Krinkberg a été enfoui entre 781, date précisée par un denier de Louis d'Aquitaine (n° 69) frappé par une église St. Etienne, qui doit être celle de Bourges plutôt que de Bordeaux ainsi que le suppose E. Nöbbe,¹⁸ et 790, date de la réforme. Le nombre relativement considérable de deniers de Duurstede et de ses immobilisations (nos 41-85) peut faire penser à 789, année qui vit les troupes de Charlemagne au-delà du Weser à la poursuite des "Welatabes".¹⁹ Le trésor d'Imphy est caractérisé par le nombre considérable de deniers de Pépin, 64, de Carloman, 4, avec seulement 32 deniers de Charlemagne – le trésor d'Ilanz enfoui vers 790/794 ne conserve que 9 deniers de Pépin et il est possible de proposer son enfouissement au début du règne de Charlemagne, vers 770/780. Ces constatations permettent de penser que les deniers de Milan ont été frappés à une date assez tardive, peu avant 790. C'est vraisemblablement en Italie du nord qu'ont été frappés tous ces deniers sur lesquels Pépin-et puis Charlemagne ont inscrit leur titre, qu'il s'agissait de faire connaître et d'affirmer de *Rex Francorum*.



L'attribution du denier n° 4 à l'atelier de Verdun découle de la comparaison de cette pièce avec les nos 1, 2, 3 du trésor sur lesquelles le nom de l'atelier est inscrit en entier: VIRDVN. Le denier n° 4 ne porte que les lettres V R D dans les cantons d'une croix centrée d'un globule. Les lettres V, très ouverte, R, formé d'un D muni d'un appendice triangulaire, sont semblables sur les deux pièces, seul le D, de forme presque carrée sur les nos 1, 3, a sur le n° 4 celle d'un Ω entièrement fermé, qui est peut-être un monogramme DV. En tenant compte des

¹⁸ Cf. J. Lafaurie, dans *BSFN*, janvier 1955, pp. 324-325.

¹⁹ Eginhard, *Vita Karoli Magni imperatoris*, éd. L. Halphen (Paris, 1938), pp. 36-37. Cf. *Annales regni Francorum*, éd. Kurze, 1895, p. 85.

bras de la croix, la légende peut être développée: VIRIDVI et ne laisse aucun doute sur le nom de l'atelier. La place chronologique de cette pièce dans les émissions de l'atelier de Verdun est difficile à préciser. L'état de conservation des quatre pièces de cet atelier est parfait, aucune ne paraît avoir circulé, ce qui permet de proposer des frappes à peu près contemporaines; cependant un denier de Verdun, conservé au Cabinet de France²⁰ paraît être d'une fabrication légèrement antérieure aux n^{os} 1-3. Il porte en cantonnement d'une croix les lettres V R D N. L'étude de l'évolution de ce type permet de classer chronologiquement les émissions de Verdun sous Charlemagne:

1^o Denier du Cabinet de France n^o 143

2^o Denier du trésor du Jura n^o 4

3^o Deniers du trésor du Jura n^o 1, 2

4^o Denier du trésor du Jura n^o 3. Adjonction de globules sous le C de Carolus et en accostement du S. On trouve le S accosté de deux globules sur des deniers de Lyon et de Limoges.

5^o Denier du Cabinet de France n^o 144. Croisette à la place du globule au centre du revers, globule à la place du O de Carolus et étoile à quatre pointes au centre du droit.

Des deniers de Verdun semblables à ceux de trésor du Jura ont été trouvés dans le grand trésor de Pöschendorf-Krinkberg: le n^o 26, qui ne pèse que ogr. 56 est semblable à nos n^{os} 1, 2; le n^o 32 (1 gr. 02) attribué à Worms, est semblable à notre n^o 4. Cette attribution à Worms doit être abandonnée.



Le dernier problème d'attribution est posé par le denier n^o 5.

Cette pièce inédite doit être comparée à un denier portant les mêmes lettres REM sur un côté et, de l'autre, L·A·bI: entre un trait abréviatif et une croisette cantonnée de quatre globules (Fig. 3).²¹

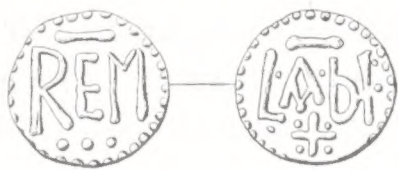


Fig. 3

²⁰ M. Prou, *op. cit.*, p. 23, n^o 143, fig.

²¹ E. Gariel, *op. cit.*, pp. 69-70, pl. III, 56.

E. Gariel a classé ce denier à Reims en émettant des doutes sur cette attribution. Cependant L. Maxe-Werly²² confirme ce classement pour deux raisons. La première est que la pièce, qui lui a appartenu avant de passer dans la collection Ponton d'Amécourt, a été trouvée à Reims, au cours de travaux, près de la *Porta Martis*. La seconde est que les marches d'Ardenne et du Lothier, dont le territoire de Reims faisait sans doute partie à cette époque, avaient pour duc, Lambert, fils de Martin, duc de Mosellane et de Béatrix d'Ardenne, dès 697 et qu'il mourut en 759.

Des deniers mérovingiens, dont la plupart proviennent du trésor de Nice-Cimiez, portent d'un côté, comme les deux deniers carolingiens, les lettres RM entre un trait abrégé et des globules; au revers les lettres SCΘ surmontées d'une croix²³. Peut-être ont-ils été frappés pour l'église Saint Cosme ou pour l'église Saint Christophe, dans les faubourgs de Reims; leur nombre relativement peu considérable dans le trésor de Nice-Cimiez (5 pièces) permet de proposer une origine aussi lointaine. Le style très comparable de ces pièces, de celles de Lambert et du denier au nom de Charlemagne ne peut que leur assigner une même origine qui est très vraisemblablement Reims. Les deniers de Charlemagne, postérieurs à celui trouvé dans le Jura portent les légendes plus développées: *Rem[is] civit* ou *Sancta Maria Remorum*.

Quel enseignement peut-on tirer de l'étude de ce petit trésor?

La composition est conforme à celle des rares autres trésors monétaires enfouis avant la réforme de Charlemagne: cinq deniers sur sept proviennent d'ateliers situés à proximité du lieu d'enfouissement. Les deux autres laissent entrevoir un courant commercial de l'ouest vers l'est (denier de Chartres), et d'Italie vers le Rhin (denier n° 7), activité commerciale qui devait être considérable mais qui, malheureusement, n'est prouvée que par de trop rares trouvailles monétaires. Il ne faut pas oublier, quand on étudie la circulation monétaire du début de la période carolingienne, qu'elle n'est établie que par le grand trésor d'Imphy, au centre de la France. Les autres trésors: Chézy-sur-Marne, Jura, Bel-Air, sont trop peu importants, ceux de Pöschendorf-Krinkberg et d'Ilanz sont trop excentriques.

Autre constatation, qui paraît importante: toutes les trouvailles monétaires carolingiennes enfouies avant 790 sont situées à l'est d'une ligne, brisée, allant

²² L. Maxe-Werly, *Etat actuel de la numismatique rémoise* (Bruxelles, 1889), pp. 56-57, pl. III, 1.

²³ A. de Belfort, *Description générale des monnaies mérovingiennes*, III, n°s 3786-3791, et 6406 trouvé près d'Autun. M. Prou, *Les Monnaies mérovingiennes*, n°s 2848-2853, presque tous provenant du trésor de Nice-Cimiez.

de Rouen à Nice, dont le sommet est situé par le trésor d'Imphy, toutes les trouvailles de deniers mérovingiens sont situées à l'*ouest* de cette même ligne (cf. la carte, p. 410, Fig. 1).²⁴

La plupart de ces enfouissements de deniers mérovingiens se situent vraisemblablement vers l'époque de l'avènement de Pépin le Bref mais, pour certains, un peu plus tard, au cours des expéditions des premiers carolingiens en Armorique, en Aquitaine ou en Italie. Le pointage de ces trésors sur la carte (cf. p. 410, Fig. 1) montre deux zones, très délimitées, où circulent dans l'une les deniers mérovingiens, dans l'autre, les deniers carolingiens. Ces zones correspondent sensiblement aux situations des ateliers monétaires tardifs des mérovingiens et des premiers ateliers carolingiens. Seule la datation précise de ces enfouissements permettra de tirer de ces trésors monétaires tout l'enseignement pour l'histoire économique de cette période confuse.

²⁴ Les trouvailles de Dombourg ne constituent pas des trésors et posent des problèmes très différents.

L'EMBLÈME DU LIS DANS LA NUMISMATIQUE BYZANTINE: SON ORIGINE

A propos d'une monnaie inédite de Michel VIII Paléologue

V. LAURENT

Parmi les nombreux emblèmes qui, dès le XIII^e siècle, envahirent et bouleversèrent l'iconographie monétaire de l'empire byzantin, il en est un, le lis, qui a, ces derniers temps, retenu quelque peu l'attention.¹ Je ne sache pas cependant que l'on ait donné aux divers problèmes soulevés par son emploi – beaucoup plus long et plus intense qu'on ne l'admet généralement – de solution satisfaisante. En particulier, l'origine de ce motif et la date de son apparition dans la numismatique grecque du moyen âge n'ont pas encore pu être déterminées exactement. La rencontre d'une pièce inédite, qui peut être considérée comme l'un des monuments les plus insignes de cette classe de monnaies, m'a incité, en attendant de pouvoir traiter le problème dans son ensemble,² à proposer, sur ce point particulier, une

¹ Présentation d'ensemble (avec une large bibliographie) de la fleur de lis comme emblème par H. Leclercq, dans le *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie chrétienne et de Liturgie*, t. V (1923), col. 1699-1708. Notons toutefois que ce travail, inspiré de ceux de Montfaucon, est, en ce qui concerne les emprunts possibles des grecs aux latins, erroné quant au point qui nous occupe. Les plus récentes études sont celles de G. Braun von Stumm, "*L'Origine de la fleur de lis des rois de France au point de vue numismatique*", dans *RN*, V, 13 (1951), pp. 43-58, et de A. M. de Guadan, "*La flor de lis y su simbolismo*", dans *Revista Oriente*, t. IV (1954), pp. 121-128.

² Dans un volume qui groupera un certain nombre de mémoires déjà parus ou inédits consacrés à la numismatique byzantine.

solution qui paraîtra peut-être préférable à celle dont on a fait usage jusqu'ici. Mais, avant d'en traiter, présentons d'abord le petit bronze en question.

I. UN BRONZE INÉDIT DE MICHEL VIII AU TYPE DU LIS

En admirant les riches collections numismatiques³ de Mme A.M. Paucker actuellement à Paris, je suis tombé en arrêt devant un petit bronze de piteuse apparence. Cette pièce,⁴ qui, intacte, eût été concave (type scyphate), se trouve par défaut de frappe fortement rognée à la partie inférieure et, de surcroît, brisée et mutilée par accident au sommet de gauche. Il y a pire: un glissement de la matrice a fait que des parties essentielles de l'imagerie (figures) et de la légende (noms de personnages) n'ont que peu ou point marqué. Cependant les éléments gravés et les ensembles qu'ils composent restent parfaitement discernables. Dimensions: 18-21 millimètres au lieu des 25 que devait mesurer l'étalon.

Au droit (Fig. 1), image complexe, composée, au centre, d'un grand lis à trois fleurons dont celui du milieu est droit et les deux autres recourbés à l'extérieur. La fleur est montée sur une longue tige étirée vers le bas en forme de hampe que devaient tenir deux personnages figurés des deux côtés. Celui de droite est totalement oblitéré; celui de gauche se présente légèrement de profil, la dextre saisissant la hampe. Les traits de la physionomie sont effacés chez ce dernier, mais le vêtement est nettement dessiné. On doit y voir sans conteste une tunique impériale à plis verticaux assez différente de la robe à carreaux.⁵ Cette constatation est ici d'une grande importance, car elle permet d'affirmer que les deux personnages figurés sur l'original étaient des personnages impériaux. Or la légende circulaire est au nom d'un seul empereur: ...H.⁶ à gauche et ΔΕC... à droite du lis, soit avec certitude: [ΜΙΧΑ]ῆ[Λ] ΔΕC[ΠΟΤΗΣ]. Or le titulaire de la pièce est, dans la quasi totalité des cas, placé à droite de l'emblème (croix, labarum, etc.) que deux

³ Elles constituent un véritable Cabinet avec leur 9350 pièces recueillies par lots de dimensions variables au cours de trente années de recherches sur le marché et auprès des collectionneurs du Bassin danubien, particulièrement en Roumanie. Une série unique de 308 monnaies barbares, dont un choix reçut un Grand-Prix à une exposition parisienne en 1951, en constitue le joyau avec un assortiment d'objets-monnaies en or ouvragé ou en fil d'électron.

⁴ Publiée ci-contre en agrandissement: Fig. 1-2.

⁵ Cette différence est sensible en numismatique surtout à partir de Manuel Ier Comnène. Cf. W. Wroth, *BMC, Byz.*, II (London, 1908), pl. LXIX, n^{os}. 3, 4, 8, 10 etc. et LXXIII, n^{os}. 3, 9, 11 (Alexis III).

⁶ Il ne reste sur le métal qu'un I épaissi. On pourrait dès lors conjecturer la lecture: M^XΙ, n'était la place avancée où se trouve le signe subsistant, après lequel on ne saurait, faute d'espace libre, graver plus d'une lettre.

figurants tiennent en commun. Il s'ensuit donc que le monarque figuré ici à gauche ne peut être que saint Constantin, l'empereur. Cette présence est d'autant plus explicable que la même imagerie se retrouve sur d'autres monnaies de ce prince⁷ et de cette époque.⁸

Au revers (Fig. 2,) un monogramme qui, malgré sa forme insolite,⁹ est sans conteste possible celui des Paléologues. Il couvre tout le champ et ne comporte aucun accessoire. A noter, par manière de *confirmatur*, que le nom des Paléologues est étroitement associé au lis sur une curieuse pièce que I. N. Svoronos¹⁰ attribue très arbitrairement au frère de Michel VIII, seigneur de Rhodes (1261-1275)! Les deux lettres cardinales du patronyme, Π et Λ, sont en effet placées, l'une à droite, l'autre à gauche, au centre de la courbe que décrit chaque fleuron latéral.

La monnaie que nous présentons, attribuable à Michel VIII Paléologue, n'est pas isolée. Le médaillier byzantin en présente en effet une autre qui s'en approche étonnamment par le motif figuré. Les personnages, expressément désignés par leur nom,¹¹ sont ici: Michel VIII Paléologue à droite de l'emblème et Saint Démétrius, en pied, de face et tenant entre eux le symbole (tour ou porte) d'une

⁷ Voir par exemple le n° 3665 de la Collection Schlumberger au Cabinet des Médailles (Paris). On notera au reste la suprême convenance de cette imagerie qui associe, comme dans la rhétorique officielle, le nouveau Constantin (Michel VIII dont c'était l'un des titres officiels) et l'ancien, soit le Libérateur de la Ville et son Fondateur!

⁸ L'effigie de saint Constantin apparaît sur les monnaies avec quelque fréquence surtout sous Alexis III l'Ange. Cf. R. Ratto, *Monnaies byzantines et d'autres pays contemporaines à l'époque byzantine* (Lugano, 1930), p. 115 et pl. LIV, n°s. 2199-2206. Pour l'empire de Nicée voir W. Wroth, *BMC, Vandals*, pp. 215, 216 avec la pl. XXX, 1. Il y a lieu d'ajouter plusieurs pièces inédites du même empereur, dont une en argent à Dumbarton Oaks (Washington), et une autre, en cuivre, dans les collections T. Bertelè (Verona).

⁹ Le monogramme des Paléologues figure sur plus d'un monument. On le rencontre également dans les manuscrits de l'époque (v. gr. dans le Vat. Barber. gr. 204, f. 132^v qui contient l'Histoire de G. Pachymère; cf. *Byzantion*, t. V, 1929-1930, p. 158). Au revers des monnaies, sa présence n'est pas rare, quoique J. Sabatier, *Description générale des monnaies byzantines*, t. II (1862), p. 243, n° 13, et pl. LIX, 15, n'en cite qu'un unique exemple. La particularité la plus saillante de cette série est la diversité des combinaisons selon lesquelles les éléments du nom sont disposés, diversité qu'élargit encore la présentation de notre pièce.

¹⁰ Cf. I. N. Svoronos, Βυζαντινὰ νομισματικὰ ζητήματα, dans *JIAN*, t. II (1899), p. 395. Le nom de Jean que l'auteur prétend lire sur le métal n'y est nullement figuré. Les pièces de cette catégorie n'ont que faire à mon sens avec les monayages insulaires de Mitylène, de Rhodes, de Chios, etc.

¹¹ Cf. Ratto, *op. cit.*, p. 116, n° 2219, et pl. LIV, n° 2219. Cette monnaie est également publiée par J. Sabatier, *op. cit.*, p. 242, n° 5, et pl. LIX, n° 7, mais de manière gravement inexacte: Saint Démétrius y devient Saint Michel et le lis une Victoire couronnant l'empereur. A signaler, au revers, la réédition du lis dans les deux cantons inférieurs d'une croix grecque qui couvre tout le champ.



Fig. 1
Bronze de Michel VIII Paléologue
(Collection A. M. Paucker)
(*recto*)



Fig. 2
Bronze de Michel VIII Paléologue
(Collection A. M. Paucker)
(*verso*)

ville que couronne un grand lis. La présence de Saint Démétrius fait immanquablement penser à Thessalonique dont l'atelier était à l'époque des plus actifs. Mais c'est le lieu de se rappeler que le saint était aussi dans le même temps le patron officiel de la famille des Paléologues et plus immédiatement celui auquel Michel VIII se déclarait redevable de la bonne fortune qui l'avait porté sur le trône.¹² Aussi me semble-t-il plus sûr de rattacher l'émission de ces deux pièces à l'Événement par excellence du règne, à la prise de Constantinople par les latins en 1261. Leur frappe doit donc être de cette date ou ne devrait pas lui être trop postérieure. Le thème du lis prendra plus tard une nouvelle signification et connaîtra une grande extension. Il est ici le symbole de la victoire, du triomphe de l'hellénisme médiéval revenu à son centre naturel sur le Bosphore, là où l'avait établi le premier Constantin et où le nouveau – ὁ νέος Κωνσταντῖνος – venait de le restaurer. Ce serait toutefois minimiser les intentions de l'artiste ou plutôt du basileus qui en ordonna l'émission que d'y voir seulement des monnaies commémoratives. Elles sont plus que cela, comme il sera prouvé ailleurs. Contentons nous de rechercher ici quand et pourquoi – nos pièces posent tout d'abord cette question! – le lis fut introduit dans l'iconographie de l'empire byzantin.

2. L'ORIGINE DU LIS, EMBLÈME MONÉTAIRE

Une enquête menée dans le vaste champ de l'archéologie byzantine et à travers les médailliers qui m'ont été accessibles m'a conduit à cette conclusion que le lis, si fréquent¹³ en héraldique et en numismatique occidentales, n'a trouvé chez les grecs avant 1204 qu'un emploi sporadique et comme occasionnel. En effet, si l'on

¹² Michel VIII s'en prévaut hautement dans le typicon (pseudo-biographie) qu'il composa pour le couvent, par lui totalement restauré, de Saint-Démétrius à Constantinople. Ed. J. G. Troijskij (Saint-Petersbourg, 1895), c. xi; traduction française dans C. Chapmann, *Michel Paléologue restaurateur de l'empire byzantin* (Paris, 1926), pp. 175, 176. L'empereur déclare devoir au saint sa fortune politique et se trouver dans l'obligation de lui témoigner par des actes sa reconnaissance. Il serait dès lors étrange qu'au moment où l'imagerie monétaire variait ses thèmes à plaisir, l'événement le plus retentissant du siècle avec celui de 1204, la reprise de la Ville, n'y ait pas été commémoré. Sur le typicon en question voir F. Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des ost-römischen Reiches, III. Teil, Regesten von 1204–1282* (München, 1932), p. 75, n° 2061.

¹³ La grande vogue du lis en Occident prend son départ au XII^e s. Montfaucon et les savants qui, tel H. Leclercq, *loc. cit.*, l'ont suivi ont conclu de cette date, somme toute tardive, que "les origines des fleurs de lis comme symbole de la monarchie française semblent procéder de quelque emprunt à des monuments orientaux probablement byzantins". Cité par H. Leclercq, *loc. cit.*, col. 1706. On ne saurait plus accepter ce point de vue.

excepte quelques cas remontant au Bas-Empire,¹⁴ la fleur de lis est restée jusqu'aux abords du XIII^e siècle absolument étrangère à l'iconographie impériale; elle ne fleurit aucun sceptre, n'orne aucune couronne, n'illustre aucun sceau¹⁵ et les ateliers monétaires l'ignorent totalement.¹⁶ Le fait que le lis est utilisé ici ou là, soit dans l'architecture soit dans l'ornementation, est purement accidentel. Il n'y a, en aucun ordre de décoration, de thème du lis, comme il y en eut de l'acanthé en architecture. On peut certes avancer à l'encontre quelques cas mémorables, où le lis, grâce au dos formé par ses pétales recourbés, apparaît comme un support idéal au sommet du ciborium à Sainte-Sophie de Constantinople ou à Saint-Démétrius de Thessalonique.¹⁷ Mais cet emploi, pourtant ancien, ne s'est pas généralisé et se trouve de toute manière sans signification particulière, en contraste flagrant avec le nombre et le caractère ostentatoire des figurations monétaires au temps des premiers Paléologues. Aussi n'est-il pas exagéré de dire que l'art anténicéen ne le connaît pas.

Dès lors une question se pose ! Les byzantins, qui, venus au contact des latins à la faveur des croisades, en ont adopté certains usages, ne leur auraient-ils pas emprunté l'emblème du lis, qui, depuis le XII^e siècle,¹⁸ fleurissaient leurs monnaies et le sceptre non moins que la bannière du roi de France ? Maints savants y ont répondu par l'affirmative. Les uns, comme P. Vidal-Lablache,¹⁹ pense que, de manière générale, "il faut mettre au nombre des imitations de l'Occident sa

¹⁴ Par exemple sur la couronne de l'impératrice Ariadne. Belles reproductions, entre autres, dans le *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, t. IV (1921), col. 1040 (fig. 3768), et dans A. A. Vasiliev, *Histoire de l'empire byzantin*, I (Paris, 1932), après la page 82.

¹⁵ C'est à la suite d'une méprise que A. M. de Guadan, *loc. cit.*, p. 126, parle de l'emploi de la fleur de lis dès le règne de Constantin VII (X^e s.). L'élément floral en question, quoique vaguement liliforme, a ses caractéristiques et son symbolisme propres. Etroitement lié à la croix, dont au reste il émane, il en traduit la force vivifiante.

¹⁶ Les pièces sur lesquelles on a cru découvrir des traces de lis ou n'appartiennent pas aux empereurs auxquels on les attribue (v. g. dans Sabatier, *op. cit.*, II, pl. LVII, n^o. 2, à restituer à Andronic II), ou bien ont été mal interprétés (*ibid.*, pl. LVI, n^o. 9, où la pièce présente, une fois de plus, au bas de la croix, un léger élément floral).

¹⁷ Au sommet du ciborium, le globe qui porte la croix repose sur le calice formé par le lis aux fleurons recourbés. Reconstitution dans G. M. Antoniadès, "Εκφρασίς τῆς Ἀγίας Σοφίας, II, 1908, p. 114 (avec renvois aux sources byzantines), pour Sainte Sophie. Pour Saint-Démétrius, de Thessalonique, voir les *Miracula Demetrii*, éd. PG., CXVI, col. 1265 (c. 82): σφαῖραν....., ὑφ' ἣν ὡς κρίνου βλαστοὶ θαυμάσιοι περιέχονται.

¹⁸ Cf. G. Braun von Stumm, *loc. cit.*, p. 55, n. 16 (nombreuses références). Voir aussi A. L(ongpérier), "Lis sur la monnaie byzantine", dans RN, N. S. (1869-1870), pp. 270-273.

¹⁹ P. Vidal-Lablache, "Monnaie byzantine inédite", dans *Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Athènes*, 1868, p. 80.

présence sur les monnaies de quelques empereurs". Et d'en faire remonter l'usage à Byzance jusqu'à l'époque des Comnènes ! D'autres, comme A.M. de Guadan,²⁰ rattacherait l'adoption du nouvel emblème par les grecs à un fait particulier, au passage en 1191 à Byzance de l'oriflamme fleurdelisé de Philippe Auguste. D'autres toutefois, tel G. Braun von Stumm,²¹ parle sans plus d'une imitation du lis de Florence tandis que T. Bertelè²² semble plutôt admettre l'antériorité salonicienne de l'emploi du motif en numismatique.

Ces deux dernières thèses n'ont d'étai que dans l'emploi simultanée de l'emblème du lis aux mêmes fins. Les deux précédentes sont ruinées par le fait irrécusable de l'absence totale du lis sur le monnayage des Comnènes et des Anges. Sa première apparition certaine n'est en effet relevée que sur une émission du premier empereur de Nicée, Théodore Ier Lascaris.²³ Et encore la fleur, qui pourrait toutefois jouer en l'occasion le rôle d'un différent, ne s'y présente que comme partie accessoire de la décoration ! Néanmoins la pièce qui la porte au revers, des deux côtés du Christ trônant, suffit à prouver l'adoption du lis dans l'iconographie par les ateliers monétaires et son emploi dès le début du nouvel Etat réformé en Bithynie après la catastrophe de 1204. On le retrouve ensuite sur le monnayage de Jean III Batatzès qui toutefois semble n'en avoir fait qu'un usage modéré.²⁴ Celui-ci acquiert en revanche sous Théodore II Lascaris²⁵ une certaine fréquence ; il multiplie ensuite ses types et ses variantes sous les premiers Paléologues (1258-1328), puis décroît paradoxalement. A partir d'une date que l'on peut fixer en gros vers 1315, le lis, qui avait tenu une place envahissante²⁶ au point de s'étaler seule sur tout le revers des monnaies, ne paraît plus que comme un accessoire sans autre rôle que celui de varier l'imagerie.

²⁰ *Loc. cit.*, p. 125. Une autre circonstance, certainement plus indiquée pour l'introduction du nouvel emblème, eût été le mariage d'Alexis II, le fils de Manuel I^{er} Comnène, avec la fille de Louis VII, Agnès de France.

²¹ *Loc. cit.*, p. 55, n. 15.

²² T. Bertelè, *L'imperatore alato nella numismatica bizantina* (Roma, 1951), pp. 69, 71 et 114, n. 200.

²³ Cf. W. Wroth, *BMC, Vandals*, p. XXVIII, n^o. 1.

²⁴ Un bel exemplaire cependant où le lis remplit tout le champ du revers, dans Sabatier, *op. cit.*, II, p. 293, n^o. 8, et pl. LXIV, n^o. 14 ; voir aussi *RN*, N. S., X (1865), p. 291 et pl. XII, n^o. 5. Sur l'exemplaire de la BN de Paris (n^o. 3766), le nom de l'empereur ne figure pas ! Voir la note suivante.

²⁵ A noter, entre autres, la monnaie décrite par F. de Pfaffenhoffen, "Lettre à M. de Saulcy sur quelques monnaies byzantines", dans *RN*, N. S., 1865, p. 291, n^o. 6 (de même type que la pièce de Jean III mentionnée ci-dessus), monnaie faussement attribuée à l'empereur de Thessalonique Théodore (1222-1243). Cf. Wroth, *BMC, Vandals*, p. 195 en note et p. 223, n. 1. — Ancienne collection Photiadès Pacha (cf. Catalogue, p. 45, n^o. 630).

²⁶ On en trouvera la riche nomenclature dans l'ouvrage annoncé en tête de ce travail.

De la sorte, l'emblème du lis connut sa plus grande vogue au milieu de sa course, dont le départ commence à Nicée avec l'accession au trône des Lascaris. Aussi est-ce à l'initiative de cette dynastie que j'attribuerai sans hésitation l'introduction dans l'imagerie monétaire de ce que I.N. Svoronos²⁷ appelle d'un mot juste le κρίνον λασκαρᾶτον. La nouvelle Maison régnante fut amenée à ce choix par le climat religieux où grandit le jeune empire d'Asie Mineure. La capitale, Nicée, avait en effet un patron, saint Tryphon, fameux pour ses miracles dont le plus célèbre était alors précisément ce que nous appellerions le "*Miracle du lis*" ! Le prodige se répétait chaque année, le jour même de la fête du saint et mettait en branle toute la ville. Voici au reste comment un témoin de choix, Théodore II Lascaris lui-même, dépeignait l'événement. L'empereur vient de se demander qui ne connaît la merveille.²⁸

Οὐ γάρ ἐστι τοῦτο δεόμενον ἐξετάσεως. Ὁ κόσμος βοᾷ, καὶ τὰ ἔργα κηρύττει διαπρυσίως καὶ γνησίως, ὡς καλοῦ προμάχου καὶ ἀσφαλοῦς, ἡ πόλις τῶν Νικαέων.

*Εν ταύτῃ γὰρ τὸν ἀγῶνα τοῦ μαρτυρίου διήνυσεν καὶ τανῦν ἐν ταύτῃ τελεῖ τὰς μεγαλουργίας, κρίνων ἀνθήσεις παραδόξους καὶ ἐκβλαστήσεις ἐνιαυσιαίους καρποφορεῖ εὐλογίας, ὧ τοῦ θαύματος, ἐν παγετῷ καὶ χιόνι τε καὶ χειμῶνι ἀνθεῖ τὸ κρίνον τῇ τοῦ μάρτυρος λυχνίᾳ ἐγκείμενον.

Μετὰ γὰρ τὴν ἐκκοπὴν τούτου συντελουμένου ἐνιαυτοῦ, καθ' ἣν ὥραν τὸ ἐωθινὸν τελεῖται ὑμνώδημα καὶ τοῦ ἀθλοφόρου καλλιεπῶς ἐξάδονται τὰ ἐγκώμια, τὸ ξηρὸν ἐκ τοῦ παραυτὰ ἀχρόνως βλαστάνει τὴν αἴσθησιν διαφεῦγον κατὰ βραχύ.

Καὶ ὁρᾷ τότε τὸ πλῆθος τὰ τοῦ Τρύφωνος θαύματα· τοῦτο βασιλεῖς ἐθεάσαντο πατριάρχαι τε ἐωράκασι· τοῦτο σέβεται ὁ λαὸς πᾶς, πιστὸς μᾶλλον ἐκ τούτου στηρίζεται· δαίμονες δραπέτευουσι τῇ θαυματουργίᾳ, νοσήματα φυγαδεύονται, αἰτήσεις πιστῶν πληροῦνται, μία πανηγυρίς τότε πάνδημος, ὅτε δὴ τελεῖται αὐτό, βρεφῶν, νηπίων, μεираκίων, ἀνδρῶν, γερόντων, πρεσβυτῶν, γηραλέων, γυναικῶν, κοσμίων, στρατευομένων, ὑποτελετῶν, ἱερέων, μοναχῶν ὁρῶσα καὶ σκιρτῶσα αὐτῷ πᾶν γένος καὶ ἡλικία πᾶσα· οὐ γάρ ἐστι τὸ γιγνόμενον ὡς ἐν γωνίᾳ καὶ ὑποσκίῳ τόπῳ τινὶ γινόμενον, ἀλλ' ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ Θεοῦ.

Διὰ τοῦτο δεῖ πάντας τὸν μέγαν Τρύφωνα διὰ θαύματος ἐγκωμιάζειν ὅτι πολλοῦ. Ἐμὲ δὲ καὶ μάλιστα καὶ ὅσον κατ' οἶκτον ὃν ἔλαβον παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀξιοπρεπῶς ἀμέλει καὶ ἐπιτέρπεσθαι ταῖς τούτου μεγαλουργίαις καὶ ἐπιγάννυσθαι καὶ ἐνθουσιᾶν

²⁷ *Loc. cit.*, p. 3922. Les monnaies qui y sont présentées-monnaies au type du lis et des deux B confrontées-sont toutefois postérieures à l'empire de Nicée.

²⁸ Le panégyrique de saint Tryphon par Théodore II est édité par le P. H. Delehaye dans *Acta Sanctorum, Novembris*, IV, 1925, pp. 352-357 (notre citation, à la page 356 BC). Il est à noter, pour la totale intelligence du miracle, que la fête du saint tombe chez les grecs au plus fort de l'hiver, le 1^{er} février. Cf. H. Delehaye, *Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum Novembris. Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae* (Bruxelles, 1902), p. 437⁵.

Traduction:

“Pas besoin de chercher loin ! Le monde crie et la ville des Nicéens proclame de manière éclatante et véridique ces faits comme émanant d'un défenseur généreux et sincère. C'est au reste dans cette cité que saint Tryphon mena le combat du martyr ; c'est là que présentement il accomplit des merveilles ; qu'il prodigue ses bénédictions ; qu'il fait chaque année de façon anormale fleurir et germer les lis. Oui, ô prodige, le lis, posé dans la lampe du martyr, fleurit par temps de gel, de neige, en plein hiver. Un an après qu'on l'a coupée, à l'heure où s'exécutent les chants de Matines et résonnent les mélodieux cantiques du héros, la plante desséchée, échappant un court moment aux sens, bourgeonne subitement hors de saison.

“Et la foule contemple alors les prodiges de saint Tryphon. Cette merveille, les empereurs l'ont vue, les patriarches l'ont contemplée ; le peuple entier la révère et le croyant surtout s'en trouve raffermi, tandis que le prodige met en fuite les démons, dissipe les maladies, comble les demandes des fidèles. Au moment où le fait se produit, ce n'est qu'une panégyrie générale des nourrissons, des enfants, des adolescents, des gérontes, des personnes sur l'âge, des vieillards, des dames, des gens du monde, des soldats, des fonctionnaires, des prêtres, des moines. Toutes les classes et tous les âges voient et sautent de joie, car ce n'est ni dans un coin, ni dans un lieu obscur que cela se passe, mais dans l'église de Dieu.

“A cause de ce miracle tous se doivent de célébrer à qui mieux mieux le héros Tryphon. Mais ce m'est à moi surtout un devoir, vu la protection que j'en ai reçue de manière éclatante, de me délecter de ses prodiges, de me laisser aller aux applaudissements et aux transports...”

Ce long passage contient, ce me semble, l'explication de la présence du lis sur le numéraire de Nicée. Il suffit d'avoir assisté au miracle de saint Janvier à Naples, d'avoir vu l'enthousiasme délirant de la foule pour saisir quel attout représentait, en politique intérieure, l'un de ces “miracles habituels” qui, dans les plus grands centres comme Constantinople, avaient toujours porté au paroxysme le sentiment religieux de la population. Théodore I^{er} (1204-1222) semble s'être contenté²⁹ d'en avoir consigné l'image sur ses monnaies d'argent, usage qui s'étendit aux espèces en bronze sous Jean III Batatzès (1222-1254) sans se développer autrement. C'est le règne de Théodore II Lascaris (1254-1258) qui donna du prodige une interprétation plus directe. Tout en maintenant les émissions de pièces où le lis figure comme accessoire, ce prince créa un type qui, au

²⁹ Simple hypothèse que de futures découvertes pourraient ruiner !

seul regard, évoquait le fameux miracle, ce type où saint Tryphon en pied, de face, paraît accosté d'un ou de deux lis.³⁰ Cette création a son explication et sa justification dans la marche des événements. C'est en effet sous les auspices du saint thaumaturge que fut alors poursuivie la reconquête des provinces européennes.³¹

Jusqu'à la mort de Théodore II, les émissions au type du lis gardèrent un caractère franchement religieux. C'est l'usurpateur Michel Paléologue, qui, se souciant peu, une fois fixé en Europe, de passer pour un dynaste asiatique, abandonna le saint, mais retint l'emblème dont il élargit le symbolisme dans le dessein de consolider son trône.³²



En résumé, il faut renoncer à rattacher l'apparition du lis dans l'imagerie monétaire de Byzance à quelque influence étrangère que ce soit. Le choix du motif fut dicté à l'origine par la constatation d'un fait brut : l'existence à Nicée, nouvelle capitale d'un État en formation, d'un miracle saisonnier qui remuait les foules. Son tout premier emploi est donc lié à la piété des Nicéens. Les empereurs suivants, Jean III Batatzès peut-être, Théodore II Lascaris sûrement, favorisèrent, puis exploitèrent ce sentiment qui, en leur gagnant le peuple, leur permit de donner plus de vigueur à leurs expéditions militaires mises à dessein sous le patronage de saint Tryphon.³³ Constantinople prise (1261), le thaumaturge, qui avait été à la pointe du combat de libération, fut bonnement mis de côté par un empereur, Michel VIII, à qui une tradition de famille et le séjour de Thessalonique finirent³⁴ par imposer une autre dévotion. Mais en donnant congé à saint

³⁰ Sabatier, *op. cit.*, pl. LXVI, n° 1, et Wroth, *loc. cit.*, pl. XXXI, n° 10. Plusieurs exemplaires dans les collections publiques, v. fr. Paris BN, nn. 3778 (Schlumberger) et Dumbarton Oaks, ou privées (Bertelè).

³¹ Sur une intervention mémorable du saint à la veille d'une des campagnes militaires les plus décisives voir A. Heisenberg, *Georgii Acropolitae opera*, t. I (1903), pp. 291, 292.

³² L'usurpation qui frustra Jean IV de son trône suscita en effet une vive opposition bientôt exaspérée par le schisme arsénite et la tournure prise par la politique religieuse de Michel VIII. Pour frapper l'imagination populaire, le monarque discuté fit un large usage d'un emblème que les circonstances avaient, depuis Nicée, étroitement lié à la restauration du pouvoir impérial à Byzance même.

³³ Le démarqueur de Georges Acropolite, Théodore Scoutariotès, ajoute en effet au texte de son modèle cette intéressante précision: ὁν (= saint Tryphon) κὰν ταῖς δυσχωρίαις, ὡς διεβεβαίοντο, ὕπαρ οὐκ ὄναρ (Od. 19, 547) πολλάκις ἐώρακε τῶν δυνάμεων προηγούμενον.

³⁴ Comme ses prédécesseurs, il fit graver aussi au revers du billon à son effigie l'image de saint Tryphon, mais – symptôme curieux – sans le lis. Cf. Wroth, *BMC, Vandals*, pp. 224, 225 et pl. XXXI, n° 11.

Tryphon, ce monarque astucieux retint le lis qui acquit vite valeur de symbole et désigna la victoire – nous l'avons souligné au début de ce travail – en attendant de devenir l'emblème de la souveraineté et de la légitimité dynastique, comme il sera démontré à une autre occasion.

EIN VIERTELJAHRHUNDERT WIENER MÜNZKABINETT

AUGUST LOEHR

Vor 30 Jahren hat die American Numismatic Association eine Äußerung über die Bedeutung numismatischer Sammel- und wissenschaftlicher Tätigkeit eingefordert (*Numismatist*, Oktober 1925); demzufolge wurde aus den Erfahrungen des Wiener Münzkabinetts der damalige Standpunkt dargelegt: Wertvolle lebende Glieder im kulturellen Organismus. Heute erfolgt ein Rückblick auf die 100jährige Tätigkeit der Amerikanischen Numismatischen Gesellschaft, einer der hervorragendsten unter diesen Vereinen, die als Zentren numismatischer Sammel-tätigkeit gewirkt hat und durch wertvollen Publikationen das numismatische Wissen bereicherte. Private Sammler haben durch den Eifer, mit dem sie bedeutende, mitunter spezifisch abgestimmte Bestände zustande gebracht haben, der offiziellen Wissenschaft wesentliche Dienste geleistet; viele dieser privaten Sammlungen sind der Öffentlichkeit übergeben worden und haben für allgemeines Wissen gewirkt. Auch an ersprießlicher Tätigkeit des Handels kann nicht vor-übergegangen werden; Firmen wie Spink in London haben durch ihre Korrektheit und durch überaus wertvolle Publikationen zu dem numismatischen Leben viel beigetragen. In ganz anderer Richtung haben die öffentlichen wissenschaftlichen Institute und Sammlungen zu wirken, denen notwendigerweise auch eine gewisse amtliche Tätigkeit zufällt in der Denkmalpflege, in der Beratung von staatlichen, technischen und Finanzstellen und zur Begründung geldtheoretischer Ansichten.

Eines der ältesten Münzkabinette ist das Wiener, von den Landesfürsten aus dem Hause Habsburg begründet, das bereits um 1300 Sorge um einen Münzfund erkennen läßt und für das im Jahr 1547 ein Inventar vorliegt, das in abenteuerlicher Weise von den Schweden im 30jährigen Krieg enttragen und durch die Königin Christina der Vatikanischen Bibliothek geschenkt wurde, wo es sich noch heute befindet. Die Schicksale dieses mehrhundertjährigen Münzkabinetts geben einen klaren Einblick in die Entwicklung der Münze und Medaille, der jeweiligen Auffassung dieser Kulturzeugnisse. Der erste Weltkrieg, der das Haus Habsburg depossidierte, das Institut in staatliche Verwaltung brachte und die Ereignisse des Krieges und der Nachkriegszeit, die wirtschaftliche und soziale Umordnung haben einschneidende Wirkungen hervorgerufen, die für 1913–1937 in jährlichen Tätigkeitsberichten vorliegen.

Das kaiserliche Münz- und Antikenkabinett war 1900 in eine Antiken-Sammlung und in eine antike und eine moderne Münzsammlung verwaltungsmäßig aufgeteilt worden. Die Pflege der antiken Numismatik war seit langem methodisch vorbildlich. Abbé Eckhel († 1798) wirkte für die antike Numismatik als Wissenschaft grundlegend und stellte zugleich die Verbindung mit der Universität her. Immer hatten die Habsburger eine besondere Beachtung der Medaille und einer künstlerisch ansprechenden Münzprägung zugewendet. Um 1900 hatte die Medaille in Frankreich wie in Österreich eine Wiederbelebung gefunden, für die der Kustos Domanig mit Erfolg eingetreten war. Das Emporkommen des Institutes österreichischer Geschichtsforschung in Wien hatte dazu geführt, daß auch das österreichische Münzwesen des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit und der wirtschaftswissenschaftliche Standpunkt Beachtung fand. Der berühmte Numismatiker Arnold Luschin war mit allgemeiner Zustimmung dafür bestimmend bemüht; nun wurde auch von den zuständigen Stellen die wissenschaftliche Begründung des österreichischen und allgemeinen Geldwesens gefordert und dafür 1906 eine Stelle geschaffen. Auf alle diese alten Ansätze, die weiter gefördert wurden, ist einzugehen, vorher aber ist es zweckmäßig, die tiefgreifenden Wirkungen der Kriegs- und Nachkriegszeit zu verzeichnen.

Schon gleich im Anfang entstanden Sorgen um die kaiserlichen Sammlungen, denen unbedingte Sicherheit gewährt werden mußte. Ausgelöst durch die Erfahrungen der napoleonischen Kriege wurde Schloß Reichsstadt, dann Blühnbach als Fluchtstätten vorgesehen und weitgehende Maßnahmen für Unterbringung, Verpackung, Transport getroffen. Aber auch auf die kulturelle und wissenschaftliche Betätigung wollte die Staatsleitung nicht verzichten. Es waren daher für

Kriegsdauer Fachleute dauernd zugewiesen, denen als besondere Leistung die Besorgung der sich aus den Kriegseignissen ergebenden neuen Aufgaben anvertraut wurden. Zunächst verschwanden die Edelmetalle und auch das Kleingeld; es war für Ersatz zu sorgen; sofort wurde die Dokumentation dieser Ereignisse und Objekte angeordnet. Mit den wirtschaftlichen Schwierigkeiten ergaben sich schädigende Notverkäufe, die zu Sicherungsmaßnahmen drängten. Der Mangel an Metall in der Kriegsverwaltung erzwang die Einziehung derartigen Materials, wofür sich in durchaus patriotischer Weise freiwillige Gaben häuften. An eine patriotische Kriegsmetallsammlung schloß sich eine Aktion "Gold gab ich für Eisen" und Kunstsammlungen eines neugegründeten Invalidenfonds. Es ergaben sich numismatische Aufgaben in der Durchsicht dieser massenhaften Bestände, von denen allein die Kriegsmetallsammlung weit über 100.000 Münzen umfaßte, die Organisation einer dem Interesse der Öffentlichkeit dienenden Ausstellung dieser Sammlungen und eine Aussonderung von Objekten mit dauerndem Wert. Der Patriotismus dieser ersten Zeit hat sich in der Schaffung verschiedenartiger Abzeichen, Ehrenzeichen und Medaillen betätigt. Gerade in Österreich haben diese Kriegsabzeichen einheimischer Prägeanstalten eine ungeheure Zahl erreicht; mehrere 1000 Belegstücke wurden sofort sichergestellt, von denen eine Anzahl künstlerischen Wert aufweisen. Aber auch die österreichischen Medailleure selbst haben offizielle und private Erinnerungsmedaillen geschaffen. Ihre Erzeugung war zu beraten, Belegstücke sicherzustellen und der Öffentlichkeit in entsprechenden Ausstellungen zu zeigen. Es war naheliegend, daß unter den Verbündeten ein gegenseitiger Austausch stattfand, namentlich in Berlin ist eine Hochflut derartiger Erinnerungszeichen geschaffen worden, mitunter auch mit aggressiver politischer Tendenz, die sogar zu Polemiken seitens der Entente-Staaten führten.

Aber auch etwas ganz Neues machte sich bemerkbar: Nicht nur das Metall reichte nicht aus, auch die wirtschaftlichen Maßregeln waren ungenügend. Und so kam als Ersatz eine unermeßliche Flut von Notgeldscheinen aller Art auf; Kriegsgefangenenlager mußten in dieser Weise vorsorgen, ebenso Interniertenlager, aber auch die Gemeinden mußten namentlich für das Kleingeld Ersatz schaffen. In der weiteren Entwicklung der Wirtschaftskrise wurde auch die Staatswirtschaft selbst erfaßt in einer immer schärfer werdenden Inflation, über die Geldzeichen hinaus mußten auch Staatsverpflichtungsscheine und Wertpapiere grundlegend vermehrt und in ihrer rechtlichen Wirkung ausgedehnt werden. Die Pflicht wissenschaftlicher Beachtung dieser Phänomene erforderte eine umfassende

Tätigkeit. Von Anfang an war man bemüht, von den Emissionsstellen nicht nur Belegstücke zu erhalten, sondern auch gleich die notwendigen Daten: Emissionshöhe, Umlaufsdauer und ähnliches festzustellen, eine Bemühung, die in der Folgezeit wissenschaftlich sich bewährt hat. Auch auf diesem Gebiet war auf die Erscheinungen bei den Verbündeten und bei den Gegnern Acht zu haben. Auf die Initiative des Wiener Münzkabinetts hat die Deutsche Bankverwaltung Belgiens vollständige Emissionsserien zusammengestellt mit mehr als 1000 Stücken, die dem Wiener und 6 deutschen wissenschaftlichen Instituten zukamen. Analog war die Tätigkeit in dem besetzten Polen, wo namentlich eine interessante Kollektion von Abzeichen erworben werden konnte. Noch eine weitere Folge trat ein: Der Goldmangel führte zur Umprägung nicht mehr kursierender Stücke in laufende Münzen. Es gelang die Erlaubnis zu erhalten, den Goldschatz der Österr.-Ungr. Bank durchzusehen und wissenschaftlich interessante Stücke zugleich auch für das Ungarische Nationalmuseum gegen das Goldquantum auszu-tauschen; allein 120 nicht bekannte Goldprägungen des damals regierenden Kaisers Franz Josef konnten der systematischen Sammlung eingereiht werden. Ähnlich wurde von der Deutschen Reichsbank vorgegangen. In Konstantinopel, wo bei der Militärmission einer der bekanntesten österreichischen Numismatiker tätig war, waren zwar interessante Nachrichten über den Schatz des Sultans, aber kaum ein praktischer Erfolg zu erreichen. Die militärischen Kommanden und auch die staatlichen zivilen Stellen haben diese patriotischen und der Allgemeinheit nützlichen Unternehmungen unterstützt, auch Geldmittel wurden in großem Maße zur Verfügung gestellt, so daß der Krieg selbst die Tätigkeit des Münzkabinetts in Abwehr und Aufbau erfolgreich fand.

Das Ende des Krieges war jedoch die Zertrümmerung der Habsburger-Monarchie und die Konfiszierung ihres Besitzes; zunächst und stürmisch haben Nachfolgestaaten Ansprüche geltend gemacht. Einer von ihnen hat sich mit Gewalt in den Besitz von Objekten gebracht; darunter aus der Münzsammlung neun süddeutsche Medaillen. Die allgemeine Entrüstung über diese Vorgänge hat jedoch dazu geführt, daß selbst in dem katastrophalen Frieden von St. Germain in dem Artikel 195 und 196 eine förmliche Regelung vorgesehen war. So ist der nächste Anspruch vor dem Schiedsgericht in Form eines Vergleiches erledigt worden, indem nach völlig korrekter Verhandlung, in der die Münzensammlung für andere Institute eintrat, 74 Prägestempel von Berckels aus dem 18. Jahrhundert Belgien überlassen wurden. Der dritte Anspruch fand im Schiedsgericht eine totale Abweisung und im vierten Falle wurden nach 14jähriger Verhandlung im Jahre 1933 bereits unter

Anerkennung der Reziprozität 5 Medaillen und Münzen an Ungarn ausgefolgt, wogegen 13 Papiergeldscheine übergeben werden. Der Erfolg gegenüber dem Ausland wäre nicht in diesem Maße eingetreten, wenn nicht in jeder Weise von der Öffentlichkeit und von dem im Ausland bekannten Künstlern und Wissenschaftlern eine umfassende Propaganda geleistet worden wäre. Schon damals konnte auf dem numismatischen Gebiet Dank gesagt werden dem Direktor Demole in Genf und ganz besonders und andauernd Sir G. F. Hill, Keeper of Coins, später Direktor des British Museums. Erst später erfuhren wir, daß auch Präsident Wilson nach seinen Memoiren gerade die Darlegung des Wiener Münzkabinetts aufgenommen und weitergeleitet hat. Aber nicht bloß gegenüber dem Ausland war eine scharfe Abwehr notwendig, auch gegenüber, namentlich spießbürgerlichen Kreisen im Inland, mußte die Zerstörung und Veräußerung von Kulturbesitz verhindert werden; auch auf theoretisch finanziellem Gebiet. Einer der Finanzminister vertrat doktrinär den Grundsatz "Krone ist Krone" und hat damit eine vielfache Verschärfung der Geldentwertung herbeigeführt, ein anderer wollte namentlich kulturelle öffentliche Aktiven verkaufen, bis sogar ein amerikanischer Kunsthändler die Mitwirkung ablehnte mit der klaren Begründung, daß solche Verkäufe eine Verschleuderung seien. Verständnis fanden wir bei dem Finanzminister Kienböck, dem Mitarbeiter des Bundeskanzlers Seipel; auch die Rechte, die der Völkerbund durch Gewährung einer Anleihe sich sicherte, waren in kultureller Beziehung von Nutzen. Erwähnt werden muß, daß die revolutionären Arbeiterräte unseren kulturellen Bedrängnissen und Forderungen Verständnis entgegenbrachten.

Die Staatsumwälzung hatte auch eine Änderung in der Organisation zu Folge, so daß die fünf im Gebäude des Kunsthistorischen Museums untergebrachten Sammlungen und ihre Direktoren als Kollegium ihre Angelegenheiten weitgehendst selbständig zu besorgen hatten, wobei für die finanziellen und administrativen Angelegenheiten aus diesem Gremium ein Referent bestellt wurde.

Nach diesem Überblick über die Kriegsereignisse kann auf die Fortsetzung der eigentlichen musealen Tätigkeit wieder eingegangen werden.

Vor alters her hat das Interesse des kaiserlichen Schatzes und des späteren Münzkabinetts der Münze, besonders der antiken und jeweils zeitgenössischen und der Medaille gegolten. Die neue wissenschaftliche Einstellung rückte die österreichische Münze und ihre Entwicklung in den Vordergrund, worauf sich unmittelbar Interesse an der neueren Münze überhaupt und darüber hinaus an dem Geldwesen in allen seinen Formen ergab. Die Jahresberichte 1913–1937 zeigen,

wie schrittweise die Tätigkeit auf diesem Gebiet sich intensivierte und verbreiterte. 1916: Das Oberstkämmereramt genehmigte die Anlage einer Sammlung österreichischen Papiergeldes als Metallsurrogat in Würdigung der Notwendigkeit des Bestehens einer solchen von einer anderen öffentlichen Stelle noch nicht begonnen derartiger Sammlung. Außer der Leitung der Notenbank hat noch das Finanzministerium die Zusage der Unterstützung gegeben. 1921 heißt es schon: Das Münzwesen, das den Kern der Geldentwicklung bedeutet, kann erst in diesem Rahmen zur Geltung kommen, die nötige Beobachtung finden und den nötigen Nutzen stiften. Es sind schon entscheidende Schritte unternommen, um dem Charakter des geldgeschichtlichen Forschungsinstitutes Rechnung zu tragen durch die Einstellung fachwissenschaftlicher Tätigkeit (Studien, Publikationen, Vorträge), durch Neuordnung der öffentlich zugänglichen Ausstellung, Erweiterung der Sammlungsarbeiten, Verabredung mit Nachbarinstituten, besonders dem Denkmalamt. 1922 wird berichtet, daß der Herr Vizekanzler die neue geldgeschichtliche Ausstellung eröffnet hat, womit betont wurde, daß die Geldgeschichte zu pflegen sei als eine beobachtende Wissenschaft, welche verfolgt, wie eine große Kulturgemeinschaft die Änderung der wirtschaftlichen Verhältnisse im Geldwesen erfaßt und auf sie reagiert. Aufgabe ist es, die verschiedenen Geldzeichen und Zahlungsmittel von der primitiven Naturalwirtschaft bis zum modernen Wertpapierverkehr als Niederschlag dieser Vorgänge zu sammeln und zu kommentieren. 1924: Ein wesentlicher Schritt ist getan durch den systematischen Aufbau einer geldwissenschaftlichen Handbibliothek und durch Herstellung von Photographien und Diapositiven nach geldgeschichtlich interessanten Archivalien. 1925: Durch die Vermittlung der österreichischen Gesandtschaft in Moskau und das Entgegenkommen des russischen Kommissars für Finanzen ist es möglich gewesen, einen Tausch durchzuführen, in dem gegen die Abgabe österreichischer Objekte eine umfassende Kollektion russischer Geldzeichen der Kriegs- und Nachkriegszeit (445 Stück) in unseren Besitz gelangte. In gleicher Weise haben uns die englische Regierung und die Regierungen von englischen Dominions Currency-Noten und Geldzeichen (über 500) überwiesen. Bemerkenswert ist der Ankauf einer chinesischen Staatsnote zu 1000 Cash (1368–1398), ein Stück, das nachweislich 1898 durch die englische Gesandtschaft in Peking an eine Wiener Sammlung (Ehrenfeld) gekommen war. 1927: Wir haben uns bemüht, systematisch die Versuche vor Einführung der Rentenmark zu einer festen Währung zu kommen, aufzusammeln. Es sind die von Schacht aufgezählten Versuche durch Belege in unserer Sammlung vertreten und einige interessante Privatscheine hinzugekom-

men. Vom Kärntner Landesarchiv wurde eine größere Zahl von Landesschuldverschreibungen, sich systematisch ergänzend, übermittelt. 1930: Eine Kumulativnote der Österr.-Ungar. Bank zu 300 Millionen Kronen vom 27. September 1919, womit die Forderungen eines der Nachfolgestaaten beglichen wurde, kam uns zu. Dazu bayerische Weizenschuldscheine, Roggenpapiere und Schwundgeld. 1931: Die Auffassung der Numismatik und des Geldwesens als ein Teil der Wirtschaftsgeschichte bringt in seiner praktischen Auswirkung eine enge Zusammenarbeit mit den Denkmalbehörden und den Lokalmuseen mit sich. 1933: Eine wesentliche Erweiterung des Arbeitsgebietes in praktischer wie in wissenschaftlicher Hinsicht muß stattfinden. Es ist also ein Einbau in die bestehenden Einrichtungen und Organisationen, Denkmalamt, Münzamt, Nationalbank, deutschen und internationalen Verbänden erfolgt. Über die deskriptive Numismatik mit ihren Zuweisungen an Münzstätten und Medailleuren muß man grundsätzlich und methodisch hinauskommen, die Münze als eine Form der Geldphänomene und das Geld selbst als Geschöpf und Mittel des dazugehörenden Kulturkreises zu betrachten. 1935 kann den österreichischen Banken und besonders dem Herrn Generaldirektor Joham für freundliche Förderung gedankt werden, mehrfach auch Mr. Wormser für amerikanische Geldzeichen. Von den Archiven waren Formulare, Originale und Fälschungen von Wertpapieren zu übernehmen, darunter aus der Zeit Napoleons der Entwurf eines Straßburger Richters als Sachverständigen für den Schutz von Papierscheinen. 1937 kann über den erfolgreichen Besuch von italienischen und französischen Archiven berichtet werden mit Ergebnissen für Forschung und Sammlung.

Damit ist die Erweiterung der Sammeltätigkeit umschrieben. Bevor aber die alten und neuen Aufgaben erfüllt werden konnten, waren umfangreiche Voraussetzungen in der äußeren Ordnung und Ausgestaltung des Kabinetts zu treffen. Zunächst erwies sich, daß trotz der außerordentlichen Fülle von hervorragenden Einzelobjekten der 400jährigen kaiserlichen Sammlung für die neuen wissenschaftlichen Anforderungen ein genügend umfassendes Substrat nicht zur Verfügung stand, namentlich im österreichischen Geldwesen; es existierten jedoch im Bereiche des kaiserlichen Hauses und später von staatlichen und anderen öffentlichen Instituten meist kleinere numismatische Bestände, die durchaus nicht immer Interesse fanden. So konnte zunächst im Musealgebäude selbst aus der alten Kunstkammer einige Medaillen übernommen werden, wozu dann noch bei der Weltausstellung von 1900 in Paris angekaufte Werke von Charpentier traten. Auch die Bibliothek hatte einige Medaillen, ferner einen Restbestand der Tertio-

genitur in Modena, die estensische Sammlung, einem ansehnlichen Komplex von Medaillen, Münzen und Orden des Herzogtums Modena, die sich gut in den alten Bestand fügten. Erzherzog Franz Ferdinand hat sich mehrfach des Münzkabinetts zur Beratung und Besorgung seiner numismatischen Angelegenheiten bedient. Dann hatte noch die von Kaiser Franz gegründete Fideikommissbibliothek eine größere Zahl von Familienmedaillen, vielfach aus Gold, ebenfalls eine sehr passende Ergänzung. Einige Stücke kamen aus dem Nachlass des Erzherzogs Friedrich. Die Dubletten der Goldstücke konnten verwendet werden, um die erwähnten fehlenden Gepräge aus dem Goldschatz der Österr.-Ungar. Bank auszutauschen. Im Naturhistorischen Museum war eine Sammlung des Kaisers Max von Mexiko aus Miramare und eine hauptsächlich amerikanische Sammlung des Konsuls Schwarz verwahrt. Auch die Hofbibliothek hatte numismatische Bestände. Selbstverständlich erfolgte die Konzentrierung nach Überlegung, lebensfähige Sammlungen wurden vom Kabinett aus vermehrt, so etwa im Technischen Museum, Vitrinen im Barockmuseum und in der Galerie des 19. Jahrhunderts eingerichtet. Nach der Übernahme durch den Staat war die Möglichkeit eines Arbeitsausgleiches mit dem Museum für Kunst und Industrie gegeben. Auch zur besonders geförderten Vervollständigung der österreichischen Serien konnte mit der der Stadt Wien übergebenen Sammlung Spöttl ein Ausgleich geschaffen werden.

Eine sehr große Aufgabe ergab sich jedoch im Kabinett selbst, in dem eine ganze Anzahl von Nebenserien selbständig geführt waren, so die berühmte Kupfersammlung Neumann, aus der 15.000 Stück inventarisiert und übernommen wurden, darunter bemerkenswerte Rechenpfennige der österreichischen Münzstätten, der Stadt Nürnberg und französische und niederländische Jetons. Die in diesen Jahren gewidmete Sammlung Miller-Aichholz, die die Grundlage der österreichischen Studien bildete, erbrachte auch etwa 15.000 Stück und Dubletten, aus deren Erlös der Großteil der Sammlungen des Hofrates Luschin, hauptsächlich österreichisches Mittelalter, erworben werden konnte. Dann fiel auch die Sammlung des Hofrates Pachinger an.

Die zunächst mit Besorgnis erwartete mehrmonatige Einschau des Rechnungshofes 1927/1928 konnte dank dem Verständnis des Herrn Dr. Ehrendorfer, eines Numismatikers, zum Guten gewendet werden, indem vom Rechnungshof die restlose Inventarisierung aller Bestände verlangt wurde. Hierbei handelte es sich um etwa 100.000 Stücke römischer Spezialsammlungen (Missong, Rhode, Voetter, Westphalen, Kolb, Markl, Koblitz), die in den letzten Jahrzehnten an das Kabinett gekommen, aber noch nicht eingereiht waren und in diesem Zustand die Benützung

wesentlich erschwerten. Es konnte mit Hilfe dafür verwendeter Kräfte diese riesige Arbeit bis zum Jahre 1936 durchgeführt werden, wobei 33.000 Stücke eingereiht, aus dem Rest in besonderer Weise Wünsche auswärtiger Kabinette erfüllt werden.

Zusammenfassend ist festzustellen, daß in diesen 25 Jahren rund 200.000 Stücke inventarisiert wurden, was eine Verdoppelung des Bestandes bedeutet.

Noch in einer anderen Hinsicht konnte das Einschreiten des Rechnungshofes zum Guten gewendet werden, nämlich in der Weiterführung der Neuinventarisierung. Juristische Gründe hatten in den 70iger Jahren eine Absonderung des habsburgischen Familienbestandes verlangt, die zwar mit großer Gewissenhaftigkeit und rechtlich einwandfrei durchgeführt wurde, aber in der drängenden Eile in zwei schmalen Bänden für das Münzkabinett nur summarische Angaben enthielten, also für wissenschaftliche und Verwaltungszwecke nicht genügten. Mit großer Mühe wurde 1914 die erste Erlaubnis zur Anlage eines modernen Inventars gegeben und zwar zunächst nur für die Neuerwerbungen. Allmählich ließ sich das weiter ausdehnen, Zettelinventare anlegen und die Dienste der Photographie in Anspruch nehmen.

Natürlich brachte die ungeheure Vermehrung auch den Bedarf an Münzkästen zur Unterbringung und bei den Medaillen die wünschenswerte Ersetzung der alten Ordnung nach fünf Formaten in entsprechenden Verkreuzungen durch neu angefertigte gefällige Kartonschachteln in einer Serie. Etwa 1% des Bestandes war in überlegter Auswahl dem Publikum zugänglich. Diese alte, aus dem Jahre 1891 stammende *Ausstellung* mußte geändert werden. Zunächst kam 1928 ein dritter Saal mit der Darstellung der neuen Sammelgebiete hinzu und bis 1935 wurde der Saal I dem Geldwesen, der Saal II der Medaille gewidmet, neu aufgestellt und mit einem gedruckten Führer ausgestattet. Dabei ergaben sich technische Änderungen. Die großen Medaillenvitrinen wurden steiler gestellt, die Bespannung nach vielen Versuchen in einem neutralen Grau, das zu allen drei Metallen paßt, erneuert; die Beschriftung neu gestaltet, störende Spiegelungen bekämpft.

Ganz neue Sorgen ergaben sich durch die zu beobachtenden Schäden im Erhaltungszustand. Das schlechte Heizmaterial der Nachkriegsjahre, aber auch die nicht bekannte Veränderung der alternden Metalle zeigte immer mehr Beschädigungen. In erster Linie waren es Blei und Zinn, das sich veränderte und in einigen Stücken verfiel. Aber auch Silber und sogar Gold zeigten Verbildungen auf. Es wurde u.a. die Hilfe der Wiener Technik, des Berliner Museallaboratoriums und der Metallfachschule Schwäbisch-Gmünd, sehr häufig des Medailleurs Robert

Pfeffer in Anspruch genommen. Die bisher liberal gewährten Gipsabgüsse wurden auf Grund der Erfahrungen sehr eingeschränkt, namentlich bei überschrittenen oder sonst in der Patina gefährdeten Stücken. Unsere Hilfskräfte mußten sich auf diese neuen Erscheinungen erst einstellen und Erfahrungen gewinnen. Eine Restaurieranstalt und ein Photo-Atelier wurden eingerichtet. Die ausgestellten Objekte wurden in der Sammlung durch Kopien vertreten. Viele mikrochemische und metallographische Untersuchungen wurden an der Technik vorgenommen. Herr Professor Strebinger hat unser berühmtes, 7 Kg schweres alchimistisches Medaillon in seiner chemischen Zusammensetzung bestimmt und Professor Regler eine im Verdacht der Fälschung stehende Keltenmünze auf ihr wirkliches Alter untersucht. Die Münzstättenforschung führte zu einer Verbindung mit der Geologischen Bundesanstalt um Auskunft über Lagerstätten und spezifischen Metallegierungen.

Getreu der alten habsburgischen Einstellung auf Porträt im Relief oder Bild sind die Ausstellungsräume zu den Münz- und Medaillenporträts weiterführend mit der Porträtsammlung des Erzherzogs Ferdinand vom Ambras ausgestattet worden, die nunmehr restlos aufgestellt und wissenschaftlich durch den gegenwärtig in New York tätigen Professor Gerhard *Ladner* untersucht und beschrieben wurde; hiebei ist der Versuch gemacht worden, den Quellenwert der einzelnen Bilder zu bestimmen. Es geschah dies in Verbindung mit der vom Internationalen Historikerverband eingesetzten Internationalen Kommission für Ikonographie, für die auch als eines der ersten das Wiener Münzkabinett ein Verzeichnis der Porträt- (300) und Ortsmedaillen (120 Seiten) verfaßte. Zugleich mit dieser Sammlung des Erzherzogs Ferdinand wurden auch zwei von ihm stammende Münzkästen des 16. Jahrhunderts aufgestellt. Eine probeweise Besucherzählung ergab am 27. Dezember 1931 über 400 Besucher.

Den Ausbau der Sammlung begleitete die Anlage einer Bibliothek für Medaille und in erster Linie für Geldgeschichte, die allmählich den gewünschten Erfolg sichern konnte. Von Luschin übernahmen wir über 400 Sonderabdrucke aus seinem Arbeitsgebiet und eine besonders große Zahl sog. Kambisten für die Zwecke der Kurs und Preisbestimmung, dem besonderen Arbeitsgebiete unseres langjährigen Mitarbeiters Dr. Rud. Geyer. Ebenfalls 400 Publikationen stammten aus dem Nachlass von Dr. Alfred Nagl.

Münz- und Geldwesen ordnende Patente wurden in Originalen zu einer Serie vereint (über 100 Stück).

Eingehende Beachtung fand das Rechenwesen und die Rechenbehelfe: Kerb-

hölzer, Rechentafeln; ein Barett des 16. Jahrhunderts mit aufgesticktem Rechen-schema wurde ausgestellt.

Diese Bibliothek wurde durch Zuweisung des Finanzministeriums, von numismatischen Gesellschaften, so etwa durch die *Notes and Monographs*, dann die auswärtigen Münzstätten (Paris, London, Rom, Utrecht, Brüssel, Washington, Kalkuta, Osaka), dann durch das Finanzministerium und die Akademie der Wissenschaften wesentlich vermehrt. Die eigenen Arbeiten brachten eine große Zahl Tauschexemplare. Auf Anregung von Luschin wurde ein numismatisches Archiv angelegt, das 1937 in 51 Faszikeln die Manuskripte und den Nachlass von Numismatikern enthält, darunter sehr bedeutenden Forschern.

Diese sachlichen Einrichtungen erhielten ihr Leben erst durch die Personen, die für den wissenschaftlichen Dienst nach gründlicher Auswahl eingestellt wurden.

Eine Sorge aber bereitete der mittlere Dienst, da die speziellen Fähigkeiten und Kenntnisse sich erst ausbilden mußten. Es war nicht immer möglich, bei den auf Durchschnittsarbeit eingestellten Personalstellen die notwendige Förderung zu finden. Erfreulicherweise ist, daß der Berufsidealismus in dieser Zeit der Unruhe, maßloser Profitgier und einer mitunter antibiotisch wirkenden Bürokratie selbst bei Kälte und Hunger sich behauptete. Dank ist regelmäßig allen Helfern im Jahresbericht gesagt worden.

Mit besonderer Liebe betreut war in der Habsburger-Sammlung die Medaille schon unter Maximilian I. als Münzporträt. Domanig hat große Bilderpublikationen der Porträtmedaille des Hauses Habsburg und die deutsche Medaille in Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte erscheinen lassen. Die Familienmedaille ist durch die Konzentration anderer Sammlungen vervollständigt worden, in der Kulturgeschichte lag stets ein besonderer Wert.

Die Zeitumstände haben in besonderem Maße die Pflege der modernen und Kriegsmedaille mit sich gebracht. In Wien war wie in Paris um 1900 die Medaillenkunst wieder belebt worden, und Domanig hat in Verbindung mit befreundeten Medailleuren die Neuausgaben österreichischer Medaillen stets gefördert und erworben (Österreichische Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Medaillenkunst und Kleinplastik). Dieser Brauch wurde natürlich fortgesetzt und durch Verbindung mit den auswärtigen Prägestellen erweitert. In ganz besonderem Maße war es möglich, mit den Prager (Sucharda), Budapestern und Münchner Künstlern in Verbindung zu treten, dann aber auch mit Berlin, mit Dresden (Hörnlein) und den großen Prägeanstalten in Süddeutschland. Weiter ergab sich eine ständige Verbindung mit Paris (Mazerolle, Direktor Moneclaey, Arthus Bertrand), London (Johnson),

und den großen Medaillenzentren in Brüssel und Haag. Während des Krieges hatte die Kriegsmedaille große Verbreitung und konnte in Ausstellungen gezeigt werden. Nach dem Kriege haben wir die Werke österreichischer Medailleure systematisch erworben, so von Scharff (Slg. Bachofen) einen ersten Bestand und eine Vorbereitung der Erwerbung des Gesamtnachlasses; vom älteren Tautenhayn nicht bloß Medaillen, sondern bewußt Wachsmodelle und Zeichnungen. Auch die größte österreichische Privatmedaillen-Sammlung Biach mit über 3000 Stücken, darunter auserlesene Liard-Güsse, wurde angekauft. Interessant erschien die Tätigkeit des Steyrers Unterholzer, eines Schülers von Rodin, der ebenso wie der Stahlschneider Blümelhuber eine eigenwillige, aber echte Künstlernatur war. Im Künstlerhaus konnten wir Werke von Unterholzer zeigen, illustriert durch ein bei der Lichtbildstelle herausgegebenes Album; eine Ausstellung von Werken Blümelhubers ist auf Wunsch des Herrn Kardinals Piffl im Münzkabinett zusammengestellt worden. Diese Ausstellungen fanden zahlreichen Besuch. In einer von der Künstlergenossenschaft veranstalteten retrospektiven historischen Medaillenausstellung erhielt die vom Münzkabinett erworbene und vorgelegte Kollektion des Münchners Ludwig Giess einen der Preise. Durch die Verbindung mit dem Hauptmünzamt und der Möglichkeit, die dort geprägten Medaillen zu verwenden und im Ausland zu zeigen, ergaben sich Ausstellungen, zunächst in Paris, dann Mitwirkung an einer deutschen Wanderausstellung, die auch in Wien und Linz gezeigt wurde, gleich darauf eine Wechselausstellung mit Ungarn, die 1934/1935 zuerst in Wien und dann mit echt ungarischer Gastfreundschaft in Budapest gezeigt wurde; unmittelbar schlossen sich Wechselausstellungen mit Finnland, Schweden, Dänemark und Holland an. In jedem Falle wurden die Ausstellungen so geführt, daß charakteristische Erwerbungen von Medaillen in jedem der beiden Länder gemacht wurden und so die österreichische Kunst im Ausland wie die ausländische bei uns bekannt gemacht werden konnte. Auf diese Weise und durch systematischen Besuch und Tauschverkehr mit der Cechoslovakei (Petrovits), Jugoslawien (Kerdic), Italien, der Schweiz und anderen Ländern ist in Wien ein bedeutender Bestand künstlerischer Medaillen des beginnenden 20. Jahrhunderts vereinigt worden. Mit Freude kann bemerkt werden, daß ein weitgehendes Vertrauen zwischen den Künstlern und dem Münzkabinett stets geherrscht hat.

Auf dem Gebiete der älteren Medaille wurde von Geheimrat Habich die Mitarbeit am Corpus der *deutschen Schaumünze* verlangt, die von Kustos Dworschak umfassend besorgt wurde (Abondio). Auch um die römische Barockmedaille war

Dworschak bemüht. Ein im Auftrag des deutschen Kunstvereins begonnenes Unternehmen der Darstellung der geprägten Medaille hat zu einem voll befriedigenden ersten Band für Kärnten und Steiermark, verfaßt von Dr. Günther Probszt geführt. Die Joachimstaler Medaille wurde selbständig bearbeitet (Katz). Die Bemühungen von Dworschak und Möser erbrachten ein volkstümliches, gut illustriertes Bändchen betreffend Erzherzog Sigismund.

Eduard Holzmaier hat für dieses Arbeitsgebiet in Brüssel, Brügge und Lille Forschungen begonnen.

In Ergänzung von aus der Zeit Rudolfs II. (kabbalistische Glocke) und Leopolds I. (alchimistisches Medaillon) stammenden Objekten ist von Graf Berchtold eine Sondersammlung alchimistischer und astrologischer Medaillen erworben und bearbeitet worden, die andauernd wissenschaftlich und museal betreut und u.a. durch ein aus Gotha stammendes Etui mit der geschlossenen Serie der Planetenjetons des 17. Jahrhunderts vermehrt wurde.

Es schließt sich an die sehr bedeutende Sammlung Brettauer "*Medicina in nummis*", von dem Urheber, dem Triestiner Augenarzt Brettauer, der Wiener medizinischen Fakultät stiftungsmäßig gewidmet. Dort konnte diese große Sammlung aber die nötige Pflege nicht finden, so daß schließlich ein Übereinkommen zwischen der Universität und dem Münzkabinett geschlossen wurde, demzufolge hier die Sichtung, Bearbeitung und Verfassung des Kataloges und die Verwaltung vorzunehmen ist. Es bedurfte vieljähriger Arbeit, begonnen von A. Lhotsky und vollendet in anerkannter Weise durch den gegenwärtigen Direktor E. Holzmaier mit finanzieller Grundlegung durch die damaligen Rektoren der Universität, unter denen schließlich Richard Meister die passende Form fand. Diese medizingeschichtliche Spezialsammlung, umfassend mehr als 7000 Stücke, ist wohl die größte der Welt; der uns von Washington freundlichst vermittelte Katalog der dortigen Sammlung Storer zeigte einen geringeren Umfang.

Die kulturgeschichtliche Einstellung ließ nicht mit der künstlerischen Qualität das Bewenden finden. Es sind die sog. Abzeichen und Jetons, in vielen 1000 Stücken gesammelt und ausgestellt worden, für verschiedene Gebiete des Lebens aufschlußreich, Vereinen, politischen Abzeichen usw.

Die Verbindung zwischen Medaille und Münze bilden die Bestände des *Hauptmünzamt*s. Von altersher, ganz besonders unter der Regierung Karls VI. und der Amtsführung des Antiquitäten-Inspektors Heräus, war eine völlige Verbindung zwischen dem Hofkabinett und der Prägeanstalt geschaffen. Immer wieder ist nach der Trennung versucht worden, auf eine Verbindung zurückzukommen und

schließlich ist es unserem großen Gönner, dem Vizekanzler Walter Breisky, gelungen, 1922 die Sammlung von Prägestempeln, von Medaillen und Probemünzen mit verschiedenen Annexen der Verwaltung des Münzkabinetts anzugliedern. Es bestand ein von Fiala verfaßter, sehr inhaltsreicher Katalog, es ergab sich aber die Notwendigkeit, auf einer neuen Grundlage gemäß den Empfehlungen des Rechnungshofes ein modernes Inventar anzulegen, mit den notwendigen Autorenverzeichnissen usw. zu versehen. Dieser Bestand ist ein Beispiel, daß nicht bloß das Zusammenbringen von Einzelstücken erforderlich ist, sondern Museen gerade in der natürlichen Tätigkeit eines öffentlichen Institutes und der sich daraus ergebenden Leistung ihre Grundlage gewinnen. Der große Bestand (20.000 Nummern) war neu zu ordnen, wobei eine historische Entwicklung in einigen Ausstellungskästen gezeigt wurde und die verschiedenen Münztechniken und ihre Behelfe zur Ausstellung gelangten: Hammerprägung, Walzen- und Presseprägung. Alte Hammerstempel konnten noch erworben werden (Luschin), ein Walzenpaar hat für uns Professor Gerstmayer wieder graviert; es wurde probeweise zur Prägung verwendet, um die Kapazität dieser Prägeart festzustellen. Systematisch sind Beschreibungen und Abbildungen von Prägewerkzeugen gesammelt und an ihrer Aufstellung besucht worden. Es ist also auf diese Weise bessere Kenntnis des Prägeverfahrens und aber auch der anderen Metalltechniken, Guss, Gravierung, Treiben, Schneiden, Perlmutterschnitt ermöglicht und belegt worden. Die Verbindung mit dem Münzamt hat namentlich zur Förderung der modernen Medaille außerordentlich viel beigetragen.

Einen Annex der Medaille bilden die Orden- und Ehrenzeichen, die auch erst zu sammeln begonnen wurden, durch Überweisung der liquidierenden Hofstellen und Ordenskanzleien anwuchsen, u.a. die Orden des Kaisers Ferdinand I. und aus der dritten Generation nachher die des Kronprinzen Rudolf, umfaßten, also interessante Vergleiche in der kunstgewerblichen Herstellung ermöglichten. Auch die Orden des Kaisers Max von Mexiko kamen hinzu und durch militärische und zivile Stellen wohl alle im Kriege ausgegebenen österreichischen Auszeichnungen. Dazu Restbestände des Ordens der Eisernen Krone noch aus der Zeit Napoleons. Zweifellos ein kulturhistorisch wichtiger Bestand.

Neu aufgestellt und ein wenig ergänzt wurde die alte Sammlung von Siegel und Siegelstempel mit mehr als 23.000 Objekten, durchaus nicht unbedeutend, aber im Interesse gegen früher rückläufig.

Das ursprüngliche Gebiet der antiken Münze, das seit 1900 selbständig betreut wurde, wurde 1926 wieder in das Kabinett zurückgeführt und nach dem Tode des

berühmten Numismatikers Kubitschek und des ausgezeichneten Kenners Münsterberg von dem bisherigen freiwilligen Mitarbeitern an den Papstserien Professor Dr. Karl Pink übernommen. Das Problem war die Umstellung von der bisher in erster Linie betreuten griechischen Münze infolge der Unterbrechung der Verbindung mit Kleinasien auf die römische Kaisermünze, für die sich ein Kreis von privaten Numismatikern bemüht hatte. Das Ergebnis ihrer Arbeiten ist sukzessive der kaiserlichen Sammlung zugeflossen und hat diese zur stärksten Kollektion auf der Welt gemacht. Für die Bearbeitung, die in der erwähnten Inventarisierung endete, war vor allem die Erörterung eines Arbeitsplanes mit der anderen weltbedeutenden Römersammlung in London nötig. Es gelang dies Dr. Pink, der mit Mr. Mattingly und dessen Mitarbeitern einen übereinstimmenden Arbeitsvorgang vereinbaren konnte. Die wissenschaftlichen Ergebnisse waren bedeutend, Pink hat neue Wege mit dem Aufbau des Münzwesens gefunden. Dann ist er der Spezialist für die Keltenmünze geworden. Sehr unterstützt wurde er von einem genialen jüngerem Numismatiker Georg *Elmer* aus Pancsova, der Jahre hindurch am Wiener Kabinett arbeitete und u.a. 5000 antike Fälschungen aussonderte. Ergebnisreich war auch die Beratung der Familie Trau und der Sammler Koblitz und Lakom. Ein Legat kam von Kriesche-Schrolls. Die Bestände des Museums in Carnuntum wurden geprüft, die dortigen Fundstücke am Fundort aufgestellt und für das übrige eine angemessene Verwendung gefunden. Die wissenschaftliche Tätigkeit Dr. Pinks brachten ihm die Habilitierung für antike Numismatik an der Wiener Universität.

Um diese Zeit lebte in Wien ein privater Fachmann für orientalische Numismatik, Oberst *Zambaur*, dessen Hilfe und Mitarbeit wir uns zu erfreuen hatten.

Für das Mittelalter war durch die weltbekannte Tätigkeit des Rechts- und Wirtschaftshistorikers *Luschin* Interesse geschaffen worden. Seine Sammlung namentlich an Wiener, Grazer und Friesacher Pfennigen und an mittelalterlichen Funden konnten wir übernehmen. Einen der ältesten österreichischen Funde, den von Rakwitz, spendete uns der Fürst von Liechtenstein. Die besondere Betreuung der Mittelaltermünzen und die damit verbundene Bearbeitung von Funden übernahm der Kustos Dr. Fritz Dworschak, der ansehnliche und wertvolle Publikationen auf diesem Gebiete verfaßt hat. Die angestrebte Erforschung der österreichischen Geschichte ist also auch auf diesem Gebiete der mittelalterlichen Numismatik gefördert worden.

Wichtiger und durchgreifender aber war die österreichische Geldgeschichte der Neuzeit. Die sammlungsmäßige Grundlage für diese Arbeit wurde gegeben durch

die großherzige Widmung der Frau Olga *Miller von Aichholz* der Sammlung ihres Mannes, verbunden mit einem von ihm verfaßten Katalog. Durch die Einfügung dieses riesigen Bestandes in die alte kaiserliche Sammlung und durch planmäßige Vermehrung war die numismatische Voraussetzung für die Feststellung aller österreichischen Gepräge gegeben. Natürlich war eine volle Neuordnung damit verbunden und auch eine Erforschung der Münzgeschichte und der Münzstätten. Das ist in den folgenden Jahren planmäßig befolgt worden. Gleich der erste Abschnitt: Die wissenschaftliche Erforschung der Münzprägung Ferdinands I., gab umfassende neue Resultate. Nötig war hiezu die Kenntnis der schriftlichen Quellen, die durch Studien in den *Archiven* gewonnen wurde. Offiziell ist der Archivrat gebeten worden, diese Nachforschungen in den staatlichen Archiven anzuregen und zu fördern. Die gesamten, umfangreichen und vielfältigen Publikationen fanden ihre Zusammenfassung in den unter dem Namen von Viktor Miller von Aichholz ausgegebenen "*Österreichischen Münzprägungen*", 1920 erschienen und im folgenden Jahre vergriffen. Sehr umfangreiche, fast alle europäischen Sammlungen erfassende Nachforschungen haben dann 1948 zu einer zweiten Auflage in zwei Bänden, diesmal mit Abbildungsband, geführt. Der Familie Miller von Aichholz muß für ihren Anteil an dem Zustandekommen des österreichischen Standardwerkes der größte Dank gesagt werden. Es ist selbstverständlich, daß in der ganzen Periode alle Bemühungen gerade auf die Vervollständigung dieses Gebietes konzentriert, systematisch die Münzhandlungen besucht wurden, an Auktionen (Morosini, Enzenberg, Trau usw.) teilgenommen wurde und schließlich die Erwerbung der Tiroler Spezialsammlung *Scherer* vorbereitet worden ist. Ständig wurden die Ergebnisse der wissenschaftlichen Forschung publiziert.

Die Beschäftigung mit dem österreichischen Metallgeld führte naturgemäß auch zu anderen Formen der *Zahlungsmittel*. Es ist aber zunächst noch hinzuweisen, daß auf die Münze überhaupt, besonders auf das *kursierende Geld* größere Aufmerksamkeit gelenkt wurde, und versucht worden ist, eine Übersicht in Belegstücken über das damals kursierende Geld nach *Währungssystemen* aufgliedert zu erlangen. Dazu haben Ansuchen an unsere auswärtigen Vertretungen wesentlich beigetragen und ein Tauschverkehr mit den auswärtigen Münzstätten Erfolg gezeitigt. Beratung und Bereicherung fanden wir in größerem Maße bei Dr. Gerstl/Curacao, Jentschke/Santiago, Professor Mijashita/Kobe, Mulder/Shanghai, Norkus/Kiel, Legationsrat Heribert Troll/Belgrad-Pressburg, Mr. Wormser/New York. Diese Zeugnisse sind systematisch der Öffentlichkeit vorgelegt worden. Als

Annexe des Geldwesens können noch die *Münzgewichte* betrachtet werden, deren Sammlung begonnen wurde. Für die Antike hat sich Professor Pink bemüht, für die spätere Zeit liegen die großen Bemühungen des Kustos Dr. E. Holzmair vor, der u.a. den großen in der Lombardei von Gnechi erworbenen Bestand geordnet hat, so daß nicht weniger als 5000 Stücke jetzt der Forschung zugänglich sind.

Die grundsätzliche Beschäftigung mit dem Geld führte zur Notwendigkeit, auch *Naturalgeld* und *Barren* zu beachten und zu beschaffen. Ein Besuch großer ethnographischer Museen und ein längerer Aufenthalt in Hamburg bei Thilenius und den dort ansässigen Händlern, ferner in Frankfurt bei Frobenius brachte eine erste Grundlage (Zeuggeld, Muschel-, Gerätegeld), die durch einige Stücke unserer ethnographischen Sammlung vermehrt werden konnten. Silberbarren haben wir aus den Münzfunden von Torren und Gschiess erworben und außerdem den reichen niedersächsischen Bestand der Welfensammlung in Gmunden kopieren und bei uns verwenden können.

Aufschluß boten Robot-, Deputat-, Brot- u.a. Marken, Raitpfennige, Rechenzeichen, Bettler-, Wohlfahrts- und Schwundgeld, Scrips, die das immer neue Entstehen der Geldfunktion erkennen lassen.

In wirtschaftlichen Krisen, so vor allem im Weltkrieg I, genügten die Geld-einrichtungen nicht und führten zunächst zum *Ersatz des Metalles* in anderem Material, billigen Metallegierungen, aber auch Porzellan, Holz und ähnlichem. Auch ein Teil der Papierscheine entstammt aus dem Bedürfnis, im kleinen Geldverkehr *bar*, d.h. endgültig zu bezahlen. Die wesentlich und in steigendem Maße sich verflechtenden wirtschaftlichen Beziehungen hatten zu einer *Zerlegung* der Geldzahlungen in ihre verschiedenen zeitlichen, örtlichen und sozialen Phasen geführt. Eine unmittelbare definitive Abdeckung und Verpflichtung war vielfach unmöglich geworden, es mußten *zwischenweilige Verpflichtungsscheine* (*Wertpapiere*) eingefügt werden. Sowohl in der Staats- wie in der Privatwirtschaft Wechsel, Schecks, Bank- und Staatsnoten, Obligationen, Anteilscheine (Aktienkuxe) sind ausgebildet worden und wurden im Kriege ungeheuer vermehrt und verbreitet. Es ergab sich sofort als Aufgabe, diese Belege zu sammeln. Private Interessenten (Bankenverband) auf diesem Gebiet förderten das Münzkabinett; sofort nach Beginn dieser Sammelrichtung kam uns die ganze Sammlung Gunz, dann die des Hofrates Pachinger geschenkweise zu, die große des Oberbaurates Blumauer wurde angekauft und sehr bald auch die mehr als 3000 Stück umfassende des Kaufmannes Plümer in Hameln a.d. Weser. 3000 Notgeldscheine waren eine Spende Taussig's. Entscheidend aber war die umfangreiche Unterstützung durch

Zuweisung seitens der Österr.-Ungarischen Bank, des Finanzministeriums und einer ganzen Zahl von öffentlichen Stellen und Unternehmungen der Finanz und der Industrie, dazu die vom Handelsgericht skartierten Wechsel. Es wurde hiebei gleich geachtet, auch die technischen Stadien der Erzeugung, Druckproben, Entwürfe, Textfassungen und Fälschungen zu erhalten. Das Beispiel wurde auch im Ausland befolgt und unsere Bestrebungen unterstützt. Natürlich zeigte sich, daß mit den aus der Zeit stammenden Wertpapieren nicht die Erklärung gefunden werden konnte, es ist daher systematisch für die vorhergehenden Entwicklungsstadien in den eigenen und ausländischen Archiven, besonders Italien und Frankreich Nachschau gehalten worden und eine reiche Kollektion von Photographien, Doppelstücken usw. zustanden gekommen (Mailand, Neapel, Turin, Venedig, Lyon, Augsburg, Hamburg). Von Interesse war, daß 1931 die berühmte Kartenfabrik Dondorf in Frankfurt/Main ein Album mit den Musterstücken der von ihr erzeugten, hauptsächlich süddeutschen, Geldscheinen verbunden mit den Originalverträgen abgab. Ein ganz großer Bestand kam durch die Schenkung des Inhabers der größten Wiener Notendruckerei *Engel* in unseren Besitz. Wesentlich waren die Zuweisungen der Staatsdruckerei. Es ist schon früher erwähnt, wie allmählich die Erkenntnis der wissenschaftlichen Bedeutung dieser geldgeschichtlichen Belegstücke sich erweiterte. 1936: Papiergeld 34.000, Wertpapiere 14.000 Stücke.

Die geldgeschichtliche Richtung kam auch in Ausstellungen zum Ausdruck, so im Kabinett selbst, dann in einer großen, von Laum veranstalteten in Frankfurt, die mit einer Anregung auf Gründen eines *geldgeschichtlichen Institutes* von uns begleitet war, dann in der entsprechenden Neugestaltung eines Teiles unserer ständigen Ausstellung. Die wissenschaftlichen Ergebnisse und Bemerkungen wurden in verschiedenen Aufsätzen, dann in einem Museumsführer unter dem Titel "*Numismatik und Geldgeschichte*" veröffentlicht und ein Überblick über die festgestellte Entwicklung der Wertpapiere in "Frühe Formen der Wertpapiere" in der Wiener Numismatischen Zeitschrift publiziert und schließlich zusammenfassend dem internationalen numismatischen Kongress in Paris als "*L'Evolution des titres et signes monétaires*" vorgelegt, in dessen Rapports und später im Anzeiger der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaft mit einer Fortsetzung über die spezifischen österreichische Verhältnisse abgedruckt.

Als lehrreich erwies sich auch die Sicherung der in Österreich seit Leopold I. eingeführten *Gebührenzeichen*, *Signeten*, später in der Form einer Erfindung des Österreichers Auer von Welsbach von *Stempelmarken*. Auch auf diesem Gebiete konnte eine begonnene Arbeit des Ministerialrates im Finanzministerium

Koszinsky übernommen und Beständen der Finanzbehörden und der Staatsdruckerei und mit einer großen Sammlung des Landesgerichtsrates Mittermayer verbunden werden. In langjähriger mühevoller Arbeit mit Beratung der Wiener und auswärtigen Fachleute ist dieser Riesenbestand von Franz *Kolarik* gesichtet, geordnet und aufgestellt worden. Es waren 1935 über 14.000 Stück.

Es ergibt sich ohne weiteres, daß eine so umfassend aufgefaßte Tätigkeit eine intensive Zusammenarbeit mit anderen amtlichen und kulturellen Stellen voraussetzte. In erster Linie war natürlich die Verbindung zu den Zentralkommission für Kunst und historische Denkmale, später *Denkmalamt*, gegeben. In Österreich hatte ja das franziscaeische bürgerliche Gesetzbuch das Münz- und Antikenkabinett als Melde- und Ablieferungsstelle für *Funde* bestimmt, was in der Folge verändert, aber nicht aufgehoben wurde, bis erst 1923 ein Denkmalschutzgesetz erlassen worden ist. Die Absicht, in der Denkmalpflege ein eigenes numismatisches Institut zu errichten, erwies sich als überflüssig und als zweckmäßig die Verwendung des Münzkabinetts oder genauer gesagt seiner Beamten für den Denkmalschutz. Der umfaßte natürlich in erster Linie seit Jahrhunderten die Sicherung und Beschreibung der Funde. Das ist fortgesetzt und ausgebaut worden, wobei in einem "*Fundblatt*" über die Fundbeschreibung hinaus zusammenfassende und erklärende Erläuterungen gegeben, die auch in dem "*Deutschen Korrespondenzblatt*" und im "*Internationalen Bulletin*" verwertet und erweitert wurden.

Ein anderes Hauptgebiet war die Überwachung der *Ausfuhr*. Das betraf jährlich einige 100 Fälle mit z.B. 1931 einen Fakturenwert von über S 46.000.— Es waren ja Verluste von historischen Zeugnissen möglichst zu vermeiden. Dies drohte auch durch die ständige *Einschmelzung*, die schwer zu überwachen und kaum zu verhindern ist. Schon Erzherzog Franz Ferdinand hat auf Bericht hin versucht, Abwehrmaßnahmen zu treffen; dazu kam Mitwirkung in der Durchführung der Safesperre und der Vermögensabgabe. Einen großen Umfang nahm die Beratung und ständige Besichtigung öffentlicher, namentlich Klostersammlungen, ein. Eine Bestandsaufnahme war aus wissenschaftlichen Gründen begonnen worden. Die Zusammenarbeit mit dem Denkmalamt ist stets in erfreulicher Weise vor sich gegangen, und auf Anregung von Professor Dopsch ein eigenes Referat für wirtschaftsgeschichtliche und technische Denkmale und für Heimatmuseen errichtet worden.

In ähnlicher Weise haben aber auch andere Stellen, etwa der Finanzverwaltung, die Mitarbeit des Münzkabinetts in Anspruch genommen, so für Entscheidungen in der Münz- und Medaillenprägung, bei Preisgerichten, über Vorschläge für die Herstellung von Ehrenzeichen und Medaillen und ähnliches. Die ständige Zu-

sammenarbeit in Angelegenheiten der Abwehr von Ansprüchen der Nachfolgestaaten, die unter Leitung des Finanzministeriums und des Finanzministers Kienböck stattfanden, hatten eine Atmosphäre des Vertrauens geschaffen. Am nächsten lag jedoch die Zusammenarbeit mit den gleichgerichteten Instituten, also mit den Münzkabinetten in Österreich, dann mit den deutschen und den bedeutenden Europas. Der Vorsitz der numismatischen Abteilung der Geschichts- und Altertumsvereine und dann das Sekretariat der über Anregung von Österreich und Schweden geschaffenen numismatischen Kommission des Internationalen Historikerverbandes befanden sich im Wiener Münzkabinett. Mit ganz besonderem Dank muß der erfolgreichen und vertrauensvollen Zusammenarbeit mit den Kollegen dieser numismatischen Institute, so besonders in München, Berlin, Paris, London, Brüssel, Haag, Kopenhagen, Stockholm, Oslo, Madrid und Lissabon u.a. gedacht werden. Das Münzkabinett hat sich seiner Entstehung gemäß als ein *museales Institut* betrachtet und mit den anderen österreichischen Museen kulturhistorischer, technischer und naturwissenschaftlicher Richtung auf das engste zusammengearbeitet, so auch mit dem von Professor Neurath "bildstatistisch" geführten Kriegsmuseum in Leipzig und seinem "Wirtschafts- und Sozialmuseum" in Wien. In diesem Sinne ist auch an den großen Ausstellungen "Prinz Eugen", "Maria Theresia" und "Franz Joseph" mitgewirkt worden. Die Richtung der Agendenführung war bewußt eine wissenschaftliche, weshalb die Ergebnisse regelmäßig an den geeigneten Stellen publiziert wurden. Die Anerkennung blieb nicht aus, indem von wissenschaftlichen und Vortragsinstituten Ansuchen um Abhaltung von Führungen und Vorträgen in großer Zahl gestellt wurden. Dies geschah auch von der Wiener Universität von der juristischen Fakultät, besonders durch Professor Walker, in erster Linie natürlich von den historischen Fächern im Institut für österreichische Geschichtsforschung. So wurde 1929 eine *Honorarprofessur* für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte verliehen und in der Folge Dr. Pink für antike Numismatik und Direktor Holzmayr für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte habilitiert.

Rückblickend kann festgestellt werden, daß eine sehr intensive Tätigkeit auf dem großen Gebiete der Geldgeschichte Erfolg gebracht hat. Mit Befriedigung kann die große *idealistische Mitarbeit* einer großen Zahl von Interessenten festgestellt und der Hoffnung Ausdruck gegeben werden, daß auch in Zukunft trotz nicht erfreulicher politischer Zustände ernste geistige Arbeit sich durchsetzen wird, auch auf dem Gebiete *lebendiger*, zusammenfassender und vergleichender Geldwissenschaft.

Hatte vor 150 Jahren der Prager Professor Mader in der Numismatik ein "Mittelding zwischen Anstrengung und Müßiggang" gesehen, so hat der Gründer des Deutschen Museums in München Oskar von Miller als die Aufgabe wirtschaftswissenschaftlicher Institute bezeichnet, daß sie der Öffentlichkeit und besonders deren Beauftragten *Belehrung* und Kenntnisse vermitteln sollen, was sicher notwendig ist und in der Äußerung von Vauban zum Ausdruck kam: Wenn unser Land so elend ist, so sind die Ursachen nicht andere, sondern die Kriege, welche seit langer Zeit gewütet haben, und der Mangel an der Wirtschaft, die wir nicht mehr genügend verstehen.

A COINAGE OF THE REVOLT OF FREGELLAE?

HAROLD MATTINGLY

There is one little coinage of the period of the Gracchi which has long puzzled students.¹ It consists of two pieces:²

1. Denarius.

obv. Bust of Mars, in helmet with plumes, draped, r. TI VE X

rev. Two soldiers standing l. and r., swearing loyalty over the body of a sow, held by a kneeling attendant. ROMA

2. Quadrans.

obv. Head of Hercules r. ROMA

rev. Strigil and oil-jar. TI VE (sometimes followed by a B)

The denarius is not uncommon, but the quadrans is excessively rare.

The moneyer Ti. Veturius is unknown to history. In Roman myth a certain Mamurius Veturius was the smith who made the shields for Mars. Veturii occur in early Republican history and, in the second Punic war in 209 B.C., a praetor, L. Veturius, commanded, in Cisalpine Gaul.³

¹ The root idea of this paper occurred to the author in the course of studies of the coinage of the age of Marius which he was undertaking in collaboration with Mr. Tom Carney, classical lecturer at Wellington, New Zealand. He would like to express his great indebtedness to Mr. Carney who took up the idea at once and worked with enthusiasm to develop it.

² Sydenham, *The Coinage of the Roman Republic*, nos. 527-528 (hereafter quoted as Sydenham).

³ Livy, XXVII, 10.11 ff.

This coinage has several very peculiar features. The obverse and reverse of the denarius, the reverse of the quadrans fall out of the ordinary pattern. But the significance of these peculiarities depends largely on the exact date of the coins. The reverse of the denarius copies that of gold struck by Rome in the second Punic war; both obverse and reverse are copied by the rebel allies in 91 B.C.⁴

The next point is to fix the date of the coins. It is certain that they were struck a few years before 120 B.C. For

a) The mark of value is still of the old form X, not XVI or the crossed X that followed it. The change probably fell in 123 B.C.

b) The border on reverse is line, not dots. The dotted border on reverse can be shown to have come in about 120 B.C.⁵

c) The denarius occurs – and in some numbers – in Grueber's three earliest hoards, none of which contains any of the coins struck for the foundation of Narbo Martius, 118 B.C.⁶ This is reasonably sure proof that our coin was struck before that date.

The date of this coin being now established as earlier than 123 B.C. its peculiarities may be discussed in detail. They are far more remarkable than if the coins had been struck twenty years later.

a) Bellona still holds the obverse of the denarius. Our head of Mars is an astonishing anomaly.

b) The reverse of the denarius is still held by the Dioscuri or charioteer deities. Again, our oath-scene of the reverse of the denarius falls quite out of the normal pattern.

c) The quadrans has, instead of the normal prow, its strange reverse of accessories of the bath – again a feature that has almost no parallel.⁷ The letter B has been taken to stand for Barrus, a cognomen of the moneyer. But surely it is more likely to stand for "balnearium", "bath money" – the quadrans being the normal price of a Roman bath.

⁴ Sydenham, no. 637 (obverse): Sydenham, no. 619 and many others (reverse: but there are often more than two figures – six or eight).

⁵ See my paper in *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 1953, pp. 239ff.

⁶ Sydenham, p. LII: hoards of Masera (Padua), Riccia (near Beneventum), S. Giovanni (Fregellae).

⁷ Cn. Domitius, M. Silanus, Q. Curtius, striking at a northern mint, replace the normal prow of the reverse by attributes of the deity of the obverse – e.g., club, bow and arrow for Hercules, caduceus for Mercury: Sydenham, no. 538 (a–d).

Our coins then, at the date to which they must certainly be assigned, refuse to fit into the normal pattern of the Roman mint.⁸ And yet they bear the Roman name. No satisfactory explanation has yet been offered of difficulties that seem insuperable.

An explanation has occurred to me which, though perhaps rather astonishing to historians, would account for the features that we have been noting. Here we must leave the coins for a moment and turn to history.

What we have to examine is the relation of Rome to her Italian allies down to the age of the Gracchi. In the third Century, before the second Punic war, we seem to see Rome as president of an alliance in which the Latin colonies took the most honoured place. The devastations of Hannibal wrecked this fair picture. He failed, it is true, to break up the Roman confederacy. But, under stress of the war, twelve out of the thirty Latin colonies defaulted, declaring themselves unable to furnish any more men or money. The other eighteen stood immovably loyal and it was a native of Fregellae who voiced their loyal sentiments. After the war Rome began to appear as tyrant lord rather than willingly accepted president. She had been forced to carry the main burden of the great struggle and the allies found themselves, in fact if not in theory, in a far worse position than before, bearers of very heavy burdens with comparatively small share in the gains. A strong sense of grievance grew among the allies and this was aggravated by gross acts of individual insolence and oppression on the part of Roman magistrates. The demand for full citizenship began to be voiced.

In 126 B.C. Fregellae, a large and notable colony on the Samnite border, famous as we have seen for its loyalty, revolted and had its walls razed. The revolt of Fregellae chances to fall in a period very poorly recorded in history, but we should not let that blind us to the magnitude of the tragedy. It was the noblest of the Latin colonies that suffered. But we are poorly off for detail. In what did the revolt consist? Apparently not in military action against Rome. There was certainly no fighting on the large scale. Yet the revolt was so seriously regarded by the Roman conservatives that a Roman praetor, L. Opimius, took the field and exacted drastic vengeance. That Fregellae was mainly concerned with the

⁸ The style, too, is quite unlike Rome of the time. This always reminds me of the South Italian mint (Rhegium) – Sydenham, no. 554, but the coins of this mint are proved by hoards to be many years later than our coin. I suppose that it is possible, if not exactly probable, that our moneyer survived immediate troubles and found employment at a Roman mint later, or it may simply be a matter of later copying.

demand for citizenship is, in the context, beyond any doubt. Her offence then presumably consisted in propagandist activities which were bound to appear treasonable to Rome. It is quite reasonable then, *a priori*, to suppose that the Fregellans issued a coinage expressing their aspirations and desires. In the same year a praetor issued an edict expelling allies from Rome. In the next year the consul, M. Fulvius Flaccus, proposed to extend the citizenship to all the allies, but the senate bought him off by voting him a high command in Gaul. The reformers then were defeated, but the issue was not settled while Gaius Gracchus was still alive and known to be a fervent advocate of the Italian cause. The attempt to pull him down as an accomplice in the revolt of Fregellae failed. The decisive fight was still to come. Probably in 123 B.C., the first year of his tribunate, Gaius proposed and carried a tentative measure to do something for the allies – perhaps to give citizenship to the Latins and Latin rights to the rest. In his second year, 122 B.C., he brought in a definite proposal, probably with a wider scope – to give citizenship to the allies at large. Owing to the defection of the consul, Fannius, who had up till then been reckoned a friend of Gaius, the proposal was defeated. Fannius expelled the allies from Rome at election time and Gaius was unable to give the protection that he had promised. This defeat clearly contributed largely to the fall of Gaius in the next year.

The allied cause now seemed lost for good. Vengeance was taken on its advocates by the Roman extremists and all that the moderates had to offer the allies was protection against the unmitigated force of the “imperium” of Roman generals; M. Livius Drusus, though in our tradition he counts as an out-and-out partisan of the senate, may actually have been sincere in his apparently moderate policy. The attempt to punish L. Opimius, the consul who had brought down Gaius, was a complete failure. When in 118 B.C. the great colony of Narbo Martius was founded, the allies were probably invited to participate. Note the epithet “Martius”, “belonging to Mars”, and remember the obverse of our denarius. Soon afterwards came the great wars against the Cimbri and Teutoni and against Jugurtha, and the question fell into the background. But the demands of the allies were both urgent and justified, and the issue arose, as it was bound to arise again. In 91 B.C., M. Livius Drusus, the Younger, as tribune, proposed to give citizenship to all the allies. Just when the proposal was coming up for voting, he was murdered; the patience of the allies was at last exhausted and revolt broke out in all its fury. The sequel, after the bitterest fighting, was the complete military victory of Rome and her equally complete diplomatic defeat. She was forced to

concede all the main points for which the war had been fought. As we have already noted, the allies in their coinage recurred with peculiar insistence to the denarius that we are studying.

The senate, in its treatment of the demands of the allies, is seen quite at its worst. Not only were the demands justified, but they were actually, in the longer run, in the interest of Rome herself. She needed Italy to help her bear the burden of Empire. The fact that it was one of the loyalest of colonies, Fregellae, that first voiced the claim should have given pause to the Roman extremists, had they had heads to think or hearts to feel. Let us now pull our argument together and add a few more points of interest. We are suggesting that the sin of Fregellae consisted in treasonable propaganda against Rome and that our coins were a part of this propaganda. They spoke of a Roman confederacy under the patronage of Mars – worshipped throughout Italy under his various names, Mars, Mavors, Mamers, – instead of a Roman domination under the Roman goddess of war.

Here our critics may object with what looks like decisive force. How could Fregellae in revolt strike in the Roman name? Astonishing as it may appear, it still seems to me entirely reasonable. Fregellae was not proposing to leave the Roman system, but to stay in it in the new form that she desired, of confederacy and not domination.⁹ Exactly how such a coinage was issued, we can naturally only guess. Perhaps it was for the pay of the Fregellan contingent in the Roman army.

If once this possibility of a coinage of Fregellae in the Roman name be admitted, everything seems to fall into place. The types of the denarius, Mars and the oath scene, exactly express what Fregellae was asking for. The copying of the oath-scene from the gold of the second Punic war¹⁰ will be quite purposeful. It will recall the occasion when the loyalty of Fregellae was so magnificently asserted. The copying of the coin by the rebels of 91 B.C. will be equally intelligible. As the crisis of the fight comes on, they look back to the martyred colony that had first raised the banner. The reverse of the oath-scene, with two or more warriors, was perhaps the most distinctive of the whole rebel coinage.

The curious reverse of the quadrans – the price of a bath – may have a very pointed and special significance. A few years earlier there had been one very strange and notorious bath, the bath that the wife of a Roman consul insisted on taking in the men's baths in Teanum Sidicinum. The service was not quick

⁹ If Opimius set eyes on the denarius, the defiantly original types will have been enough to give him a fit: the signature, ROMA, will have aggravated, not mitigated the offence.

¹⁰ Sydenham, nos. 69, 70.

enough, the baths not clean enough to please the lady, so her husband had the chief magistrate flogged in the market place. Such an outrage could not but be bitterly resented. That it actually was so resented is proved by an extant speech of Gaius Gracchus, in which the story is told in all its horror. What venom there is in this simple quadrans which asks "what is the price of a bath!"

Our denarius occurs in the first three hoards of Grueber, all buried before the foundation of Narbo Martius. Hoarding of coins underground was of course very common in antiquity, but most hoards would naturally be recovered by their owners or representatives. The hoards that were left in the ground for us to unearth are those which the owners were unable to recover – a few by mere accident, most of them certainly owing to the unsettlement of foreign and civil war. Such a time of unsettlement followed the death of Gaius, when a persecution of his adherents followed. We hear of it mainly in Rome, but it cannot but have extended to Italy too. Our three hoards then were probably buried by adherents of the allied cause who suffered death or banishment. It will be no accident that one of these hoards was buried on the actual site of the ancient Fregellae, another at the not far distant Beneventum. Mommsen noted these facts and suggested some connexion with the revolt of Fregellae, and one can only wonder that he did not arrive at our present hypothesis, if only to reject it. But he seems to have had no assured date for our coin and may have been inclined to place it earlier.

In conclusion I will note a few more denarii that may be more or less closely connected with our occasion.

(1) The denarius of M. Baebius Tampilus¹¹ has several curious features, especially the head of Bellona to l. not r., which suggests that it lies outside the main current of coinage – part of it at an unknown Italian mint, Sydenham suggests. Its reverse, the archer Apollo in his chariot, is copied with slight variation by M. Opimius,¹² who probably struck in 121 B.C. and was a cadet of the family of L. Opimius, the destroyer of Fregellae and of Gaius. The type of the archer Apollo in chariot occurs only for these two moneyers in the whole of the Republican coinage. Was the coin of Tampilus, then, struck for the campaign of L. Opimius himself in 126 B.C.?

(2) Sex. Pompeius Fostlus shows on reverse the shepherd Faustulus, the she-wolf and twins and Roma.¹³ I have dated it on grounds independent of this inquiry to about 125 B.C. The strange reverse type, among the dominant charioteer type has always excited astonishment. But does not our surprise vanish, if

¹¹ Sydenham, no. 489.

¹² Sydenham, no. 475.

¹³ Sydenham, no. 461.

the denarius follows close on the revolt of Fregellae and is a sort of answer to its coinage? It is Rome and Rome only that matters – Rome with her wonderful and divine origin.

(3) A denarius of C. Minucius Augurinus¹⁴ shows a monument which had been raised to his ancestor who in the 5th Century had thwarted the designs of the would-be tyrant, Spurius Maelius, and had then supplied cheap corn to the people. The coin is probably of the same year as that of Fostlus. It too has a reverse quite out of the ordinary run.

Once again there may be a connexion with our coinage. In the political warfare of the time Spurius Maelius was quoted as a prototype of the Gracchi, who, like him, were trying to establish tyranny by bribing the people. Minucius, then, according to family tradition the enemy of tyrants, is the enemy of Gaius Gracchus now. You may see in this a hardly veiled attack on Gaius; his enemies were trying to incriminate him in the revolt of Fregellae.

(4) A certain C. Numitorius struck in the Roman mint about 122 B.C.¹⁵ His small bronze coinage is not so rare, but his denarius is excessively so. It was a Numitorius who betrayed Fregellae to the Romans and one cannot help asking whether this moneyer Numitorius was of the same family. We might think of him receiving the office as part of the price of betrayal and perhaps issuing his silver so scantily, because his appointment was resented and he may have been forced to resign. But this, of course, is a pure guess.

Here I will leave my hypothesis for criticism; for severe criticism it is bound to encounter. But I would stress again the point with which I began. We have coins certainly struck about 126 B.C. which defy any attempt to place them in any of the regular series. We may of course give up the problem as hopeless, but, as it is our business to interpret, we ought to hunt for a possible explanation and such the one that I am proposing would appear to me to be. If historians were as familiar with the coins and the methods of dating them as they are with other parts of the evidence, this suggestion must have been considered long ago. Some, I know, will deny that Fregellae could have struck in the Roman name. On this I would simply ask them to reconsider their verdict. The research student, always trying to break new ground, is inclined to follow clues which may lead him into difficult and dangerous paths. It is the corresponding duty of the critic to check him. But any considerable advance involves risk and, if the risk is a fair one, it ought to be taken.

¹⁴ Sydenham, no. 463.

¹⁵ Sydenham, nos. 466, 467.

LE GRAND SCEAU DE FRANCE (DEPUIS 1789)

JEAN MAZARD

Au nombre des institutions de l'ancienne France, il en est peu, autre que la Chancellerie, dont l'histoire s'inscrit avec autant de précision sur les documents métalliques qu'elles ont suggérés: médailles aux effigies des chanceliers et gardes des sceaux, jetons armoirés personnels ou d'offices.

Le catalogue méthodique n'en a cependant pas été dressé. Nous en avons donné l'ébauche lors de l'exposition organisée en 1949 à la Monnaie de Paris¹ et notre ami, le Professeur Guido Kisch lui a apporté une large contribution dans son ouvrage *Recht und Gerechtigkeit in der Medaillenkunst*.² Par contre, les sceaux de France ont davantage éveillé l'intérêt des historiens. Leur inventaire et leur reproduction ont été excellemment donnés pour ceux de la période monarchique par Douet d'Arcq et dans le *Trésor de Numismatique et de Glyptique*³ et notre collègue Louis Rouvier leur a consacré une substantielle monographie.⁴ Mais l'étude historique des sceaux modernes n'a pas été réellement écrite; c'est cette lacune que nous nous proposons de combler ici, puisque — joie intense pour le numismate

¹ *Catalogue de l'Exposition numismatique* (Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1949).

² Guido Kisch, *Recht und Gerechtigkeit in der Medaillenkunst* (Heidelberg, 1955).

³ Lenormant et Chabouillat, *Trésor de Numismatique et de Glyptique*, Tome I. *Les Sceaux des Rois et Reines de France* (Paris, 1834); Douet d'Arcq, *Inventaire des Sceaux des Archives de l'Empire* (Paris, 1867).

⁴ Louis Rouvier, *La Chancellerie et les Sceaux de France*, 2^e édition (Marseille, 1950). Ouvrage malheureusement entaché de nombreuses erreurs.

– le déroulement de notre carrière nous a appelé à exercer notre activité professionnelle en ce lieu même où se conserve le sceau de France.



“Vicaire et lieutenant-général du Roy sur le faict de la loy et de la justice”, ainsi que le dénomme en 1538 un avocat-général au Parlement de Paris, le Chancelier, chef des institutions judiciaires, avait en première prérogative, la charge de garder le Grand Sceau de France et de l’apposer sur les actes officiels importants.

Supprimée avec les autres institutions monarchiques, la Chancellerie fut transférée dans ses attributions, au Ministre de la Justice, dont le premier titulaire fut, le 21 novembre 1790, François Duport-Dutertre, substitut du Procureur Syndic de la Commune de Paris.⁵

Les lois des 2 Novembre 1790 et 27 Août 1791 précisent les nouvelles modalités de la promulgation des lois et de l’utilisation du sceau de l’Etat.

Tout aussitôt, Louis XVI, “roi constitutionnel”, abandonne la titulature des rois absolus et fait graver une matrice nouvelle; le vieux sceau dynastique où le roi en majesté est encadré de deux anges, portera désormais: LOUIS XVI PAR LA GRACE DE DIEU ET PAR LA LOY CONSTITUTIONNELLE DE L’ETAT ROI DES FRANCAIS, à l’exergue 1790. (Archives Nationales N° 134). PLANCHE XXV, I.

La loi constitutionnelle des 3/16 Septembre 1791 fut donc scellée du grand sceau de cire jaune avec la nouvelle légende; mais la Législative sitôt réunie, le Corps législatif décréta que le sceau serait semblable à celui déposé aux Archives nationales et porterait les mots LA NATION LA LOI ET LE ROI et que celui portant les mots LA LOI ET LE ROI serait brisé.⁶

Ce texte ne vise pas expressément le grand sceau de l’Etat; il s’applique à celui particulier de l’Assemblée; mais la référence à un sceau déposé aux Archives présume l’existence de ce dernier. Nous n’en trouvons cependant pas d’autre trace, le sceau de 1790 reste seul utilisé.



⁵ C’est la loi du 2 Novembre 1790 (Duvergier, *Collection complète des lois*, Tome 2 [Paris, 1834], p. 2) qui transfère en fait les attributions du chancelier au Ministre de la Justice. L’art. 3 précise que les expéditions des lois et décrets, sur parchemin, sont scellés du sceau de l’Etat et constituent les originaux authentiques.

⁶ Duvergier, *op. cit.*, Tome 3, p. 329.

Le 6 Octobre 1792, Jacques Danton, qui vient d'être démis de ses fonctions de ministre de la Justice, saisit la Convention du compte de son administration et dépose sur le bureau de l'Assemblée, le coffret de vermeil contenant les sceaux ainsi que les deux masses d'argent des huissiers de l'ancienne Chancellerie. La Convention décrète que les sceaux seraient brisés et portés à l'Hôtel de la Monnaie.⁷

Il s'agit donc ici des sceaux monarchiques; l'abolition de la royauté avait, en effet, posé la question du sceau de l'Etat.

Le décret du 15 Août 1792 en avait établi le type: "le sceau de l'Etat sera changé, il portera la figure de la Liberté, armée d'une pique surmontée du bonnet de la Liberté et pour légende AU NOM DE LA NATION FRANCAISE".⁸

La matrice n'était point encore gravée, qu'on projetait déjà des modifications. Duvergier mentionne sans autre précision: qu' "un membre de l'Assemblée propose de changer la légende du sceau de l'Etat; ce qui est adopté avec renvoi au pouvoir exécutif pour les moyens d'exécution."

Un décret est rendu en ce sens.⁹ La modification consista en la substitution du mot REPUBLIQUE à celui de NATION, comme cela se lit sur le grand sceau toujours conservé au Ministère de la Justice. En voici la description:

Grand sceau – Matrice rond, diamètre 120 mm. Acier.¹⁰

La Liberté, de face et debout, tenant de la main droite une lance surmontée d'un bonnet et s'appuyant sur un faisceau de licteur; à ses pieds, un gouvernail.

Légende circulaire: AU NOM DE LA REPUBLIQUE FRANCAISE au bord, double cordon orné d'étoiles et de ruban. PLANCHE XXV, 2.

A l'encontre de ce qu'écrit Rouvier, il n'existe pas de contre sceau. La cire était fondue dans une boîte de métal, et l'empreinte alors apposée. Un couvercle de même métal, recouvrait ensuite l'empreinte qui se trouvait ainsi protégée dans une boîte.

Suivant la tradition monarchique, le sceau ne portait pas le nom de celui qui l'avait dessiné et gravé, ce qui se fera par la suite.

La beauté du type réalisé, l'élégance de la figure, la perfection du métier, nous donnent à penser que le sceau-matrice fut exécuté par Augustin Dupré, graveur-général des Monnaies, en titre depuis le 28 Juillet 1791. Ce travail entraina, en effet, dans les attributions du graveur-général, et nous verrons, que lorsqu'il sera

⁷ Duvergier, *op. cit.*, T. 5, p. 14.

⁸ Duvergier, *op. cit.*, T. 4, p. 310.

⁹ Duvergier, *op. cit.*, T. 4, p. 337.

¹⁰ Archives. Ministère de la Justice, Archives Nationales, n° 137.

question de changer le grand sceau Dupré s'emploiera à des projets; pourtant, aucun des auteurs qui ont écrit sur la vie et l'oeuvre du génial graveur, n'ont mentionné ce travail.¹¹



La mode révolutionnaire passa rapidement à d'autres symboles. Malgré la perfection de l'oeuvre réalisée, la Convention décrète le 10 Octobre 1793 (19 Vendémiaire an 2) que le type du sceau sera changé: "L'arche de la constitution et le faisceau, symbole de la réunion de tous les Français, sera le type du sceau et celui des monnaies".¹² Mais le décret est loin de rallier tous les suffrages puisqu'il se trouve, dès le lendemain, une majorité pour en suspendre l'exécution. Dupré n'en procèdera pas moins à l'étude et gravera même des essais de monnaies¹³ au type de l'arche de la Constitution.

L'idée de changer le sceau n'est pas abandonnée. David, qui dans l'exercice de sa mission de représentant du peuple, n'oublie jamais son art, reprend à son compte le projet. Le 27 Brumaire an 2, il saisit la Convention d'une motion:

"Le peuple a triomphé de la tyrannie et de la superstition; un monument en consacrera le souvenir. Ce monument sera colossal. Le peuple sera représenté debout. La victoire fournira le bronze. Il portera d'une main les figures de la Liberté et de l'Egalité; il s'appuiera de l'autre sur la massue. Sur son front on lira: *Lumière*; sur sa poitrine: *Nature, Vérité*; sur ses bras: *Force*; sur ses mains: *Travail*. La statue aura 15 mètres".¹⁴

La proposition fut mise en forme de décret et adoptée d'enthousiasme et le symbole jugé à ce point sublime, que la Convention décréta le lendemain, 28 Brumaire (18 Novembre 1793), que "la statue qui doit représenter le peuple, dans le monument à élever à la pointe occidentale de l'île de Paris et pour lequel il est ouvert un concours, sera le sujet du sceau de l'Etat". La légende sera "LE PEUPLE SEUL EST SOUVERAIN", sur la ligne de terre on lira: "REPUBLIQUE FRANCAISE. L'AN SECOND".¹⁵

Le projet du *Peuple Souverain* eut le même sort que celui de *l'Arche de la Constitution*; mais il enchanta Dupré qui se mit au travail. Ses projets sont

¹¹ Charles Saunier, *Augustin Dupré* (Paris, 1894).

¹² Duvergier, *op. cit.*, T. 6, p. 289.

¹³ Dewamin, *Cent ans de numismatique française* (Paris, 1898), Tome III, Pl. 16, n° 6.

¹⁴ Charles Saunier, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

¹⁵ Duvergier, *op. cit.*, T. 12, p. 65. L'île de Paris est l'île de la Cité.

nombreux; ils servirent, sous différents états, à l'exécution de timbres secs pour des assignats, pour timbres proportionnels, et, en définitive, pour les très belles monnaies d'argent, lors du retour à la saine monnaie.

La loi des 12-13 Germinal an 2 (1-2 Avril 1794) ayant supprimé les ministres dont les attributions passent à des commissions, les prérogatives de chancellerie sont dévolues à la "Commission des administrations civiques, police et tribunaux" qui est expressément chargée, par l'article 5, du sceau de la République et des archives du sceau.

Le Grand sceau ne fut cependant pas modifié. Toutefois, après la mise en application de la constitution nouvelle, un arrêté du Directoire exécutif du 16 Brumaire an 5 (6 Novembre 1796) prescrit que le sceau de lois sera de forme octogone. "Il représentera les Tables de la loi dans un foyer de lumière, reposant sur un foudre ailé, symbole de la promulgation et de l'exécution des lois" et afin de se rassurer sur la pérennité de la nouvelle institution politique, le Directoire ajoute (article 3): "Les longues destinées de la République et la stabilité de sa législation seront désignées par un serpent qui se mord la queue, qui renfermera le tout".¹⁶

Le sceau ne fut point réalisé, mais l'idée fut reprise et mise à exécution par Gatteaux pour la médaille du Conseil des Anciens.¹⁷

Le Grand sceau de 1792 demeura donc en usage, en sa forme originelle, jusqu'à l'avènement du Consulat.



Le gouvernement nouveau retira à la Commission de la Justice ses attributions de Chancellerie. Les consuls prirent soin de définir très exactement les règles de promulgation des lois et d'apposition du sceau. Un arrêté du 28 nivôse an 8 (18 Janvier 1800) précise qu' "il y aura dans le cabinet de travail des consuls, un coffre dans lequel seront déposés les sceaux de la République et placés les décrets du Corps législatif jusqu'au moment de leur promulgation. Le dixième jour après l'émission des décrets, le Secrétaire d'Etat les représentera au premier Consul qui ordonnera l'apposition du sceau de l'Etat et la promulgation de la loi. L'expédition officielle de la loi, signée, contresignée et scellée sera ensuite transmise pour exécution par le Secrétaire d'Etat au Ministre de la Justice".¹⁸

¹⁶ Duvergier, *op. cit.*, T. 9, p. 221.

¹⁷ Hennin, *Histoire numismatique de la révolution française* (Paris, 1826), n° 789.

¹⁸ Duvergier, *op. cit.*, T. 12, p. 65.

Ainsi les attributions de chancellerie sont-elles dévolues au Secrétaire d'Etat, titre restitué de la monarchie et fonctions solennisées au profit de Maret qui les exerçait en fait déjà, comme Secrétaire général des consuls.¹⁹

Le grand sceau de l'Etat fut légèrement modifié. Nous n'avons pas trouvé mention d'un texte dans les recueils législatifs, mais nous constatons l'existence du sceau-matrice dont description suit :

Grand sceau-matrice – rond, diamètre 122 mm. Acier.²⁰

Semblable au précédent, mais le bonnet surmontant la figure est modifié (bonnet dit phrygien).

Légende circulaire: AU NOM DU PEUPLE FRANCAIS. BONAPARTE I^{er} CONSUL. Cordons circulaires ornements. PLANCHE XXV,3.

Il n'existe pas de contre sceau. L'empreinte était apposée comme précédemment dans une boîte à sceau en métal.



Dès l'avènement de l'Empire, Napoléon dans le souci de rapprocher le plus possible les nouvelles institutions de celles de la monarchie, rétablit la dignité du Chancelier en la personne de l'Archi-Chancelier de l'Empire. L'article 40 du Senatus consulte organique du 28 Floréal an 12 (18 Mai 1804) en définit les prérogatives, de même que l'article 137 détermine l'utilisation du grand sceau de l'Etat.²¹

Cambacérès fut le titulaire de la dignité durant l'Empire et pendant les Cent jours.

Dans le même souci, Napoléon choisit pour le Grand Sceau, le type dit "de majesté". Un décret du 21 Messidor an 12 (10 Juillet 1804) ordonna le nouveau sceau dont le type fut défini par la loi du 16 Pluviose an 13 (5 Juin 1805).

Le sceau-matrice est toujours conservé dans les Archives du Ministère de la Justice.

Grand sceau-matrice, rond, diamètre 113 mm. Bronze.²²

L'Empereur est assis sur un trône, de face, vêtu à l'antique, le glaive au côté. La tête est ceinte de lauriers. Dans la main droite, le grand sceptre surmonté d'une

¹⁹ Hugues-Bernard Maret (1763-1839), plus tard duc de Bassano, avait été le secrétaire de Bonaparte avant le 18 Brumaire.

²⁰ Archives du Ministère de la Justice, Archives Nationales, n° 138.

²¹ Jean-Jacques Régis de Cambacérès, plus tard Prince puis Duc de Parme (1753-1824).

²² Moniteur n° 293, cité par Duvergier, *op. cit.*, T. 15, p. 127. Archives Nationales, n° 140, et Ministère de la Justice.



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LE GRAND SCEAU DE FRANCE



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LE GRAND SCEAU DE FRANCE .

Victoire; dans la gauche, la main de justice. Derrière le trône, draperies disposées en pavillon et surmontées de la couronne impériale.

Légende circulaire de droite à gauche: NAPOLEON EMPEREUR DES FRANCAIS – sous la marche du trône, en petits caractères: à gauche: BRENET F^t, à droite: DENON D^t, Bordure méplate lisse. PLANCHE XXV,4.

Contre sceau, rond, même module et matière.

Armes de l'Empire dans un écusson rond entouré du collier de la Légion d'Honneur et sommé d'un casque ouvert de face et couronné; sceptre et main de justice disposés en sautoir sur un manteau semé d'abeilles et fourré d'hermine.

Légende circulaire de d. à g.: NAPOLEON • EMPEREUR • DES • FRANÇAIS • PLANCHE XXV,6.

Ainsi que cela ressort de la description, le grand sceau fut dessiné par le baron Denon, directeur de la Monnaie des Médailles, et gravé par Nicolas Brenet.²³

Napoléon utilisa également un grand sceau pour les Titres, d'un modèle particulier, il nous suffit de le mentionner ici.

Dès son accession au trône, Louis XVIII, qui avait rénové le titre et la dignité de chancelier au profit de son "amé et féal" chevalier Dambray, ordonna à ce dernier de canceller le sceau de l'Empereur, ce que s'empressa de faire exécuter Dambray. Les sceaux-matrices furent difformés par de multiples entailles au burin.

A son retour de l'île d'Elbe, Napoléon se trouva donc dans la nécessité d'ordonner l'exécution d'un nouveau sceau. Celui-ci, également dessiné par Denon et gravé par Brenet, est d'un type très différent.²⁴

Grand sceau rond, 112 mm. Archives Nationales n° 144.

L'Empereur couronné de laurier, assis sur le trône, de profil et vêtu du grand manteau de cour; collier de la Légion d'Honneur au cou. Il tient le grand sceptre et la main de justice. Légende circulaire NAPOLEON EMPEREUR DES FRANCAIS (sans signature). PLANCHE XXV,5.

La matrice semble avoir été utilisée avant achèvement définitif, ou pour le moins, le projet de Denon n'a pas été entièrement suivi. Le plâtre original, conservé aux Archives Nationales, comporte en effet des détails (ornements du camail et du trône – signatures) qui ne se retrouvent pas sur les sceaux apposés sur les actes.



²³ Brenet (Nicolas Guy Antoine), Graveur des Monnaies élève de Gatteaux.

²⁴ Le sceau-matrice des Cent jours ne figure plus dans les Archives du Ministère de la Justice. Sans doute un fonctionnaire zélé l'a-t-il détruit au retour des Bourbons.

Louis XVIII avait utilisé pendant l'émigration un sceau dont il scella uniformément ses actes; on peut donc considérer dans une certaine mesure qu'il s'agit là d'un sceau d'Etat. La matrice fut gravée par un artisan de piètre génie et de faible métier; le travail de style presque byzantin suggère une oeuvre artisanale et donne à penser qu'il fut exécuté lors du séjour en Courlande. (Archives Nationales n° 145^{bis}.) PLANCHE XXV, 7-8.

Afin de reprendre la tradition monarchique, le nouveau sceau de l'Etat reprit la forme "de majesté" mais dans la conception moderne précédemment adoptée par Napoléon. Dans le même dessein, Louis XVIII ordonna que la date de 1795 fut gravée sur le sceau.

Grand sceau-matrice rond – 120 mm. – Acier.²⁵

Le roi en majesté sur le trône, la tête couronnée, sur champ fleurdelisé, vêtu d'un manteau fleurdelisé avec camail d'hermine, au cou les colliers des ordres; épée au côté.

Exergue MD CC XCV sous le trône en petits caractères TIOLIER F^t – F. GERARD D^t – Bordure de couronnes et fleurs de lis. PLANCHE XXV, 9.

Louis XVIII ordonna en outre l'exécution d'un contre sceau de même module:

Ecu carré de France parti de Navarre, surmonté de la couronne royale et entouré des colliers du Saint Esprit et de Saint Michel. Sceptre et mains de justice, derrière, disposés en sautoir.

Légende circulaire de droite à gauche: LOUIS – XVIII – ROI . DE . FRANCE . ET . DE . NAVARRE. PLANCHE XXVI, 10.

Dans le même souci de tradition Louis XVIII prescrivit en 1820 la reconstitution du coffret des sceaux, dont la remise ou le retrait marquait l'investiture ou la disgrâce du Chancelier.²⁶



Charles X ordonna en 1824 l'exécution d'un grand sceau à son effigie, dont le dessin fut aussi établi par le baron Gérard. La matrice fut gravée par Nicolas Tiolier qui avait succédé en 1816, dans les fonctions de graveur général des Monnaies, à son père.

Le roi "en majesté" est assis sur le trône, revêtu des insignes de la royauté.

Grand sceau-matrice, rond, diamètre 120 mm. Acier.²⁷

²⁵ Archives Nationales, n° 145, et Ministère de la Justice.

²⁶ Le coffret fut exécuté en 1820; il a été réalisé en bronze, avec garniture de vermeil et cabochons d'agate. L'ensemble forme une réelle oeuvre d'art.

²⁷ Archives Nationales, n° 146, et Ministère de la Justice.

Sur un champ de fleur de lis, le roi en majesté, la tête ceinte de la couronne royale regardant à droite, vêtu du manteau fleurdelisé avec camail d'hermine, les colliers des ordres sur la poitrine; petit sceptre dans la main droite; dans la gauche, la main de justice; épée au côté. Le pied droit repose sur un coussin. Sur la marche du trône: M . DCCC . XXIV en exergue et en petits caractères F. GERARD. D^t – N. TIOLIER. F^t. Petite bordure méplate. PLANCHE XXVI, 11.

Le contre sceau est conforme à celui de Louis XVIII, seule la légende en diffère: *de droite à gauche, CHARLES. X. ROI. DE. FRANCE. ET. DE. NAVARRE.*



L'accession de Louis-Philippe d'Orléans au trône, entraîna nécessairement le changement du grand Sceau.

Pour bien marquer son avènement constitutionnel, le roi choisit un type populaire s'écartant de ceux traditionnels. Une ordonnance du 13 Août 1830²⁸ ordonna la suppression des anciens sceaux et définit le nouveau type.

Ce texte ne décrit que ce que nous indiquons ci-dessous être le contre-sceau. Cependant Tiolier grava une matrice avec le portrait en buste du roi-citoyen semblable à celui qui venait d'être adopté pour les monnaies d'argent.

En voici la description:

Grand sceau-matrice, rond, diamètre 123 mm. Acier.

Buste du roi, la tête nue, à gauche sur la tranche du cou N. J. TIOLIER en petits caractères.

Légende circulaire de droite à gauche LOUIS-PHILIPPE-I^{er}-ROI-DES-FRANCAIS- Bordure méplate. PLANCHE XXVI, 12.

Le contre sceau de même module porte:²⁹

Dans le champ, les armes de la maison d'Orléans: de France au lambel d'argent de trois pendants, surmontées de la couronne royale; derrière le sceptre et la main de justice des faisceaux de chacun trois drapeaux tricolores disposés en sautoir.

Dans un double filet, légende circulaire – LOUIS-PHILIPPE-I^{er}-ROI-DES-FRANCAIS – 1830 – PLANCHE XXVI, 13.

Le type du sceau fut modifié par ordonnance royale datée des 16/26 Février 1831; aux armes des Orléans furent substituées celles du royaume:³⁰ *Ecusson d'azur portant les tables de la loi avec inscription en petits caractères: CHARTE DE 1830*

²⁸ *Bulletin des Lois*, IX, n° 59.

²⁹ Archives Nationales, n°s 147, 147^{bis}, 148, et Ministère de la Justice.

³⁰ Archives Nationales, et Ministère de la Justice. *Bulletin des Lois*, XLV, p. 1116.

ART. 1^{er} ART. 2 etc. *Les fleurs de lis du sceptre et de la couronne sont supprimées et remplacées par un globe.* La légende est la même, la date de 1830 fut maintenue, bien que la modification ait été ordonnée en 1831. PLANCHE XXVI, 14.

Le Chancelier de Charles X, le marquis de Pastoret refusa de prêter serment à Louis-Philippe, et démissionna le 1^{er} Août 1830. Les attributions de chancellerie furent données à J. Dupont de l'Eure, Président de Chambre à la Cour de Rouen et député de l'Eure, désigné le 11 Août 1830 par le roi, comme ministre de la Justice. Le titre de Chancelier de France ne fut rénové qu'en 1837 en faveur d'Etienne, baron Pasquier, en qualité de Président de la Chambre des Pairs, mais avec des attributions très différentes.



L'avènement de la seconde République, le 24 Février 1848, provoqua le changement du sceau de l'Etat. Le type nouveau fut ordonné le 8 Septembre 1848.³¹ Le texte se réfère à la loi de 1792 qui stipule que le sceau de l'Etat porte la figure de la Liberté. La matrice fut gravée, suivant l'usage établi par Jean-Jacques Barre, graveur général des Monnaies. Celui-ci s'inspira d'un ancien timbre sec (décret du 20 Septembre 1798). Les symboles sont nombreux et confus.

Grand sceau-matrice, rond. Diamètre 120 mm. Acier.³²

Femme assise symbolisant la Liberté, vêtue à l'antique, la tête, de face, irradiée, tenant à droite un faisceau de licteur où la hache est remplacée par une pique; la main gauche maintient un gouvernail sur lequel est gravé le coq "gaulois," à gauche attributs divers: charrue, palette, chapiteau ionique et lampe antique, gerbe de blé, sur la ligne de terre en petits caractères BARRE. A droite, une urne où se lisent les lettres S. U. (suffrage universel) et feuillages de chêne.

Légende circulaire de gauche à droite: REPUBLIQUE FRANCAISE DEMOCRATIQUE UNE ET INDIVISIBLE; à l'exergue 24 FEV. 1848. PLANCHE XXVI, 15.

Le contre sceau est de même module.

Couronne alternée de chêne et de laurier noués par des épis de blé et grappe de raisins; légende horizontale au centre: AU NOM DU PEUPLE FRANCAIS et circulaire EGALITE-FRATERNITE-LIBERTE- ces trois mots séparés par une étoile rayonnante. PLANCHE XXVI, 16.

Le nouveau type recueillit un vif succès; il devait être repris, nous le verrons, par la troisième République. Il est encore en usage. Il servit aussi de type aux

³¹ *Bulletin des Lois*, 71, 686.

³² Archives Nationales, n^{os} 149, 149^{bis}, et Ministère de la Justice.

monnaies frappées pour la Cochinchine et l'Indochine. C'est au cours de l'Assemblée Constituante de 1848 que le titre de Garde des Sceaux fut officiellement adjoint à celui de Ministre de la Justice.

Le coup d'état du 1^{er} Décembre 1851 n'entraîna pas de changement au Grand Sceau; c'est celui de la République qui est appendu à l'original authentique des textes consacrant les changements de régime de 1851 et de 1852.



Le Sénatus-consulte du 7 Novembre 1852 rétablissant l'Empire ayant été ratifié par le plébiscite des 21-22 Novembre, il devint nécessaire d'établir un nouveau Grand Sceau, conforme à la constitution. Un décret impérial du 2/9 Décembre 1852³³ ordonna le nouveau type du sceau d'Etat.

Napoléon III abandonna la tradition de faire représenter l'effigie du prince sur le sceau. Le sceau impérial reprend à de légères modifications près, le type utilisé par le grand sceau des Titres de Napoléon I^{er}.

Grand sceau-matrice, rond, diamètre 115 mm. Acier.³⁴

Ecu de forme française aux armes de l'empire: aigle impérial sur champ d'azur posé sur les foudres, entouré du collier de la Légion d'Honneur; le sceptre et la main de justice disposés en sautoir et timbré d'un casque ouvert à couronne impériale, le tout, disposé sur un manteau semé d'abeilles et fourré d'hermine.

Légende circulaire de gauche à droite: NAPOLEON III EMPEREUR DES FRANCAIS (sans signature). PLANCHE XXVI, 17.



La troisième République remit en usage le sceau de 1848.

Le décret du 25 Septembre 1870³⁵ ne stipule pas expressément ce retour au passé; il indique seulement qu'à l'avenir le sceau de l'Etat portera d'un côté pour type la figure de la Liberté.

Mais en fait ce fut le sceau de Barre qui fut repris, toutefois la date portée à l'exergue 24 Fev. 1848 fut supprimée.

Nous ne jugeons donc pas utile de reprendre la description déjà donnée. PLANCHE XXVI, 15, 16.

³³ Duvergier, *op. cit.*, 1852, p. 757.

³⁴ Archives Nationales, n° 150, et Ministère de la Justice.

³⁵ *Bulletin des Lois*, 1870, n° 88, p. 72.

C'est l'instrument qui reste utilisé, sans autre modification. Les trois lois constitutionnelles de 1875 furent scellées de cire jaune sur lacs de soie rouge et verte.

Bien que les lois du 2 Novembre 1790 et du 27 Août 1791 n'aient jamais été abrogées, le Grand Sceau n'est plus utilisé que dans des circonstances exceptionnelles, et non plus porté sur les originaux des lois, décrets et traités comme le prescrivent les textes.

Le gouvernement de l'Etat français de 1940, pas plus que celui de la France combattante ne recherchèrent l'utilisation du Grand Sceau. Ils n'eurent donc pas à prescrire de types nouveaux.

La quatrième République consacra la reprise du sceau de 1870 en le faisant apposer sur cire rouge sur l'acte authentique de la Constitution nouvelle de 1946.³⁶

³⁶ L'acte authentique fut signé par M. Pierre-Henri Teitgen – Garde des Sceaux. Le Grand Sceau fut apposé par M. Durand-Barthes, Archiviste paléographe, conservateur des Archives du Ministère de la Justice. Devant l'impossibilité de trouver de la cire jaune, on dut recourir à la cire rouge ce qui est contraire aux usages. Le sceau est apposé au balancier à percussion. L'outil en usage est celui fabriqué en 1810 sur l'ordre de Cambacérès par Schrant, constructeur à Paris. Le bronze, comme pour certains outils de la Monnaie, fut fourni par les canons pris à l'ennemi.

THE EARLY ISLAMIC BRONZE COINAGE OF EGYPT

GEORGE C. MILES

The Arab conquest of Egypt began in December 639 (Dhū'l-Hijjah 18 A.H.) and may be said to have been completed with the second capture of Alexandria in the summer of 646 (25 A.H.).¹ The half-century immediately following is something of a challenge to the numismatist. When 'Amr b. al-ʿĀṣ and his followers entered the delta the common medium of exchange in the hands of the man on the street was the 12-nummia piece of Heraclius (610-641) struck at Alexandria,² and there can be no doubt that these bronze coins, and perhaps those issued in the early years of Heraclius' successor, Constans II (641-668),³ continued to circulate among the Arabs for several years. The numismatic evidence from other parts of the growing Moslem empire corroborates what one would *a priori* assume to have been the case, that the Arabs, fresh from the desert, lacked the experience or the equipment to issue coins of their own.⁴ Within a few

¹ The most convenient and exhaustive examination of the controversial chronology is still that of A. J. Butler, *The Arab Conquest of Egypt* (Oxford, 1902), pp. 526-546.

² Warwick Wroth, *BMC, Byz.*, I, pp. 224-229.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. xxvii, 227 and 287.

⁴ For early Arab imitations of Byzantine issues in the Syria-Palestine area, see A. S. Kirkbride, "Coins of the Byzantine-Arab Transition Period," in *The Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*, XIII (1948), pp. 59-63; cf. also Alfred R. Bellinger, *Coins from Jerash*, NNM, No. 81, (N. Y., 1938), and John Walker, "A New Byzantine Mint and some Early Umayyad Bronze Coins," *NC*, 1935, pp. 120-126. Most unfortunately the present article was already in the hands

years, however, various anonymous Arab adaptations of the local coinages begin to appear in Syria and in the East. Subsequently in the Iranian area Mu'āwiyah (41–60 A.H./661–680 A.D.) and his contemporaries produce coins of Arab-Sasanian type bearing their own names, while in the early years of the reign of 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān (65–86 A.H./685–705 A.D.) a semi-original coinage, the "standing Caliph" type, is introduced in Palestine and Syria. Finally the coinage reform of ca. 75 A.H. (694/5 A.D.) results in the issuance of gold, silver and bronze coins of purely Arab, non-iconographical character.⁵

While these developments were taking place in Syria, Iraq and Iran, what was the situation in Egypt? There is no evidence of the development of such transitional types as those just referred to, and in consequence there appears to be a numismatic hiatus at Alexandria and elsewhere in Egypt, from shortly after the conquest until about the year 75 A.H., or perhaps even later, when the first anonymous, undated, purely Arab bronze coins make their appearance. During a long residence in Egypt in 1953–1954 I became interested in this problem and sought every opportunity to examine bronze and copper coins which might be attributed to the second half of the 7th century in the hope that something might turn up that would throw light on the question; but without success.⁶ I have therefore come to the tentative conclusion that there was no "Arab-Byzantine" coinage for Egypt comparable to that issued in Syria and Palestine, at least none with readily recognizable outward Arabic characteristics such as Kufic legends; and that the solution is to be found in the hypothesis that at Alexandria the Arabs continued to strike bronzes of one or more types of Heraclius (and of Constans II?) not only in the years immediately following the conquest but on down to the date of 'Abd al-Malik's coinage reform. Might not a careful classification of these coins reveal stylistic or metrological differences that would enable one to attribute

of the printer when John Walker's authoritative *Catalogue of the Arab-Byzantine and Post-Reform Umayyad Coins (A Catalogue of the Muhammadan Coins in the British Museum)*, Vol. II (London, 1956) appeared. There would be frequent occasion to refer to his work in the following pages, but at this date I can only give here the new *BM* references to the types of coins described below (numbers in the present article first, followed by the new *BM* references): no. 1 = pp. 209–210, nos. 633–638 (?); no. 2 = pp. 221–222, nos. 712–721; no. 3 = p. 294, nos. 925^a–925^d; no. 4 = pp. 275–276, nos. P. 140, 909–910; no. 5 = p. 276, no. P. 141; no. 6 = pp. 227–228, no. ANS 37; no. 7 = p. 230, no. Kh. 9. No. 8 is not included.

⁵ Cf. G. C. Miles, "Mihrab and 'Anazah: A Study in early Islamic Iconography," in *Archaeologia Orientalia in Memoriam Ernst Herzfeld* (N. Y., 1952), pp. 156ff.

⁶ Unfortunately the large collection of coins in the Musée Arabe in Cairo is not available for examination.

some of them to the period before 646 and others to the years between 646 and roughly 695?⁷ In order to provide material for such a study I began to assemble as many specimens as possible of the final Byzantine 12-nummia issues of Alexandria, and it is my hope that in a future paper I may be able to present such findings as may emerge, whether they support this hypothesis or not.⁸

Meanwhile it would seem advisable to clear up the other end of the problem, that is to put in order the bronze and copper *fulūs* of reformed Arab type struck during the Umayyad and early 'Abbāsid periods and attributable to Egyptian mints. The present article is an attempt to do this.

Umayyad Period

Undoubtedly the earliest Egyptian *fulūs* of reformed type are the coins with the simple *shahadah*, without date or mint-name. These are of two kinds (Nos. 1 and 2).

1. No mint. No date.

Obv.

لا اله

الا الله

وحده

Beaded border.

Rev.

محمد

رسول

الله

Beaded border.

Coins with this simple formula were doubtless struck in all parts of the empire and over a period of several years before the practice of indicating the date, mint and sometimes the governor's name was introduced. One group of these, such as the specimen illustrated (PLATE XXVII, 1), of thick fabric and varying dimensions, can, I feel confident, be attributed to Egypt. The thick fabric is characteristic not only of the Byzantine bronzes of Alexandria but also of later Arab coins

⁷ Two barbaric imitations, of which the Cabinet des Médailles has kindly furnished me plastercasts, are H. Lavoix, *Catalogue des monnaies musulmanes de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, I (Paris, 1887), hereafter referred to as *Paris, I*, nos. 94-95. These, I feel certain, belong in the latter category, which will be the subject of my future inquiry. So also, in all probability, two cast coins in the *ANS* collection which I misinterpreted in *Rare Islamic Coins*, *NNM*, No. 118, (N. Y., 1950), (hereafter referred to as *RIC*), no. 106, and which I now see are imitations of Byzantine 12-nummia pieces.

⁸ I would be most grateful if readers would communicate to me information on any Alexandrian bronzes of Heraclius which exhibit unusual characteristics.

which can for one reason or another definitely be assigned to Egypt. Furthermore I have myself picked up many of them in the desert around Alexandria and have seen many of them in private and public collections and in antique shops both in Cairo and in Alexandria.

The weights⁹ of specimens in the ANS collection (24 of them definitely known to have been acquired in Egypt, the rest adjudged by style and fabric to be from there) are as follows: 6.79, 6.68 (2), 6.55, 6.50, 6.38, 6.26, 6.22, 6.21, 6.17, 6.16, 6.10, 6.07, 6.05, 6.04, 6.02, 6.01, 5.98, 5.96, 5.93, 5.86, 5.83, 5.80, 5.78, 5.75, 5.69, 5.58, 5.45, 5.36, 5.21, 5.13, 5.11, 4.96, 4.74, 4.73, 4.44, 3.73, 2.50, 2.21. Diameters range from 15 to 20 mm., but most are about 19 mm.; thickness, up to 4 mm.

2. No mint. No date.

Obv.

بسم الله
لا اله الا الله
الله وحده

Beaded border.

Rev. In center, six-point star,
surrounded by beaded border.

Around: محمد رسول الله

Beaded border.

Sometimes the λ of the second الله of the obverse falls on the 3rd line.

These coins are thick (as much as 5 mm.) and relatively small in diameter (from 12 to 17 mm., usually about 15 mm.). A typical specimen is illustrated in PLATE XXVII,² (Yale University Collection). My grounds for attribution to Egypt are again fabric and the fact that at least 14 of the specimens whose weights are given below are known to be of Egyptian provenance.¹⁰ *Fulūs* with these legends and presumably of similar fabric have been published in the following catalogues:¹¹ *BM I*,¹² p. 173, nos. 1-2; *Paris I*, no. 1358; *Berlin I*,¹³ nos. 1917-1922; *Istanbul I*,¹⁴ nos. 254-255; *Khedivial Library*,¹⁵ nos. 810-822 (note the number of specimens in this Egyptian collection). The recorded weights, mostly of specimens in the ANS collection, are as follows: 5.19, 4.91, 4.87, 4.85, 4.78, 4.70, 4.31, 4.26, 4.23, 4.14, 4.09, 4.08, 4.07 (2), 3.92, 3.80 (2), 3.70, 3.60, 3.53, 3.52, 3.49, 3.35, 3.23, 3.01, 2.86, 2.83.

⁹ In grams.

¹⁰ Also I have seen many specimens in Egypt (some, for example, in the Assiout College Museum) whose weights I was unable to record. In the Kelsey Museum at Ann Arbor there are several specimens from among the surface finds in the excavations at Terenouthis in the Delta.

¹¹ No effort has been made to assemble records of all published specimens.

¹² S. Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum*, I (London, 1875).

¹³ H. Nützel, *Königliche Museen zu Berlin, Katalog der orientalischen Münzen*, I (Berlin, 1898).

¹⁴ Ismā'īl Ghālib, *Müze-i Humāyūn, Meskūkāt-i qadīme islāmīyeh qatālōghu*, I (Constantinople, 1312).

¹⁵ S. Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of the Collection of Arabic Coins preserved in the Khedivial Library at Cairo* (London, 1897).

These issues (nos. 1 and 2) cannot be earlier than 75 A.H. If credence be given to a report preserved by Maqrīzi, the earliest coins of purely Arab type struck in Egypt were issued by ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Marwān in about the year 77 A.H.¹⁶ It would be difficult to estimate a terminal date, but in all probability it would not be later than about 116 A.H. (734 A.D.), when al-Qāsim b. ‘Ubaydullāh began to strike coppers in his name (no. 3, below). These latter are the first datable issues incontrovertibly of Egyptian manufacture.

Either of the two earliest issues (nos. 1–2) might perhaps be associated with Usāmah b. Zayd, Finance Director of Egypt from 96–99 A.H. (714–717 A.D.),¹⁷ whose name appears in an interesting numismatic connection which should be mentioned here. According to a tradition preserved in al-Damīri’s *Hayāt al-Hayawān* and in al-Maqrīzi’s *Khiṭaṭ*,¹⁸ there stood in the harbor of Alexandria in the days of Usāmah a gigantic statue of copper,¹⁹ with an arm outstretched and one of the fingers pointing in the direction of Constantinople. It was a very large figure (the foot was as long as a man with his arms extended), and its eyes were

¹⁶ Maqrīzi, *Khiṭaṭ* (ed. Bulaq), I, p. 210. The reference here is specifically to *manqūshah* dinars, but it may as well apply to the *fulūs*. Cf. Adolf Grohmann, *Einführung und Chrestomathie zur Arabischen Papyruskunde* (Monografie Archivu Orientálního, XIII/I), Praha, 1955, p. 186. The attribution there of dinars with Latin legends to Fuṣṭaṭ is based on Karabacek’s highly imaginative reading (NZ, Wien, 1870, p. 462) of a specimen originally published by J. G. Stickel (*Handbuch zur morgenländischen Münzkunde*, II (Leipzig, 1870), pp. 67–68). Lane-Poole (*A History of Egypt in the Middle Ages*, London, 1901, p. 26) gives the date as 76 A.H. and locates the mint at Ḥulwān. The latter information is evidently on the authority of Abū-Ṣāliḥ, who says that at this time the public treasury was at Ḥulwān, where ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Marwān had gone to live on the advice of physicians because he suffered from elephantiasis and the sulphurous springs there were reported to be beneficial (B. T. A. Evetts, *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt and Some Neighbouring Countries, Attributed to Abū Ṣāliḥ, the Armenian*, Anecdota Oxoniensia, Oxford, 1895, fol. 52^b).

¹⁷ G. C. Miles, *Early Arabic Glass Weights and Stamps*, NNM, No. 111, (N. Y., 1948), hereafter referred to as *EAG*, pp. 72–73, and the sources cited there.

¹⁸ See A. S. G. Jayakar’s translation of al-Damīri (London, 1906), I, p. 625, and the nearly identical passage in the text of al-Maqrīzi’s *Khiṭaṭ* (Būlāq ed.), I, p. 108 (cf. *Mémoires ... de la Mission archéologique française au Caire*, Vol. XVII, 1900, p. 311). This story has been referred to several times by western numismatists: first by Simone Assemani in his *Catalogo de Codici Manoscritti Orientali della Biblioteca Vaticana*, Pt. II (Padova, 1792), pp. 414–415, where the text of al-Damīri’s account is given; and subsequently, citing Assemani, by O. G. Tychsen, *Introductio in rem numariam Muhammedanorum, Additamentum I* (Rostock, 1796), pp. 9–12, C. O. Castiglioni, *Monete cufiche dell’ I. R. Museo di Milano* (Milan, 1819), p. 248, S. de Mainoni (Castiglioni), *Descrizione di alcune monete cufiche*, etc. (Milan, 1820), pp. 129–130, W. Marsden, *Numismata Orientalia Illustrata*, I (London, 1823), p. 13, and J. G. Stickel, *Handbuch zur Morgenländischen Münzkunde*, I (Leipzig, 1845), p. 12.

¹⁹ The word is *nuḥās*, “copper” or “brass”, but doubtless “bronze” is intended.

made of rubies. The name of the figure was Shurāḥīl,²⁰ and it was made in the "days of Solomon, or perhaps of Alexander the Great." Usāmah, finding that *fulūs* were in short supply in Egypt, wrote to the Caliph asking permission to melt down this statue in order that he might strike coins from the metal. In due course the Caliph sent an "expert" to dismantle the statue and Usāmah's plan was carried out. Somewhere in this tale there are doubtless several grains of truth, but it is not easy to connect it with a particular issue of coins. If one were to assume a confusion of names, one might suggest a connection with coins of al-Qāsim b. 'Ubaydullāh, which follow below.

Before describing these there are three issues that have been attributed to Egypt that should be eliminated. The first is an issue of early anonymous bronzes with the simple declaration of faith and an eagle with outspread wings.²¹ Lavoix hinted at an Egyptian or a Syrian prototype and provenance. There is a similar specimen in the ANS collection, but the fabric of this specimen is not characteristically Egyptian, and I rather imagine these coins are to be assigned to Syria or Palestine. Tiesenhausen,²² citing "Fraehn, Consp.", lists a *fals* of 113 (?) A.H., struck at Miṣr, but the coin is not described, and view of the doubt expressed with regard to the date I suspect it is a specimen of the issue of the year 133 (no. 9, below). Another *fals* dated 116 A.H. and attributed by Marsden (*op. cit.*, no. X) to Miṣr was misread: the mint is Himṣ. Cf. Tiesenhausen, no. 580.

²⁰ Exactly why this statue was given the name "Shurāḥīl" is a question that has troubled me and which I have been at some pains to resolve, but unfortunately I have not been successful in finding a completely satisfactory explanation. Evidently Shurāḥīl was a "son of Satan", شراحيل بن الشيطان (Ṭabari II, p. 781), and as such I assume his name is associated with the hoard of Satan's followers, *junūd Iblīs*, who animate idols and the images of false gods and who, on the Day of Judgment, will be thrown into the fire (Qur'ān, XXVI, 94-95; cf. St. Matthew, 25, 41). Thus Shurāḥīl would probably be either an angel or a demon (*jinn*, a lower class of angel), related both philologically and by his nature to such personages as Ismā'il, Mikhā'il, Ṣalsā'il, Rūbā'il, etc., etc. (cf. al-Qazwīnī, *'Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, I, p. 59). Although Shurāḥīl is doubtless dealt with at some length somewhere in the vast Muslim literature of theology and eschatology, I have not been able to locate anything about him. On angels, demons and spirits in general, see the articles *Iblīs*, *Malā'ika* and *Djinn* in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, and *Demons and Spirits (Muslim)* in the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*; and cf. W. Eickmann, *Die Angelologie und Dämonologie des Korans* . . . (N. Y. and Leipzig, 1908), pp. 15-16. One wonders whether the name Shurāḥīl was not given to the "heathen statue" in Alexandria after the event: such a name would provide pious justification for casting the figure into the fire, i.e., melting it down.

²¹ *Paris I*, nos. 1528-1529.

²² W. Tiesenhausen, *Moneti vostochnavo khalifata* (St. Petersburg, 1873), no. 567.

3. No mint. No date. Al-Qāsim b. 'Ubaydullāh (116-124 A.H./734-742 A.D.).
Obv. *Rev.* (within beaded circle)

بسم الله
 لا اله الا
 الله وحده

محمد
 رسول
 الله

Ornament beneath.

Margin: امر القاسم بن عبيد الله

Double beaded border.

Beaded border.

The following variant ornaments occur beneath the obverse:²³

- (a) ✕
 (b) ✕✕
 (c) ✕
 (d) ✕✕
 (e) ✕
 (f) .↓.

These coins range from 3 to 4 mm. in thickness.

Berlin I, nos. 2249-51²⁴ (20, 19, 17); *Paris I*, no. 1660 (20, 5.80); *Paris I*, no. 1661 (18, 6.40); Karabacek, *Wiener Num. Monatshefte*, 1867, p. 35; Karabacek, *Wiener Num. Monatshefte*, 1868, p. 20 (2 spec.); Castiglioni, *Milano*, p. 246, no. 220; Stickel, *Handbuch*, I, p. 12 (cf. *ZDMG*, XII, p. 324, no. 25); ANS (21, 7.50) (PLATE XXVII, 3); ANS (20, 7.50); ANS (23, 7.29); ANS (21, 6.92); ANS (20, 7.87); P. Balog Coll. (21.5, 6.69); P. Balog Coll. (21, 6.16); P. Balog Coll. (22, 7.64); M. Jungfleisch Coll. (22, 6.70); M. Jungfleisch Coll. (21, 6.81); M. Jungfleisch Coll. (21, 6.35); M. Jungfleisch Coll. (19, 7.16); M. Jungfleisch Coll. (17, 6.45); J. Yockers Coll. (7.55); J. Yockers Coll. (6.74).

The next issues (nos. 4-7) are particularly interesting in that they introduce both the name of the country, Miṣr, and of several specific mints.²⁵ Although these coins do not bear dates they are closely datable, as they carry the names of the last Umayyad Caliph, Marwān II (127-132 A.H.) and of 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, Finance Director of Egypt from Rajab, 131, until Jumādā I, 132 A.H.,

²³ Some of these may be different interpretations of the same ornament.

²⁴ With inverted crescent above obverse area.

²⁵ Tiesenhausen (nos. 2629-2631) lists three specimens from Frähn's unpublished notes which are alleged to carry the name of Miṣr, one with date lacking (perhaps a specimen of the year 133?), the other two without dates; but without seeing these coins or reproductions of them, I do not feel justified in including them here as established issues. So also *Copenhagen*, no. 674, evidently an undated *fals* bearing the mint-name Miṣr, but the description is uncertain.

and last Umayyad governor of the country. He surrendered his post to the new 'Abbāsid governor after the overthrow of the dynasty on 8 Muḥarram, 133 (16 August, 750 A.D.).²⁶ Thus these issues are datable to the latter part of the year 131 or to 132.

4. Al-Fuṣṭāṭ-Miṣr. No date. 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān (131-132 A.H./749-750 A.D.).

Obv.

In center, within beaded circle:

القسطا

ط

Rev.

In center, within beaded circle:

مصر

Margin: امر عبد الله مروان امير المؤمنين Margin: علي يدى الامير عبد الملك بن مروان

Beaded (sometimes appearing as linear) borders.

BM I, p. 184, no. 56 (17); *BM IX*, p. 102, no. 163¹ (15); *Berlin I*, nos. 2028^{a-b} (19,21); *Paris I*, no. 1494 (18, 6.35); *Paris I*, no. 1495 (18, 6.25); *Khedivial Library*, nos. 843-844; *Copenhagen*^{26a}, no. 108; *Antioch*,²⁷ pp. 110 and 115, no. 67 (2 spec.); *Museo Cufico Naniano*,²⁸ p. xxviii, no. XXXIV; Möller,²⁹ p. 48, no. XIII; Castiglioni, *Milano*, p. 250; Blau u. Stickel, *ZDMG*, XI, p. 445; *ANS* (19, 5.15, frg. lacking) (PLATE XXVII,4); *ANS* (14, 1.35); *ANS* (14, 1.61); *P. Balog Coll.* (20, 5.66); *J. Yockers Coll.* (18, 6.87). (Other older catalogue references are given in Tiesenhausen, no. 655).

Most of these specimens are of typically thick Egyptian fabric. Two of the *ANS* specimens, however, are atypical both in fabric and in the appearance of the metal. They are small and quite thin, and the metal has a leaden appearance.

The name al-Fuṣṭāṭ Miṣr was the proper full designation of the early Arab city which eventually became Cairo.³⁰ Although one might suppose that the obverse of these coins would be the side with the name of the Caliph and the reverse that with the name of his subordinate, I believe that I am correct in placing *al-Fuṣṭāṭ* first and *Miṣr* second. Not only is this in conformity with the early designation as recorded in literature, but also (if the reading is correct) the similar issue struck

²⁶ Cf. *EAG*, pp. 95-96.

^{26a} J. Østrup, *Catalogue des Monnaies arabes et turques du Cabinet Royal des Médailles du Musée National de Copenhague* (Copenhagen, 1938).

²⁷ G. C. Miles, *Islamic Coins, Antioch-on-the-Orontes, IV, Part I* (Princeton, 1948).

²⁸ S. Assemani, *Museo Cufico Naniano* (Padova, 1787). The coin is here described as Fātimid, but the engraved reproduction clearly identifies it.

²⁹ J. H. Möller, *De Numis Orientalibus* (Gotha, 1826).

³⁰ Cf. *Encyclopaedia of Islām*, s.v. Miṣr.

at Alexandria (no. 7, below) shows by the arrangement of its legends that the name of the city comes first. Also early in the next century there are dirhems struck in *Fuṣṭāṭ-Miṣr*.³¹

5. Al-Fayyūm-Miṣr. No date. 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān (131-132 A.H./749-750 A.D.).

Obv.

In center, within beaded circle:

[ألفيوم]

Margin: [علي يدى الامير عبد الملك بن مروان]

Rev.

In center, within beaded circle:

مصر

Margin: [مما امر عبد الله مروان]

امير المؤمنين

Beaded borders?

Paris I, no. 1496 (16, 4.55).

6. Atrīb-Miṣr. No date. 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān (131-132 A.H./749-750 A.D.).

Obv.

In center, within beaded circle:

اتريب

Margin: [علي يدى عبد الملك بن مروان]

Rev.

In center, within beaded circle:

مصر

Margin: عبد الله مروان امير المؤمنين

Odessa,³² no. 35; *ANS* (18.5, 4.89)³³ (PLATE XXVII,5).

It will be noted that only two specimens of this most interesting coin, struck in the former capital of the ancient Athribitic nome (near modern Benha), have come to light. As observed in my earlier publication of this issue, it is worthy of note that Fayyūm (Arsinoe) and Atrīb were two of the four towns whose names appear on the Roman leaden tokens of Egypt. The others were Memphis and Oxyrhynchus (al-Baḥnasah). The report that 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Marwān established the treasury at Ḥulwān (and perhaps struck coins there?), which was near the site of Memphis, is interesting in this connection. Might we hope to find *fulūs* of this type both for Ḥulwān and for Baḥnasah?

³¹ Cf. *Berlin I*, no. 1385.

³² Otto Blau, *Die orientalischen Münzen des Museums der Kaiserlichen Historisch-Archäologischen Gesellschaft zu Odessa* (1876). Cf. *NZ*, VI-VII (1874-1875), pp. 9-10.

³³ Published in *RIC*, no. 103. Add to the bibliography for Atrīb given there, p. 32, J. Maspero & G. Wiet, *Matériaux pour servir à la géographie de l'Égypte* (*Memoires de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale*, Vol. 36, 1919), pp. 3-4.

7. Al-Iskandarīyah (?) – Miṣr. No date. ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān (131–132 A.H./ 749–750 A.D.).

Obv.

In center, within linear circle:

الاس
كند [؟]

Margin: امير المؤمنين [عبد الله مرون] مما امر به

Linear borders.

Rev.

In center, within linear circle:

مصر
رية [؟]

Margin: على يدى [عبد الله] ملك بن مرون

Khedivial Library, no. 845 (double struck); *Jericho Excavations*, 1951, no. A 2083 (20, 4.99) (PLATE XXVII,6).

The description given above is of the *Jericho Excavations* specimen. Lane-Poole's description of the specimen in the *Khedivial Library* differs in the following respects (it is not illustrated): the obverse area reads: الاس | رية [؟] and the obverse margin: امر عبد الله مرون امير المؤمنين; the reverse area مصر, and beneath it an inscription which Lane-Poole rendered, probably for want of suitable type, by three Greek letters; the reverse margin as the *Jericho* specimen, but with the word الامر before the name of the governor.

Unfortunately the specimen in the *Khedivial Library* (now the *National Library*) in *Cairo* is virtually inaccessible; my own efforts to examine it were unsuccessful. It had been my hope during my residence in *Alexandria* that I might come across another specimen, but none ever came to my attention. My satisfaction on turning up the *Jericho* piece in 1955 while cataloging the excavation coins from that site was somewhat tempered by its very obscure state of preservation; but I believe that my reading is in all probability correct. The name of the mint, al-Iskandarīyah, thus seems to begin on the obverse and is completed on the reverse; the three final letters closely resemble the Greek letters which Lane-Poole used in his transcription. Unless Lane-Poole misread parts of the marginal legends there must have been at least two different issues of this type. The surprising thing is that more specimens have not come to light; also it is remarkable that these two coins are the only surviving identifiable products of the *Alexandria* mint in the Umayyad or ‘Abbāsīd periods.



EARLY ISLAMIC BRONZE COINAGE OF EGYPT

8. Fayyūm. No date.

Obv.

Large seven-point star within
beaded circle.

Rev.

فيو

م

Beaded border.

Antioch, no. 68.³⁴*‘Abbāsīd Period*

9(a). Miṣr. 133 A.H. (751 A.D.). ‘Abd al-Malik b. Yazīd.

Obv.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ
لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا
لِلَّهِ وَحْدَهُ
•••

Rev. (within beaded or linear
circle):

محمد
رَسُولُ³⁵
اللَّهِ

Margin: ضرب هذا الفلّس بمصر سنة ثلث وثلثين
ومائة

Beaded or linear border.

Beaded or linear border.

There are several varieties of this issue, differing with respect to the ornaments beneath the obverse area. The full date is not always preserved, but whenever it is preserved it is 133. The varieties noted are:

- (b) ✱
- (c) ∪ ∪ ∪
- (d) ∪ ✱ ∪
- (e) ✱
- (f) ✱
- (g) ∪
- (h) no ornament

³⁴ Obverse there mistakenly described as six-point star. The fabric is heavy and thick, diameter 15 mm., weight not recorded. To judge by its appearance the coin is certainly Umayyad and in all probability quite early.

³⁵ Sometimes رَسُوْا and at least one specimen with • after اللَّهُ.

BM I, p. 193, no. 82 (20); *BM I*, p. 193, no. 83 (20); *BM I*, p. 193, no. 84 (date?) (20); *BM IX*, p. 102, no. 163^d (date?) (21); *Berlin I*, no. 2071 (19.5); *Berlin I*, no. 2072 (date?) (19); *Berlin I*, no. 2073 (date?) (18); *Paris I*, no. 1622 (20, 4.42); *Paris I*, no. 1623 (16, 4.55); *Paris I*, no. 1624 (17, 3.25); *Khedivial Library*, nos. 850–851 (dates?);³⁶ *Copenhagen*, no. 186 (?) (misread); *Copenhagen*, no. 282 (?);³⁷ *Copenhagen*, no. 687 (?);³⁸ *Antioch*, p. 115, no. 90; Fraehn, *Recensio*,³⁹ p. 18, no. 2; Fraehn, *Nov. Sup.*,⁴⁰ p. 7, no. 2a; Soret à Fraehn,⁴¹ pp. 47–48 = Soret à Dorn,⁴² pp. 12–13; *ANS* (16, 6.16); *ANS* (21, 5.36); *ANS* (19, 5.25) (PLATE XXVII, 7); *ANS* (18, 4.69); *ANS* (20, 4.67); *ANS* (18, 4.50); *ANS* (19, 4.15); *ANS* (18, 4.05); *ANS* (18, 3.62); Jericho Excavations, 1951, nos. A 2062, 2091, 2093, 2123, 2178, 2183, 2265, 2309, 2315; P. Balog Coll. (19, 5.42; 19, 5.05; 19, 4.86); M. Jungfleisch Coll. (18, 5.79; 21, 5.72; 21, 5.22; 19, 4.90; 20, 4.67; 20, 4.34; 18, 4.31; 20, 4.28); J. Yockers Coll.; other specimens in the older literature in Tiesenhausen, *op. cit.*, no. 664.

10. Miṣr. ‘Abd al-Malik b. Yazīd. Date effaced (133–141 A.H./751–758 A.D.).

Obv.

لا اله الا ا

الله وحده

Rev.

محمد

رسول

الله

Margin: ضرب هذا الفلاس بمصر سنة... ومئة Margin: مما امر به الامير [عبد الملك] بن يزيد

Paris I, no. 1626 (15, 4.65, governor's name effaced); *Khedivial Library*, nos. 850, 851 (mint name effaced).

In addition to nos. 9. and 10, ‘Abd al-Malik b. Yazīd struck another issue without date or mint:

11. No Mint. ‘Abd al-Malik b. Yazīd. No Date (133–141 A.H./751–758 A.D.).

Obv.

*

لا اله الا

الله محمد

رسول الله

Rev.

عبد الملك

بن يزيد ا

صلحه الله

✽

Beaded borders.

³⁶ First line of obverse area (inadvertently?) omitted in description.

³⁷ Listed as 163 A.H., but to judge by the description the coin is one of this type, and I suspect that the date was misread. It is easy to confuse 60 and 30 in Kufic characters.

³⁸ Misread, listed as 13(4?), but it is probably 133.

³⁹ C. M. Fraehn, *Recensio numorum muhammedanorum* ... (St. Petersburg, 1826).

⁴⁰ Ch. M. Fraehnii, *Nova supplementa ad recensioem nummorum* ... (St. Petersburg, 1855).

⁴¹ In *Mém. Soc. Imp. d'Archéol.*, 1851.

⁴² In *RNB*, 1856.

BM I, p. 222, no. 163 (18); *Berlin I*, no. 2248 (18, in border: ° [° °]); *Paris I*, no. 1625 (18, 4.60).

‘Abd al-Malik b. Yazīd issued a considerable number of glass weights and vessel stamps, and his career is well documented not only by the coins and glass but also in the historical literature.⁴³

The following two issues cannot with complete certainty be attributed to Egypt.

12. No mint. Jābir. No date (ca. 133–141 A.H./ca. 750–759 A.D.).

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
.....	الامير
محمد	جابر
رسول	ح
الله	
عدل	Margin: سول الله مما ا...

This coin (diameter 15 mm., weight not recorded) was described and illustrated in *Antioch*, p. 115, no. 92, and was attributed to Jābir b. ‘Ubayd in Egypt. It was there noted that Jābir b. ‘Ubayd was an *‘āmil* of ‘Abd al-Malik b. Yazīd in the district of Manaf. Reference also was made to two *fulūs* struck by the same man (his name given in full) and attributed by Lavoix to Bayrūt (Beirut).⁴⁴ The name [ت]يرو certainly does appear to be clear; furthermore, to judge by the illustration, the fabric and epigraphy do not appear to be Egyptian, and the weights (1.45 and 0.95 grams) are anomalous for Egypt. These coins therefore appear to have been struck by the same person during an earlier or later period of office in Syria but the Antioch excavation coin may have been struck in Egypt. However, I would hesitate now to be as positive about the assignment to Egypt as I was when I compiled the Antioch catalogue. The same doubt would apply to the next issue.

13. No Mint. Jābir. No date (ca. 133–141 A.H./ca. 750–759 A.D.).

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
جائز	الامير
.....	جابر
.....	بخ

Margin: مما امر محمد

⁴³ See *EAG*, index and especially pp. 105–106; G. C. Miles, *Early Arabic Glass Weights and Stamps: A Supplement*, NNM, No. 120, (N. Y., 1951), pp. 19–21; Grohmann, *op. cit.*, p. 215.

⁴⁴ *Paris I*, nos. 1565–66.

E. von Bergmann, "Zur muhammedanischen Münzkunde," *ZDMG*, XXIII (1869), p. 246, no. 9 = Tiesenhausen, *op. cit.*, no. 2943.

As remarked in *Antioch*, p. 116, the style of the coin does not suit the dates of Jābir b. al-Ash'ath (195 A.H.), to whom the coin was attributed by Bergmann.⁴⁵

Marsden⁴⁶ attributed a *fals* of the year 139 to Miṣr, but I believe there can be no doubt that this is a coin of al-Baṣrah of that year.⁴⁷

The coin next described is, so far as I know, unique, and if properly read and attributed it has a place in this study.

14. Faramā. 147 A.H./764-765 A.D.

Obv.

لا اله الا

الله وحده

لا شريك له

فرما

Margin: effaced.

Rev.

محمد

رسول

الله

فرما

Margin: صرب ه....نة سبع واربعين ومئة (sic)

Paris I, no. 1597 (20, 3.55).

Faramā or al-Faramā was the ancient Pelusion,⁴⁸ the famous eastern border-town of Egypt. As in all wars between Egypt and her eastern neighbours the town figured prominently in the Arab conquest.⁴⁹ The letters beneath the conventional legend of the reverse of the coin can certainly be read *Faramā*, and although this is not the usual place to find the mint name, its absence in the marginal date legend would lend plausibility to the interpretation of it as the name of the mint rather than as a personal name.

The exact dates of the next two issues are uncertain but they can be limited to a few years, and although in both cases the mint name is lacking, we can be certain that they were struck in Egypt.

⁴⁵ Grohmann, *op. cit.*, p. 216, accepts Bergmann's attribution.

⁴⁶ *Op. cit.*, no. XVI = Tiesenhausen, *op. cit.*, no. 704.

⁴⁷ Cf. *BM I*, p. 195, no. 89.

⁴⁸ Pauly-Wissowa, *RE*, s.v.; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, III, pp. 882-884; Maspero & Wiet, *op. cit.*, pp. 138-139.

⁴⁹ See Butler, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

15 (a). No mint. No date. Muḥammad b. Sa'īd (ca. 152–157 A.H./769–774 A.D.).

Obv.

Rev.

✱

لا اله الا

..

الله محمد

رسول الله

Linear border.

محمد بن

سعيد ا

صاحبه الله

Linear border.

Paris I, nos. 1663–1664 (17, 5.70, 5.35).

(b). As (a), but no triangle of pellets between 1st and 2nd lines of obverse, and ✱ beneath reverse.

ANS (18, 5.73).

(c). As (a), but ○ between 1st and 2nd lines of obverse, and reverse as (b). Beaded borders.

ANS (18, 4.89) (PLATE XXVII,8).

(d). As (a), but no star above obverse, ∴ between 1st and 2nd lines of obverse, and reverse as (b). Beaded borders.

Berlin I, no. 2252 (17.5).

(e). As (a), but no star above obverse, and ✠ between الله and محمد on 2nd line of obverse.

P. Balog Coll. (17, 5.08).

(f). As (a), but no star or triangle of pellets on obverse, .. beneath, and reverse as (b).

BM IX, p. 103, nos. 168^{r, s, t} (16–17).⁵⁰

(g). As (f), but • beneath obverse, and reverse as (b).

ANS (16, 5.18).

(h). As (a), but no ornaments on obverse, and .. between 1st and 2nd lines of reverse.

ANS (17, 5.36).

⁵⁰ Lane-Poole did not indicate the ornaments in his description, but the one specimen illustrated (168^r) exhibits them.

(i). As (a), but no ornaments on obverse, and reverse as (b).

Welzl von Wellenheim, *op. cit.*, II (Wien, 1845), no. 12089 = Tiesenhausen, *op. cit.*, no. 2547 (misread); E. von Zambaur, *NZ*, 1905, p. 143, no. 264; ANS (18, 4.53); ANS (17, 4.00); ANS (14, 1.88, flan too small for the dies, so that only part of the legends is preserved).

Muḥammad b. Saʿīd b. ʿUqbah was the Finance Director of Egypt, and possibly Governor, for part if not all of the period between 152 and 157 A.H. (769 to 774 A.D.).⁵¹ On glass weights and stamps bearing his name, and also in a papyrus document dated 153 A.H., he uses the title *amīr*. The mint at which his coins were struck was undoubtedly al-Fuṣṭāṭ.

16. No mint. No date. Maṭar (ca. 157–159 A.H./ca. 773–776 A.D.).⁵²

Obv.

Rev.

Margin (within beaded border):

Margin (within beaded border):

لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له

ضرب هذا الفلاس على يدي مطر مولى⁵³ امير

Center (within beaded or linear border): Center (within beaded border):

يك له

المؤ

* † *

منين اكر

مه الله

On both the obverse and the reverse the legend in the center completes the marginal legend.

There are several varieties, differing with respect to the ornament or symbol beneath the reverse area. All these coins are exceptionally thick, none thinner than 3.5 mm., and one measuring as much as 6.5 mm. in thickness. All but one of the ANS specimens are known to have come from Egypt; and the specimen in Dr. Paul Balog's collection was acquired in Egypt.

(a). ○ beneath reverse.

ANS (20, 8.26, published in *RIC*, no. 407) (PLATE XXVII,9).

⁵¹ For the references see *EAG*, p. 118.

⁵² Several specimens of this issue have been wrongly attributed to Qinnaṣrīn on the basis of older mistaken readings; cf. *RIC*, p. 125.

⁵³ Or perhaps مولا on some specimens.

(b). ∴ beneath reverse.

ANS (18, 6.36).

(c). ✱ beneath reverse.

ANS (18, 7.57); ANS (18, 8.14).

(d). ∴ beneath reverse.

Berlin I, no. 2255.

(e). ∴ beneath reverse.

ANS (20, 7.90); J. Yockers Coll. (20, 7.68).

(f). U beneath reverse.

ANS (19, 7.48).

(g). (•) beneath reverse.

Simone Assemani, *Museo Cufico Naniano*, I (Padova, 1787), no. XXXV.⁵⁴

(h). No ornament beneath reverse.

Fraehn, *Recensio*, p. 27**, no. 7; *Berlin I*, nos. 2253–2254 (18, 19.5); *Paris I*, no. 1601 (18, 8.40); P. Balog Coll. (21, 6.42); J. Yockers Coll. (18, 8.40).

(i). Ornament beneath reverse effaced or not described.

Castiglioni, *Milano*, p. 41, no. XLIX (misread, but the plate shows it to be one of these coins); Welzl von Wellenheim, *op. cit.*, II, nos. 12087–88; Stickel, *ZDMG*, XII (1858), p. 326, no. 22 (cf. Tiesenhhausen, *op. cit.*, no. 2626 for the older literature); ANS (20, 6.58); ANS (21, 6.89); J. Yockers Coll. (21, 7.90).

Maṭar, a freedman (*mawla*) of the Caliph al-Manṣūr, is known to us through his glass weights, papyri and the chronicles.⁵⁵ The dates of his governorship of Egypt are uncertain (159 A.H. according to one tradition, 157–159 according to another); at all events we know from certain glass weights that he served under the Caliph al-Mahdi, whose rule began in 158 A.H., and that he was succeeded as governor in 159 by Muḥammad b. Sulaymān. His coins were undoubtedly struck at al-Fuṣṭāṭ.

⁵⁴ The description is entirely wrong, but the engraving (pl. III) shows the type.

⁵⁵ See *EAG*, p. 124. My error in *EAG*, p. 125, in naming Qinnasrīn as the mint for his coins is corrected in *EAG Supplement*, p. 48, and *RIC*, p. 125. It stems from the earlier misattributions; cf. footnote 52, above.

Bartholomae attributed a *fals* struck in the year 161⁵⁶ to Miṣr, but the engraving does not show the marginal legend, and I am inclined to believe that the mint at least was misread, especially as no other specimen is known. For a supposed issue of Miṣr, 163 A.H., see footnote 37, above. Likewise I would reject an attribution by Marsden⁵⁷ of another fals to Miṣr, 164: to judge by the engraving the mint is effaced (perhaps Ḥalab?) and the decade is doubtful.

The attribution of the next series of related issues (nos. 17–22) presents more than one problem. In the first place they bear no mint name. Are they Egyptian? I believe so, despite the fact that most of them lack the usual thick fabric characteristic of the earlier coins of Egypt. Many of the specimens that I have seen or have recorded were found or acquired in Egypt. Another difficulty is that these coins are dateless. Finally, neither of the officials whose names appear on the coins gives the name of his father, an additional handicap that makes positive attribution very difficult.

Throughout the descriptions of published specimens that follow it is to be noted that I have substituted the name “Maḥfūz” for “Maḥmūd,” revising (I hope justifiably) the previously accepted reading of this name.⁵⁸ A careful examination of all the specimens that I have been able to handle or see in reproductions convinces me that the last two consonants of the name are *fāʾ* and *zāʾ*, rather than *mīm* and *dāl*; that is, the circle of the third consonant does not extend below the line, and the final consonant when well preserved is closed at its left end. We have a candidate for this unusual name, Maḥfūz b. Sulaymān, who was in charge of the finances of Egypt during a period extending from some time in the year 186 A.H. until Jumādā II, 187 (802-May, 803 A.D.), when his place was taken by Aḥmad b. Ismāʿil, who also was appointed governor.⁵⁹ I propose therefore to assign these coins to him. Unfortunately I have no suggestion for the identification of his assistant, Ṣāliḥ.

⁵⁶ *RNB*, 1859, p. 354, no. 56 = Tiesenhausen, *op. cit.*, no. 916.

⁵⁷ Marsden, I, p. 28, no. XXV = Tiesenhausen, *op. cit.*, no. 961.

⁵⁸ Among others my own readings in *RIC*, nos. 404–406, p. 124.

⁵⁹ See al-Kindi, *Kitāb al-umarā waʾl-quḍʾāt* (ed. Guest, *Gibb Memorial Series*, XIX, Leiden-London, 1912), pp. 140–141; al-Maqrīzi, *Khīṭaṭ*, I, p. 309. Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *A History of Egypt in the Middle Ages* (London, 1901), p. 53, where “Maḥfūdh b. Suleym” is listed as being in charge of the finances while al-Layth b. al-Faḍl (the predecessor of Aḥmad b. Ismāʿil) was in office as governor. Maḥfūz’s house is mentioned by Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam in his *Fuṭūḥ Miṣr* (ed. C. C. Torrey, New Haven, 1922, p. 100). I am grateful to M. Marcel Jungfleisch for drawing my attention to certain of these references; he also informs me that he has in his collection a fragmentary *wuqīyah* glass weight of Maḥfūz.

17. No mint. No date. Maḥfūz [b. Sulaymān] and Ṣāliḥ (ca. 186–187 A.H./ca. 802–803 A.D.).

(a). *Obv.* (within beaded border)

•
الامير
محفوظ
•

Margin: لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

Rev. (within beaded border)

• بخ •
صلح
(*)

Margin: مما امر به الامير

Paris I, no. 1669 (15, 3.35).

(b). Similar to (a), but obverse margin: لا اله (sic) الا.... الله and reverse margin: مما امر به الامير (ends with word other than امير, perhaps يدي?).

ANS (12, 2.88) (PLATE XXVII, 10)

(c). Similar to (a), but reverse margin: مما امر به الامير.... على يدي

ANS (16, 2.19) (PLATE XXVII, 11); UM⁶⁰ (17, 2.29, probably this variety, reverse margin obscure).

(d). *Obv.* (within beaded border)

*
الامير
محفوظ

Margin: ...م الله مما امر به الامير....

Beaded border.

ANS (12, 3.39).

(e). *Obv.*

الامير
محفوظ

Margin: محمد رسول الله

Rev. Area as (a).

Margin: مما امر به... على يدي

Rev.

صلح
Points, and blurred word of four elements.

Margin: اكرمه الله

Stickel in *ZDMG*, XII (1858), p. 326, no. 26.

⁶⁰ Collection of the University Museum, Philadelphia, in the custody of the American Numismatic Society.

(f). *Obv.* (within beaded border)الامير
محفوظ

Margin effaced.

Rev. (within beaded border)

صلح

Margin effaced.

Paris I, no. 1670 (13, 1.70); ANS (12, fragmentary).

18. No mint. No date. Maḥfūz [b. Sulaymān] and Ṣāliḥ (ca. 186–187 A.H./ca. 802–803 A.D.).

(a). *Obv.* (within beaded border)* ..
الامير
محفوظ
*Margin:⁶¹ (1 word ?) ... امر به الامير ...

Beaded border.

Rev. (within beaded border)• بخ •
على يدى
صلح

Beaded border.

Castiglioni, *Milano*, p. 44, no. LV (probably the same, but ornaments not fully preserved); Stickel in *ZDMG*, XII (1858), p. 326, nos. 20 and 24⁶² = Tiesenhausen, *op. cit.*, no. 2546; ANS (19, 3.30)⁶³ (PLATE XXVII, 12); ANS (17, 1.58); UM (14, 2.25) (PLATE XXVII, 13); Tarsus Excavations,⁶⁴ 1935, nos. 46, 328; two specimens (probably of this variety) among the surface finds at the Terenouthis excavations in the Delta (Kelsey Museum, Ann Arbor).

(b). *Obv.* (within beaded border)•
الامير
محفوظ
•

Margin effaced.

Rev. (within beaded border)على يدى
صلح

Margin effaced.

Paris I, no. 1671 (16, 2.20); P. Balog Coll. (15, 3.09).

⁶¹ The entire legend is not preserved on any single specimen, and the transcription here is reconstructed from the several examples.

⁶² With some probable misreadings.

⁶³ Published in *RIC*, no. 404.

⁶⁴ See G. C. Miles, "Islamic Coins from the Tarsus Excavations of 1935–1937," in *The Aegean and the Near East* (N.Y., 1956), p. 299, no. 8.

(c). As (b), but obverse area:

الامير
•
محفوظ
•

P. Balog Coll. (16.5, 2.91).

(d). As (b), but obverse area:

••
الامير
محفوظ
•

P. Balog Coll. (16, 2.86).

(e). As (a)–(d), but details effaced or not described.

Fraehn, *Recensio*, p. 28**, no. 9, and one other = Tiesenhausen, *op. cit.*, no. 2546; ANS (13, 1.15); Assiut College Museum.⁶⁵

19. No mint. No date. Maḥfūz [b. Sulaymān] and Ṣāliḥ (ca. 186–187 A.H./ca. 802–803 A.D.).

Obv. (within linear border)

الامير
محفوظ

No margin.

Rev. (within linear border)

على يدى
صلح
•••

No margin.

ANS (16, 1.87)⁶⁶ (PLATE XXVII, 14).

The above is a very crude, irregularly shaped cast coin. That copper coins were occasionally cast in Egypt in the early Islamic period is evidenced by the issues of Ashmūn (see nos. 32–37, below).

20. No mint. No date. Maḥfūz [b. Sulaymān] and Ṣāliḥ (ca. 186–187 A.H./ca. 802–803 A.D.).

⁶⁵ Observed by the writer in 1954.

⁶⁶ Published and misread in *RIC*, no. 109.

Obv.

بخ *
* *

Around, in form of square:

بسم الله مما امر به الامير محفوظ

Double linear border with annulets.

ANS (15, 1.65);⁶⁷ ANS (13.5, 1.61) PLATE XXVII, 15);⁶⁷ ANS (13, 1.45), ANS (16, 2.10); P. Balog Coll. (14.5, 2.44);⁶⁸ specimens in M. Jungfleisch Coll.

Finally, perhaps belonging to this series are two *fulūs* with the name of Maḥfūz (?) alone.

21. No mint. No date. Maḥfūz [b. Sulaymān]? (ca. 186–187 A.H./ca. 802–803 A.D. ?).

Obv.

مما امر
به الامير
محفوظ

Double linear border.

Rev.

In center:



Margin: محمد رسول الله على يدي صالح

Rev.

• بخ •
محمد
رسول
الله

Double linear border with 5 annulets.

Paris I, no. 1672 (15, 1.80).

22. No mint. No date. Maḥfūz [b. Sulaymān]? (ca. 186–187 A.H./ca. 802–803 A.D. ?).

Obv.

امر
الامير
محفوظ

Rev.

محمد
رسول
الله

Castiglioni, *Milano*, p. 44, no. LVI = Tiesenhausen, *op. cit.*, no. 2544.⁶⁹

The next attributable issues are those of al-Sari b. al-Ḥakam early in the 3rd century of the Hijrah (nos. 23–26).

⁶⁷ Published in *RIC*, nos. 405–406.

⁶⁸ Outer obverse border of herringbone form.

⁶⁹ The engraving in Castiglioni seems to indicate that the name is Maḥfūz, not Maḥmūd.

23. No mint. No date. Al-Sari b. al-Ḥakam and 'Abd al-'Azīz b. al-Wazīr al-Jarawī (ca. 200–203 A.H./ca. 816–819 A.D.).

(a). *Obv.*

مما امر به
الامير السر
ى بن الحكم
.U.

Rev.

على يدى
عبد العزيز
بن الوزير الجر
وى

Margin: لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له

Beaded border.

بسم الله محمد [رسول] الله

Beaded border.

Castiglioni, p. 251, no. CCXXI;⁷⁰ ANS (20, 7.52) PLATE XXVII,16; ANS (19, 6.78).

(b). As (a), but ornaments beneath obverse not described, last line of reverse transcribed, [ى] بن الوزير الجر, and margins effaced.

Paris I, no. 1651 (18, 6.50).

24. Miṣr. Date effaced. Al-Sari b. al-Ḥakam and Muḥammad b. al-Sari (ca. 203–205/ca. 819–820 A.D.).

(a). *Obv.*

مما امر به
الامير السرى
بن الحكم
يزيد

Rev.

على يدى
محمد
بن السرى
زياد

Margin:⁷¹ بسم الله [ضرب هذا] الفلاس بمصر

E. von Zambaur, *NZ*, 1914, p. 119, no. 408 (15, 2.93).

(b). Similar to (a), but name beneath obverse area effaced, only ضرب هذا الفلاس preserved in obverse margin, and last two lines of reverse effaced.

Paris I, no. 1652 (13, 2.90).

⁷⁰ Cf. Tiesenhausen, *op. cit.*, no. 1737. Originally inaccurately published, according to Castiglioni, in *Museo Arigoni, Tom. III, Numi Arab.*, Tab. XIII, no. 40.

⁷¹ Zambaur dates the coin "200?", but it is impossible to tell from his description whether he has assumed 200 to be the date, or whether he believed that he could read 200 on the coin; the date is given in brackets: [سنة مائتين]. The coin is not illustrated.

25. No mint. No date. Al-Sari b. al-Ḥakam and Naṣr (?) (ca. 203–205 A.H./ ca. 819–820 A.D.).

(a). *Obv.*

•
لا اله الا
الله محمد
رسول الله

Rev.

مما امر به
الامير [سرى]
على يدى نص [ر]

Paris I, no. 1653 (15, 3.30).

(b). Obverse similar to (a), but no pellet, and † beneath; reverse similar to (a), but last line: على يد

M. Jungfleisch Coll. (15, 3.21).

26. No mint. No date. Al-Sari b. al-Ḥakam and Ṣāliḥ..... (ca. 203–205 A.H./ ca. 819–820 A.D.).

Obv.

الامير
السرى
بن الحكم

Rev.

على يدى
صلح
.....

Berlin I, no. 2247 (13.5).

Al-Sari b. al-Ḥakam, whose name is also present on dinars of Egypt of the years 200–205 inclusive,⁷² was Governor and Finance Director of Egypt from 1 Ramaḍān, 200, until 30 Jumādā I, 205, except for a brief interval during a revolt in the year 201. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. al-Wazīr al-Jarawī, who appears as prefect on the reverses of nos. 23(a) and (b), was Commandant of the Guard and an active military figure at this time. It was he who led the fight against al-Sari’s predecessor in office, al-Muṭṭalib b. ‘Abdullāh, and who freed al-Sari from jail on condition that he would carry on the opposition. The coins bearing both their names must date some time between 200 and 203, for in the latter year ‘Abd al-‘Azīz rose against al-Sari in Alexandria and later attacked him in Fustāt. Also it is to be assumed that nos. 24(a) and (b), bearing the name of al-Sari’s son and successor, Muḥammad b. al-Sari,⁷³ as prefect, are the next in the series and were struck

⁷² Cf. *ANSMN*, III (1948), pp. 112–113, nos. 135ff.; also on a dirhem of the year 204 (*Berlin I*, no. 1385).

⁷³ His name occurs on dinars of the year 205: cf. *BM I*, no. 256.

between 203 and 205, when al-Sari died and 'Abd al-'Azīz incidentally was killed by his former Andalusian followers in a siege of Alexandria. Muḥammad was also known as abu-Naṣr, and with some hesitation I have attributed no. 25, with the prefect's name Naṣr (?) to him. Muḥammad died in Sha'bān, 206. No. 26 presents an incomplete name on the reverse, Ṣāliḥ Could this be al-Sari's brother al-Ṣāliḥ b. al-Ḥakam, who at one time during al-Sari's governorship was in command of the police?⁷⁴ I have placed this issue at the end of the series. As for the two additional names, Yazīd and Ziyād, on no. 24(a), they are unidentified.⁷⁵

A little more than a decade later we meet with another series of Egyptian *fulūs*.

27. No mint. No date. Abu-Ishāq b. al-Rashīd and 'Īṣā b. Maṣṣūr (215–217 A.H./831–832 A.D.).

(a). *Obv.*

*

أبي اسحق

بن الرشيد

• بخ •

Rev.

علي يدي

عيسى بن •

منصور

•

لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له Margin: بسم الله محمد رسول الله... امر به الامير Margin:

ANS (15, 2.38) (PLATE XXVII, 17); Tarsus Excavations, 1935, no. 120 (15).^{75a}

(b). As (a), but no star above obverse area, *أبي اسحق* misread *أبي اسحق* (مما امر) به اسحق, obverse margin effaced; •• beneath reverse area (no pellet after second line), reverse margin: ... وحده....

Paris I, no. 1647 (14, 3.47).

(c). As (a), but obverse margin: ... محمد رسول الله...; ••• beneath reverse area (no pellet after second line); reverse margin: ... الله وحده....

Berlin I, no. 2241 (13).

(d). As (a), but no star above obverse area, obverse margin: ... رسول الله مما امر به... reverse area as (c), reverse margin: لا اله الا... شريك له.

⁷⁴ Al-Kindi, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

⁷⁵ For al-Sari, 'Abd al-'Azīz b. al-Wazīr, and the events of the years 200–205, see *inter alia* al-Maqrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ*, I, pp. 178–179, al-Kindi, *op. cit.*, pp. 147ff., and *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, s.v. al-Sarī; cf. Castiglioni, *Milano*, pp. 251–252; Grohmann, *op. cit.*, p. 216.

^{75a} See p. 300, no. 13, in *op. cit.* above p. 490, no. 64.

M. Jungfleisch Coll. (15, 2.05).

- (e). As (a), but • above obverse area, •✱• beneath, obverse margin effaced; no pellets in reverse area, reverse margin: ...وحده...

Berlin I, no. 2242 (12).

- (f). As (a), but 1st line of obverse misread, no star above, • between 1st and 2nd lines, •• beneath, margin effaced; single pellet only beneath reverse area, and reverse margin: ...وحده لا شريك له.

Paris I, no. 1646 (13, 2.40).

- (g). Obverse effaced, details of reverse not described in full.

Khedivial Library, no. 873.

- (h). As (a), but partially misread, points not recorded, and margin effaced or illegible.

Blau und Stickel, "Zur muhammedanischen Numismatik und Epigraphik," in *ZDMG*, XI (1857), pp. 448-449, no. 8 (cf. L. Krehl in *ZDMG*, XII (1858), p. 264) = Tiesenhausen, *op. cit.*, no. 2646; E. von Bergmann, *ZDMG*, XXIII (1869), pp. 246-247, no. 10 = Tiesenhausen, *op. cit.*, p. 309, no. 2646.

A comparison of the various partially preserved specimens described above makes it clear that the margins of all these varieties read:

بسم الله محمد رسول الله مما امر به الامير

and

لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له

'Isā b. Manṣūr was governor of Egypt on behalf of Abu-Ishāq b. al-Rashīd from the end of 215 A.H. until early in 217, and again, under Abu-Ja'far Ashinās, from 229-233 A.H.⁷⁶ As for Abu-Ishāq b. al-Rashīd (spelled abi-Ishāq on the coins, but if the reconstruction of the marginal legend is correct this is ungrammatical), he was of course one of the sons of the Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd, who later, upon al-Ma'mūn's death, became Caliph himself with the title al-Mu'taṣim and ruled from 218-227 A.H. He was appointed honorary governor of Egypt in Dhu'l-Qa'dah, 213, but did not actually arrive in Fustāṭ until Ramaḍān, 214.⁷⁷ Our coins therefore are to be dated between late 215 and early 217.

⁷⁶ Al-Kindi, *op. cit.*, pp. 190-192, 196; cf. Grohmann, *op. cit.*, p. 216.

⁷⁷ Al-Kindi, *op. cit.*, pp. 185, 188-189, 190. It is interesting to note that there is a dinar of 214 A.H. struck at Miṣr and bearing the name Abu-Ishāq beneath the reverse area (*Berlin I*, no. 1316).

The next issue is an isolated anomaly, a striking in copper with the dies of a dinar.

28. Miṣr. 241 A.H. (855/856 A.D.).

Obv.

لا اله الا

الله وحده

لا شريك له

المعتز بالله

Inner margin: بسم الله ضرب هذا

الدينير بمصر سنة احدى واربعين ومائتين

Outer margin: Qur'ān XXX, 3-4.

Rev.

الله

محمد

رسول

الله

Margin: Qur'ān IX, 33.

Berlin I, no. 2226.

Ṭūlūnid Period

We now arrive at the Ṭūlūnid period, in which at least two issues can definitely be attributed to Fuṣṭāṭ.

29. M r. (Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn). 258 A.H. (872 A.D.).

Obv.

لا اله الا

الله وحده

لا شريك له

• •

Rev.

الله

محمد

رسول

الله

• | ◊ | •

Chain border between two linear borders.

Margin: بسم الله ضرب هذا الفلاس

بمصر سنة ثمان وخمسين مائتين (*sic.*)

Linear border.

F. Soret, "Lettre à M. Lelewel," *RNB*, 1854, pp. 20-21, no. 4 = E. T. Rogers, *The Coins of the Ṭūlūni Dynasty* (London, 1877), p. 16, no. I; F. Soret, "Lettre à M. Dorn, III²," *RNB*, 1856, p. 132, no. 80 = Rogers, *op. cit.*, p. 16, no. II; *Paris III*, no. 14 (19, 1.60); *ANS* (21, fragmentary).

30. Miṣr. (Aḥmad b. Ṭulūn). 259 A.H. (872/873 A.D.).

As no. 29, but date: (*sic.*) تسع خمسين مائتين

ANS (10, 1.88), ANS (20, 1.87),⁷⁸ ANS (19, 2.94)⁷⁸ (PLATE XXVII, 18); UM (19, 2.12) (PLATE XXVII, 19; UM (20, 2.15).

31. Similar to nos. 29 and 30, but dates incompletely preserved.

ANS (19, 2.48), ANS (20, 2.24); J. Yockers Coll. (20, 2.69).

These coins are much thinner than the usual Egyptian fabric, but as the mint name is present there can be no doubt about their attribution to Egypt. Soret supposed that he could read احمد in the symbols beneath the reverse, and in this interpretation he was followed by Casanova in the third volume of the Paris catalogue. An examination of all the specimens that have come to my attention makes it possible for me to state without fear of contradiction that these symbols do not read احمد.⁷⁹ Nor of course do they represent Arabic figures (for 262) as Zambaur proposed and later retracted in connection with the coin mentioned immediately below. I remain at a loss to explain them. They certainly are not ornaments of the usual type commonly found on coins of the Umayyad and 'Abbāsid periods. Are they perhaps of a heraldic nature?^{79a}

It is perhaps debatable whether the above coins should be attributed to Aḥmad b. Ṭulūn. Although by 258 A.H. Aḥmad was in virtual control of all Egypt, it was not until 266 (879/880 A.D.) that he placed his name on the gold coinage. Thus these *fulūs*, as well as the dinars of the period struck in Egypt previous to 266, are either 'Abbāsid or Ṭulūnid, depending on one's "philosophy" in attributing coins of such transitional periods which do not bear distinguishing names. In any case I believe one can be confident that these coppers were issued on Aḥmad's authority.

⁷⁸ These two specimens were published in *RIC*, nos. 392–393; weight of second specimen wrongly given as 2.24.

⁷⁹ Cf. *RIC*, p. 119. My statement there implying that some of these coins do bear the name of Aḥmad should be revised; the only issue with his name actually present is the one mentioned below, this one evidently of North Syrian origin. Also the references in footnotes 232 and 233 on p. 119 of *RIC* should read *NZ* 1904 and 1905 instead of 1905 and 1906.

^{79a} These symbols have recently been discussed by Oleg Grabar in his *The Coinage of the Ṭulūnids*, *NNM*, No. 139 (N.Y., 1957), pp. 30–35.

I am convinced that another copper issue, on which the name of Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn appears in full,⁸⁰ is not an Egyptian issue. This coin appears to be similar to several cast coins found in the Tarsus excavations of 1935–1937,^{80a} together with other coins of Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. Ṭūlūn,⁸¹ who was governor of Ṭarsūs about 279 A.H. There can be little doubt that these were struck at North Syrian or Cilician mints.

Finally we come to a group of curious *fulūs*, hitherto unpublished and of more than casual interest, for they establish the existence of a mint at the city of Ashmūn in Middle Egypt, and thus add a new name to the long list of Moslem mints.

32. Ashmūn. No date? (Ṭūlūnid period, ca. 254–292 A.H./ca. 868–905 A.D.?).

Obv.

۞
 لا اله الا
 • •
 الله محمد
 • ۞ •
 رسول الله
 •

Beaded border.

Possible marginal legend, but nothing legible.

Rev.

۞
 مما عمل
 ۞ •
 بمدينة
 • ۞ •
 اشمون
 ۞ م

Between area and linear border, an illegible marginal legend, part of which appears to face inward.

ANS, 5 specimens (20–21 mm., 3.19, 2.84, 2.81, 2.73, 2.72) (PLATE XXVII, 20–22); M. Bouvier Coll. (1 spec.).

These coins are cast and of very crude, irregular fabric. Of the ANS specimens two have entirely blank reverses and one is almost blank with only faint traces of the legends. All six, together with the coins described below, were acquired in one lot from an Egyptian antique dealer by M. Maurice Bouvier of Alexandria, who generously presented five specimens to the American Numismatic Society.⁸²

⁸⁰ Zambaur, *NZ*, 1904, pp. 74–77, no. 70; cf. *NZ*, 1905, pp. 194–195.

^{80a} See p. 301, no. 20, in *op. cit.* above p. 490, no. 64.

⁸¹ Cf. *Paris I*, no. 1666.

⁸² In the hope of finding more of these coins, perhaps with margins preserved, I visited Ushmūnain in April, 1954, but despite wide inquiries among the local inhabitants, including the well-informed and genial Anwar Zaki Akhnoukh, I was unable to find a single specimen. Nor have I come across any others elsewhere in Egypt or in any public or private collection.

Although a personal name is preserved on some of the associated coins (no. 33, below), there is no clue to the person's identity, and the only evidence for dating the whole group of coins is the epigraphy. I would judge by this latter criterion that these coins cannot be earlier than the middle of the 3rd century of the Hijrah. That they belong to the Ṭulūnid period is a supposition, but not an unlikely one.

As for the mint, it is clear: Madīnat Ashmūn. There can be no doubt that this is the Madīnat Ashmūn of Middle Egypt, the ancient Hermopolis Magna, the modern al-Ushmūnain or al-Ashmūnain, west of the Nile near Mallawi south of al-Minya.⁸³ In early Islamic times the town was divided into an Upper and Lower Ashmūn (أعلى اشمون and أسفل اشمون);⁸⁴ as early as the middle of the 2nd century of the Hijrah the name "al-Ushmūnain" occasionally occurs, but it is not until the 4th century that it completely supersedes the older "Ashmūn." Papyri testify to the importance of the town as a commercial center, and we know among other things that it was famous for its cloth and cheese, and that there was a special Ashmūni weight, the *ratl ashmūni*.⁸⁵

While it is some satisfaction to add these bits of numismatic documentation to the history of Ashmūn, I regret my inability to be more precise about the date. Complete decipherment of the legends on the related coins described below, or the discovery of other specimens of any of these issues would facilitate more accurate attribution.

The fact that these and the following coins are cast, not struck, is of interest, for the great majority of coins of mediaeval Egypt were struck with dies. In all respects (including the rectangular tabs on opposite sides of the flan where the channels connecting the molds were cut off) they resemble the cast coins of Syria and Cilicia which I have discussed elsewhere.⁸⁶ It is significant that many of the latter are Ṭulūnid, as are numerous specimens from the excavations at Tarsus. Could the practice have been brought back to Egypt from Northern Syria by Ṭulūnid governors?

⁸³ For the history of Hermopolis Magna and al-Ushmūnain, see Pauly-Wissowa, *RE*, VIII, s.v.; Adolf Grohmann, "Contributions to the Topography of al-Ushmūnain from Arabic Papyri," in *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte*, XXI (1938-1939), pp. 211-214; Maspero & Wiet, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-21.

⁸⁴ In addition to the papyri cited by Grohmann, see a decree in the name of Hārūn al-Rashīd (170 to 193 A.H.) containing the phrase من ارض كورة أسفل اشمون (*Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe*, V, p. 189, no. 86 bis).

⁸⁵ Grohmann, *op. cit.*, in footnote 83, p. 213. M. Jungfleisch has described a glass *ratl* weight found at al-Ashmūnain: see "Les ratls discoides en verre," in *Bull. Inst. d'Égypte*, X (1927-1928), pp. 68-70.

⁸⁶ *Antioch*, p. 118, nos. 148-153.

The following coins (nos. 33–37), from the same lot or hoard as no. 32, are similar to no. 32 in fabric and style of epigraphy.

33. No mint. No date. (Ṭulūnid period, ca. 254–292 A.H./ca. 868–905 A.D.?).

Obv.

•
لا اله الا
الله محمد
رسول الله
•

Large beaded border (or traces
of marginal legend?).

Rev.

•
مما امر
الامير
يحيى
•

Large beaded border.

M. Bouvier Coll. (2 specimens, 20, 17 mm.).

34. Mint and date effaced. (Ṭulūnid period, ca. 254–292 A.H./ca. 868–905 A.D.?).

Obv.

•
لا اله الا
•
الله وحده
لا شريك له
••

Traces of marginal legend, with:

..... به فص.....

Outer linear border?

Rev.

.....
محمد
رسول
•
الله

Traces of marginal legend.

Outer linear border?

M. Bouvier Coll. (1 specimen, 20 mm.).

35. No mint? No date. (Ṭulūnid period, ca. 254–292 A.H./ca. 868–905 A.D.?).

Obv.

•
لا اله الا
الله
محمد
رسول (؟) اله (؟)

Rev.

.....
محمد
رسول
الله
فصران (؟)

No marginal legend.
Linear border.

No marginal legend.
Linear border.

M. Bouvier Coll. (6 specimens, some faces nearly blank, avg. di. 19 mm).

Is the name beneath the reverse perhaps the same as that in the obverse margin of no. 34?

36. Mint and date effaced? Ṭulūnid period, ca. 254–292 A.H./ca. 868–905 A.D.?).

Obv.

Rev.

لا اله الا

.....

الله وحده

الله

لا شريك له

⁸⁷فاد or فرد (?)

Double border, inner beaded,
outer linear.

Beaded border.
Traces of marginal legend.
Outer linear border.

M. Bouvier Coll. (1 specimen, 19 mm.).

37. Mint and date effaced? (Ṭulūnid period, ca. 254–292 A.H./ca. 868–905 A.D.?).
10 specimens, of which 7 blank or nearly blank, the others with traces of legends, partly unconventional, one with partially preserved but undecipherable marginal legend.

M. Bouvier Coll.

Here ends, so far as I have been able to determine, the bronze coinage of Egypt in the ‘Abbāsid period. The next bronze issues (and we cannot be certain that they were struck in Egypt) are Fāṭimid and date from the middle of the 5th century A.H. (11th century A.D.) and later.⁸⁸

⁸⁷ If the word is فرد (?), cf. other published *fulūs* with this word: e.g., *Paris I*, nos. 1673–1674 (coins of al-Muṭaḍid, 279–289 A.H.), and no. 1666 (Muḥammad b. Mūsā); also Tiesenhausen, *op. cit.*, no. 2163. The word also occurs on several issues of about this date found in the excavations at Tarsus (in *op. cit.* above p. 490, n. 64, see pp. 302–307, nos. 21, 22, 23, 26, 27, and p. 303, where the word is discussed).

⁸⁸ Cf. P. Balog, “Monnaies islamiques rares,” in *Bull. Inst. d’Égypte*, XXXVI (1953–1954), pp. 336ff. The attributions of two *fulūs* to al-Muṭizz and al-Ḥākim by O. Blau, *Die orientalischen Münzen des Museums . . . zu Odessa* (Odessa, 1876), nos. 245–246, are very dubious.

LA TECHNIQUE DES REVERS PARTIELLEMENT INCUS DE MONNAIES PHÉNICIENNES

PAUL NASTER

Certaines monnaies phéniciennes sont caractérisées par une particularité de revers, qui paraît être propre à la région. Il s'agit des revers dont le type se présente pour une bonne part en relief, comme sur des monnaies ordinaires, et pour le reste en creux. Il n'y a que quatre cités phéniciennes qui offrent cette caractéristique, à savoir Arados, Gebal (Byblos), Sidon et Tyr. Pour chaque ville il s'agit d'émissions anciennes, que l'on date communément du Ve siècle et du début du IV^e.¹ Il n'y a d'ailleurs guère d'autre ville de Phénicie qui ait des émissions aussi anciennes.²

A notre connaissance, il n'y a pas encore eu d'essai pour expliquer la singularité technique des revers que nous nous proposons d'étudier.

Il faut aborder le problème par Tyr. Sur les pièces d'une série relativement limitée, comportant des statères, des quarts de statère ou demi-sheqels et des vingt-quatrièmes de statère ou oboles, figurent au droit: un dauphin à dr. au-

¹ Les sources pour l'étude de ces monnayages sont: Jules Rouvier, "Numismatique des villes de la Phénicie", dans *JIAN*, III, 1900, pp. 128 ss. et pl. 5'; IV, 1901, pp. 38 ss. et pl. A'; V, 1902, pp. 99 ss. et pl. V; VI, 1903, pp. 269 ss. et pl. XVIII; Ern. Babelon, *Les Perses achéménides... Chypre & Phénicie* (Paris, 1893); Id., *Traité*, 2^e partie, II (Paris, 1910); G. Fr. Hill, *BMC, Phoenicia* (Londres, 1910).

² Il y a tout au plus des monnayages incertains, cfr. Babelon, *Perses achém.*, pp. 46 s.; Id., *Traité*, 2, II, pp. 497 s.; *BMC, Phoenicia*, pp. CXLIV s.

dessus d'une ligne triple de flots et, en dessous, une coquille de murex; et au revers: un hibou debout à dr. la tête de face, derrière, sceptre crochu et fléau, un contour creux autour du type.³

Les trois principaux auteurs sont d'accord pour considérer ces pièces comme les premières de Tyr et les datent respectivement: Rouvier de 480 environ, E. Babelon de vers 470, dans son *Traité*, et Hill de 450 à 400. Le hibou du revers n'a rien de commun avec la chouette athénienne, mais est d'allure égyptienne et il est semblable à celui qui marque la consonne *m* dans l'écriture hiéroglyphique égyptienne; le sceptre à crochet et le fléau sont les deux emblèmes osiriaques habituels des souverains égyptiens: on les trouve constamment sur les sarcophages anthropomorphes. Ce qui plus est, le procédé de cerner d'un creux les représentations en bas-relief était un procédé artistique exclusivement égyptien et fréquemment employé depuis des siècles: c'est le procédé bien connu sous le nom de "relief dans le creux" (PLANCHE XXVIII, fig. 4a, signe *m* en relief ordinaire montrant bien la ressemblance avec le type tyrien — dans l'écriture égyptienne il y en a avec les oreilles nettement marquées ou sans les oreilles — et fig. 4b, signe *m* en relief dans le creux).⁴ L'art égyptien a depuis très longtemps marqué le style des productions artistiques phéniciennes. L'emprunt à la fois des éléments du type monétaire que nous considérons et du procédé artistique du cerné creux ne doit pas nous surprendre. Encore faut-il expliquer la transposition technique du procédé signalé du bas-relief égyptien en gravure monétaire. C'est évidemment le résultat que le graveur a en vue: la ressemblance avec la technique sculpturale égyptienne.

La surface de départ de la gravure du coin est représentée par le cerné du triple motif du type. On reconnaît bien le plan de cette surface, préparée pour la gravure, le long des deux sceptres sur le statère n° 1 du British Museum (PLANCHE XXVIII, fig. 1),⁵ sur les deux du Cabinet des Médailles à Paris et sur le quart de statère de la collection de Luynes, également à la Bibliothèque Nationale (PLANCHE XXVIII, figs. 2 et 3).⁶ Sur les statères, les trois traits figurant les deux manches des

³ BMC, *Phoenicia*, p. 227, nos 1-3, et pl. XXVIII, 9-11, et XLIV, 1; cfr. Rouvier, *JIAN*, VI (1903), p. 269 et pl. XVIII, 1 et 3 (le renvoi à la fig. 2 semble être erroné); Babelon, *Perses achém.*, pp. 290-291, nos 1979-1981, et pl. XXXV, 1-3; Id., *Traité*, pp. 611-612, nos 980-984, et pl. CXXII, 1-4.

⁴ Les deux exemples proviennent du même endroit et datent du XXI^e siècle av. J.-C.: (4a) Ed. Naville, *The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir el-Bahari*, pt. II (Londres, 1910) = *The Egypt Exploration Fund, Memoir 30*, pl. IX G, et (4b), Id., pt. I (Londres, 1907) = *Memoir 28*, pl. XVIII, malheureusement pas de très bonne facture.

⁵ BMC, *Phoenicia* pl. XXVIII, 9.

⁶ Babelon, *Perses achém.*, pl. XXXV, 1, 2 (notre fig. 2) et 3 (notre fig. 3) = *Traité*, pl. CXXII, respectivement 1, 2 et 4. — Nous avons pu consulter les pièces de Londres et de Paris et disposer des moulages voulus. Nous en remercions vivement les directeurs de ces deux institutions.



1



2



3



4a



4b



5



6



7



8



9



10



11



12



13



14



15



16

symboles et la séparation entre eux ont été gravés, surtout à leur extrémité inférieure, avec un certain manque d'assurance, même sur l'exemplaire de Londres qui ne manque pas ailleurs de fermeté; sur l'exemplaire de Paris reproduit ici, les manches se devinent plus qu'ils ne se voient. Sur les demi-sheqels, deux traits seulement ont été tracés: celui qui devait figurer le fond de la décoration et séparer les deux cernés intérieurs des deux manches a été omis; sur l'exemplaire de Luynes, il est instructif de suivre le cerné continu sous le manche inférieur et autour du battoir du fléau. Sur le statère de la Bibliothèque Nationale que nous montrons, la même chose peut se constater tout autour du type, parce que le cerné est très large.

A partir de cette surface initiale ainsi reconnue, le graveur devait creuser deux choses: le type et ses détails d'une part, le fond de la composition de l'autre. Il n'était sans doute pas facile pour le graveur d'obtenir un "fond" bien plan, lorsqu'il devait le creuser.⁷ Pour s'en convaincre, il suffit de comparer droit et revers des mêmes pièces. Si le graveur du statère de Londres et celui d'un demi-sheqel de la collection de Hirsch au Cabinet des Médailles à Bruxelles y a relativement bien réussi, il n'en va pas de même des graveurs des deux statères de Paris. La partie la plus proéminente du type, l'aile du hibou, est un peu plus saillante, en général, que le champ. Le graveur pouvait d'ailleurs creuser là à sa guise. Au moins est-ce la preuve que le graveur ne faisait pas d'abord un poinçon, pareil à la pièce à obtenir: aucune partie du type n'aurait été plus saillante que le fond.

La technique de gravure des coins de Tyr était donc en somme conforme au procédé habituel de gravure en creux, mais le travail était rendu plus long, parce qu'une plus grande portion de métal devait être enlevée: en plus du type, tout le fond, à part le cerné.

Un autre aspect du problème est représenté par des doubles statères euboïques, des statères persiques et leurs divisions d'Arados, datant du IV^e siècle. Au droit figure une tête masculine laurée et barbue; au revers, une galère au-dessus de trois (sur les petites pièces: deux) lignes brisées ou ondulées représentant les flots. Sous ces flots, on remarque souvent un creux en arc de cercle. Il est parfois entièrement, presque toujours partiellement hors flan.⁸ Il est vraisemblable que ce creux revêt en principe la forme d'un croissant, qui n'est prévu qu'à la partie inférieure de la

⁷ Cfr. nos constatations analogues à propos de "La technique des monnaies incuses de Grande-Grèce", dans *RBN*, 93, 1947, p. 7.

⁸ Rouvier, *op. cit.*, *JIAN*, III, 1900, pp. 128 ss., aucune figure de la planche ζ n'est démonstrative (date: à partir de 450); Babelon, *Perses achém.*, pp. 128 s., pl. XXII, 11, 14, 15, 16 (date: 350-332); Id., *Traité*, pl. CXVI, 19, 22, 25, 29 (date: vers 350); *BMC, Phoenicia*, pp. 4 ss., pl. I, 14, 16, 17, 19, 20 (date: early fourth century).

composition. Sa forme n'apparaît, ce nous semble, qu'une seule fois intégralement, à savoir sur un statère persique conservé au British Museum (PLANCHE XXVIII, fig. 6),⁹ alors que ce genre de pièces n'est pas très rare. Cette dépression ne peut pas être prise pour une espèce de contremarque: en premier lieu, le droit ne porte jamais la moindre trace d'un coup et d'un écrasement; ensuite, il y aurait eu plus d'empreintes mieux placées et mieux marquées, si elles avaient été imprimées après coup: enfin, la pièce de Bruxelles (PLANCHE XXVIII, fig. 5) et celle de la collection McClean (PLANCHE XXVIII, fig. 7)¹⁰ montrent l'éperon de la galère qui se continue dans le creux. Donc, le croissant est présent sur le coin, sous la forme d'un relief aux bords arrondis, et pouvait être entamé par le graveur. La surface du coin est pour le reste bien aplanie au pied de cette proéminence: c'était une opération bien plus aisée que pour les monnaies de Tyr dont il vient d'être question. En effet, à Arados la moitié au moins du pourtour restait libre pour manoeuvrer les instruments et polir la surface. De très légers défauts du champ se remarquent d'ailleurs parfois le long du croissant où le travail de dégagement du métal a été un peu plus difficile; cela se voit notamment sur un exemplaire de Bruxelles, vers la droite (PLANCHE XXVIII, fig. 5).¹¹ Dans cette surface du champ, en empiétant parfois, comme nous venons de le voir, sur le croissant saillant, le graveur taillait le type.

Les monnaies envisagées d'Arados représentent donc de nouveau une variante plus complexe de la technique habituelle de gravure, moins raffinée pourtant qu'à Tyr.

Les monnaies de Byblos et de Sidon qu'il nous reste à considérer peuvent être examinées ensemble. Chronologiquement elles semblent se situer entre celles de Tyr et celles d'Arados dont il a déjà été question. Ici, c'est vraiment un élément important du type qui est en creux. Il s'agit de:

Byblos: *Droit*: Galère à g., en dessous hippocampe à g.

Revers: A. Vautour aux ailes ouvertes, à g. sur bélier en creux à g. (statère);¹²

B. Vautour aux ailes fermées à g. sur bélier en creux à g. (quart de statère);

⁹ BMC, *Phoenicia*, pl. I, 17.

¹⁰ S. W. Grose, *Catal. of the McClean Coll. of Greek Coins (Fitzwilliam Museum)*, III (Cambridge, 1929), n° 9445, pl. 349, 3.

¹¹ BMC, *Phoenicia*, pl. I, 14, 17.

¹² Rouvier, *op. cit.*, *JIAN*, IV, 1901, p. 38, n° 630, pl. A', 4 = BMC, *Phoenicia*, pl. XL, 9.

- C. Légende: Elpaal, roi de Gebal. Lion à g. sur taureau à g. dont le corps est en creux, la tête en relief (statère, quart et divisions).¹³

Sidon: *Droit*: Galère (différents types).

- Revers*: A. Char du roi de Perse à g.; au-dessus, protome incus de bouquetin (double statère);
- B. Char du roi de Perse à g.; en dessous, bouquetin incus à g., retournant la tête (double statère);
- C. Roi de Perse tirant de l'arc à g.; à dr., tête incuse de bouquetin à dr.; à g., tête grotesque incuse (sheqel, divisions).¹⁴

Ici, plus que n'importe où, on pourrait être tenté de considérer ces béliers, taureaux, bouquetins ou têtes comme poinçonnages après frappe. C'est d'autant plus vrai que parfois, notamment dans la série C de Byblos, le mufle et la patte antérieure droite du lion qui dévore le taureau paraissent être légèrement oblitérés par l'impression du corps du taureau en creux, si l'on en juge, pour un statère de Paris, d'après la reproduction du catalogue de Babelon et celles qui en dépendent dans le *Traité* du même auteur ou le catalogue du British Museum (PLANCHE XXVIII, fig. 16).¹⁵ Mais, en examinant la pièce ou un moulage, on voit que l'on est victime d'un effet d'usure de la pièce et que les courbes du museau du lion et du dos du taureau sont bien tangentes, ou même, plus exactement, que le bout du museau et l'extrémité de la patte du lion empiètent légèrement sur le dos du taureau. Que ces figures en creux ne doivent pas être prises pour des poinçonnages nous paraît déjà évident par le fait qu'il n'y a aucune déformation par écrasement de l'autre face; qu'il n'y a aucun refoulement de métal le long des bords de la partie

¹³ Rouvier, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-40, n^{os} 630-636, pl. A', 4-7 (date: 410-360 environ); Babelon, *Perses achém.*, pp. 192 s., n^{os} 1342-1353, pl. XXVI, 11-17 (date: id.); Id., *Traité*, pp. 535-537, n^{os} 858-867, pl. CXVII, 11-18 (date: id.); BMC, *Phoenicia*, p. 94, n^{os} 1-3, pl. XI, 9-11, et pl. XL, 9-14 (date: début IV^e siècle, avant 362). Il nous semble que pour les types de revers A et B, le terme "bélier" choisi par les auteurs cités est discutable. Cette discussion ne trouve toutefois pas sa place dans la présente étude.

¹⁴ Rouvier, *op. cit.*, *JIAN*, V, 1902, pp. 99-103, n^{os} 1077, 1078, 1082-1084, 1086, 1087, 1089, 1091, 1093, pl. V, 1-6 (date: 480-405); Babelon, *Perses achém.*, pp. 228-230, n^{os} 1563, 1565-1567, 1572, 1573, pl. XXIX, 19, 21, 22, 25 (date: avant 374-362); Id., *Traité*, pp. 547-562, n^{os} 884, 885, 889-897, 903, 905, pl. CXVIII, 1, 2, 6, 9-11, 13, 18 (date: vers 475 - vers 400); BMC, *Phoenicia*, pp. 139-142, n^{os} 1, 2, 4-8, 14-16, pl. XVII, 12, 13; XVIII, 2, 4, 10, 11; XLII, 11 (date: fin du V^e s. - 384).

¹⁵ Babelon, *Perses achém.*, pl. XXVI, 12; Id., *Traité*, pl. CXVIII, 12; BMC, *Phoenicia*, pl. XL, 12.

incuse et que, précisément, les différents éléments — en creux ou en relief — s'emboîtent, se superposent si exactement, p. ex. les serres du vautour dans le creux du dos et sur la cuisse du bouquetin dans les revers B de Byblos.

Pour avoir tous ses apaisements il faudrait disposer de deux pièces provenant d'un même coin de revers. Il est regrettable que nous n'ayons pu consulter d'une documentation aussi fournie que celle qu'avait réunie Rouvier, auteur qui, malheureusement, ne semble pas avoir eu notion de la caractéroscopie ou étude des coins. Néanmoins, nous croyons pouvoir relever une fois pareille identité: un quart de statère de Byblos type A de Londres et un de Paris (PLANCHE XXVIII, figs. 14 et 15).¹⁶ Trop d'éléments hors flan soit à l'une, soit à l'autre pièce et l'état de frappe ou de conservation moins satisfaisant de celle de Paris, empêchent d'être tout à fait affirmatif. Mais, en dehors de ce cas, par un examen attentif du matériel dont nous disposons, il est possible de faire suffisamment de constatations. On est frappé en premier lieu par un fait: certains animaux ou symboles incus ont le fond parfaitement plan, peu creusé et sans souci plastique: dans Byblos B, Sidon A, B et C; les autres présentent un modelé plus ou moins bien exécuté: dans Byblos A,¹⁷ C et bon nombre de Sidon B.

Il convient d'examiner d'abord les creux à fond plan. Ce plan nous a paru particulièrement caractérisé dans l'exemplaire du demi-sheqel de Luynes n° 3133¹⁸ de Byblos B (PLANCHE XXVIII, fig. 8) et dans les deux exemplaires des doubles statères de Sidon C de la collection de Hirsch à Bruxelles (PLANCHE XXVIII, figs. 9 et 10).¹⁹ De rares détails de la tête, de l'encolure, du corps sont très légèrement indiqués de manière linéaire. Dans d'autres exemplaires de ces séries, les détails sont un peu plus accusés, mais toujours de manière linéaire. Ce n'est que dans le protome de bouquetin de Sidon A du British Museum²⁰ (PLANCHE XXVIII, fig. 11) que le cou est — toujours dans le creux — en légère saillie sur la partie représentée du corps; la tête est un peu modelée. Il est évident que nous nous trouvons ici très

¹⁶ *BMC, Phoenicia*, pl. XI, 11, et Babelon, *Perses achém.*, pl. XXVI, 14: la constatation nous paraît impossible à faire d'après ces reproductions.

¹⁷ Non d'après les reproductions de l'exemplaire d'Athènes signalées n. 12, mais d'après celui de Vienne, que nous avons pu examiner quand ces pages étaient déjà sous presse.

¹⁸ Jean Babelon, *Catalogue de la Collection de Luynes. Monnaies grecques*, III (Paris, 1930), n° 3133 = Babelon, *Perses achém.*, pl. XXVI, 11, où on a la fausse impression d'une très grande plasticité = Id., *Traité*, III, 2, pl. CXVII, 11.

¹⁹ N° 1739 (cf. Rouvier, *JIAN*, V, 1902, p. 101, n° 1084) et n° 1740 du catalogue par nous même, actuellement sous presse.

²⁰ *BMC, Phoenicia*, pl. XVII, 12.

près du cas des monnaies de Tyr étudiées ci-dessus : le plan des éléments incus représente le plan de départ de la gravure du coin. En partant de ce plan, le graveur a ravalé le plan du champ qui présente — comme il fallait s'y attendre — quelques irrégularités, p. ex. un plan incliné de 2 mm de large environ le long du protome de bouquetin, sur toute la largeur de la pièce, sur le double statère de Sidon signalé en dernier lieu ; une petite crête, provenant d'un ravalement trop profond, autour des cornes du bouquetin sur un autre exemplaire de Luynes (n° 3134²¹) du demi-sheqel de Byblos B (PLANCHE XXVIII, fig. 12) ; on remarquera également une certaine imprécision dans le plan du champ de la pièce de Bruxelles reproduite fig. 10. Dans cette nouvelle surface, le graveur a creusé la partie du type à obtenir en relief. D'autre part, dans le plan épargné pour en faire la partie incuse du type, il a indiqué sommairement quelques rares détails par de modestes sillons : travail timide, parce que le graveur monétaire n'est pas habitué au travail en camée, qui est d'ailleurs d'invention récente à cette époque et très peu répandue.²²

Les monnaies qui présentent une partie incuse avec modelé et effet plastique sont en premier lieu des pièces du type Sidon B, comme celles de Paris ou de Londres, où l'impression de plasticité provient avant tout d'un plus grand nombre de détails intérieurs dans la partie incuse, c.-à-d. dans la partie épargnée du plan initial du coin (PLANCHE XXVIII, fig. 13).²³ Rien, sinon un peu plus de fini, les distingue au point de vue technique des précédentes. Il y a en second lieu les monnaies d'Elpaal de Byblos de type C : un lion attaque un taureau qui s'est effondré et dont le corps — et pas la tête — est en creux. Le creux de ce corps est fort accusé, arrondi. Mais le rendu des détails anatomiques de l'animal et celui de la délimitation de ses divers membres est plus que sommaire. Au point de vue de l'exécution du coin, nous avons ici, avec l'arrondi du croissant d'Arados, le procédé de taille en deux étapes comme dans tous les cas précédents : d'abord ravalement du plan du champ, pendant qu'on épargne la masse du corps de l'animal ; ensuite, gravure

²¹ J. Babelon, *Catal. Coll. de Luynes*, pl. CXIII, 3134 (représentation insuffisante, à redresser de près d'un quart de tour).

²² Ad. Furtwaengler, *Die antiken Gemmen*, III (Berlin, 1900), p. 151 (les plus anciens camées ne seraient pas antérieurs à Alexandre) ; Babelon, *Catal. des camées ... de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1897), pp. XXXV-XXXVII (date les plus anciens du courant du V^e siècle). Dans notre mémoire "La technique des monnaies incuses de Grande-Grèce", dans *RBN*, 93 (1947), pp. 5-17, où nous avons défendu la thèse de la gravure directe des coins en relief pour les revers incus, nous aurions pu insister davantage sur la différence qui caractérise l'aspect et le style des revers des incuses de Grande-Grèce par rapport au droit : les coins de revers sont beaucoup moins bien gravés, précisément à cause du manque d'habitude.

²³ C'est la pièce BMC, *Phoenicia*, pl. XVIII, 4.

en creux de type en relief et, de plus, modelage et gravure des détails de la partie épargnée. Que l'extrémité du museau et de la patte du lion empiètent légèrement sur le dos du taureau sur la pièce déjà signalée de Paris (PLANCHE XXVIII, fig. 16)²⁴ est bien la preuve du processus: la gravure en creux du lion dans le coin a entamé la masse épargnée pour constituer le corps incus du taureau. Malheureusement, la plupart de ces tout petits indices disparaissent sur les reproductions. Sur la pièce du British Museum (PLANCHE XXVIII, fig. 14),²⁵ le champ descend, en dessous du corps de taureau incus, en plan incliné vers ce creux particulièrement profond. Pareil plan incliné est dû à un ravalement insuffisant du champ autour de la partie initiale épargnée du coin. Sur la pièce de Paris qui est présumée être de même coin de revers, cette partie est malheureusement hors flan.

On pourrait entrer dans plus de détails encore, également pour les séries de revers Byblos A et Sidon C. De bonnes reproductions²⁶ montrent, en dépit de leurs insuffisances, que la solution du problème est la même.

Malgré les apparences de premier abord et les différences d'aspect, la technique pratiquée par les villes de Tyr, Arados, Byblos et Sidon est au fond chaque fois la même et est une simple variante de la technique habituelle ou, si l'on veut, elle est la somme de la technique habituelle de gravure en creux et de la gravure de coins pour incuses telle qu'elle se pratiquait en Grande-Grèce. L'origine n'en est toutefois pas une influence de l'Italie méridionale. Nous considérons qu'il faut la chercher dans la préoccupation des graveurs de Tyr d'obtenir un type monétaire d'aspect conforme à celui du bas-relief égyptien dans le creux. Ensuite, les trois autres grandes cités phéniciennes ont adopté et adapté cette technique, chacune de manière particulière. A notre connaissance, elles sont restées seules à l'appliquer²⁷ et il est intéressant de noter qu'elles forment groupe, disons "école", tout comme la douzaine de villes de Grande-Grèce l'avaient fait pour les incuses.

²⁴ Voir n. 15.

²⁵ *BMC, Phoenicia*, pl. XI, 11.

²⁶ Pour Byblos A, voir n. 12. Pour le type Sidon C, un peu complexe de composition: *BMC, Phoenicia*, pl. XVII, 13, et XLII, 11 (cfr. pour la tête de bouquetin le traitement de celle du prototype *BMC, Phoenicia*, pl. XVII, 12).

²⁷ Un instant nous avons cru, d'après la pièce de Hirsch n° 1611 à Bruxelles, qu'un symbole, une feuille de lierre, sur des monnaies d'Idalion dans l'île de Chypre était également incus à l'imitation du procédé phénicien; mais il paraît plus sage de se ranger à l'avis de G. Fr. Hill, auteur de *BMC, Cyprus*, qui a eu une vingtaine d'exemplaires à sa disposition, pp. 26-28, nos 10-28, et pl. V, 9-16, et s'exprime ainsi: "outline of ivy-leaf". Nous avons étudié jadis un procédé différent de fabrication des coins pour "Les Monnaies d'Olympie à lettres incuses", dans *RBN*, 92 (1940-1946), pp. 7-12.

Nous avons essayé de jeter quelque lumière sur un point de technique monétaire grecque,²⁸ dont on constate, au fur et à mesure qu'on l'étudie, combien elle était variée; un peu de lumière également sur ces anciens monnayages phéniciens, dont, en somme, on sait encore si peu. Les attributions mêmes à Arados, Sidon et Tyr, bien que probables, sont toujours conjecturales, on le perd trop de vue depuis les travaux de J. P. Six, E. Babelon et J. Rouvier qui se situent entre 1877 et le début de ce siècle; seule l'attribution à Gebal/Byblos est certaine grâce aux légendes monétaires explicites qui ne demandent pas à être interprétées, mais simplement à être lues.²⁹

²⁸ Ne fût-ce que pour voir éviter à l'avenir des expressions comme: "cadavre d'un bouquetin gravé en creux", comme il s'en trouve sous la plume de Rouvier et E. Babelon, alors que justement dans le travail de *gravure* du coin le bouquetin est en relief; ou le terme "contremarque" employé explicitement par J. P. Six, "Observations sur les monnaies phéniciennes", dans *NC*, 2d s., XVII (1877), pp. 177-241.

²⁹ Note pour PLANCHE XXVIII: Fig. 4 (Naville, voir n. 4 above); fig. 6 (*BMC, Phoenicia*, pl. I, 17); fig. 7 (*Catal. McClean Coll.*, pl. 349, 3); les autres d'après des moulages: 1, 11, 13, 14 de Londres; 2, 3, 8, 12, 15, 16 de Paris; 5, 9, 10 de Bruxelles. Les photographies des moulages ont été faites sous des éclairages différents, ce qui peut dérouter quand on jette un coup d'oeil d'ensemble sur la planche: il fallait essayer de faire ressortir les détails étudiés et signalés, mais la réussite n'est pas toujours entière, p. ex. pour la fig. 16.

A HOARD OF THE FIRST SILVER COINS OF NUEVO REINO DE GRANADA (COLOMBIA)

R. I. NESMITH

The earliest coins of the Spanish Colonial viceroyalty of Nuevo Reino de Granada were struck during the reign of Philip IV, 1621-1665. Due to the rarity of both the gold and the silver issues, little has been known or published on this coinage. Many denominations and varieties had not been seen until the present hoard was found in Colombia by Mr. Clyde Hubbard of Mexico City, where by some lucky chance they had escaped the melting pot. The coins described and illustrated are of unusual interest to students and collectors of Spanish Colonial issues as they are in the most part unknown and unpublished until now.

Although the hoard contains only two examples of the 8 reales denominations of the first and second design, they are of such extreme rarity that the first was unknown to Herrera and the second design only by four examples, for a period of 125 years spread over three reigns. Herrera read the mint mark, NR, (for Nuevo Reino) as Nicaragua and listed the coins under that country.¹

Some impetus was given to the first gold coinage of this country when, in 1936, workmen discovered a hoard of double escudos (or pistoles) of Philip IV (cf. PLATE XXX,A) along the bank of the Magdalena River, near El Mesuno.² A few of the

¹ Adolfo Herrera, *El Duro* (Madrid, 1914), pp. 236, 237, nos. 791 (1662); 792 (1662 cstp. toison d'or); 793 (1690 drawing from A. Weyl); 794 (ph. V); pl. XVIII, nos. 4, 5, 6.

² *Revista del Banco de la Republica*, Bogotá, Colombia, Nov. 1936, p. 385, reprinted in *The Coin Collector's Journal*, June, 1937. See also C. S. Wilcox, *The Numismatic Review*, December, 1943, "The Spanish Gold Treasure of El Mesuno."

pieces were dated 1635. They are similar to the Spanish coins of the period except that the mint mark is NR over A (for the assayer), and that the pomegranate (for Granada), usually placed in the center of the Shield of Spain, is at the bottom. This hoard received some attention as the coins were generally unknown except for examples in the American Numismatic Society and those mentioned by Heiss and Vidal Quadras.³

In 1953, the first important study of the coinages of Nuevo Reino de Granada was published by the well-known Spanish numismatist, F. Xavier Calicó.⁴ He covers the history of the mint and devotes much of his work to the gold coins, which have been easier to find than the silver issues.

The privilege of minting in Nuevo Reino was granted to Alvaro Turrillo de Yebra in 1620.⁵ According to the great Chilean numismatist, J. T. Medina, Turrillo planned a mint at Cartagena, but met with difficulties and in 1622 founded the first mint at Santa Fe de Bogotá.⁶ In 1626 he returned to Spain and obtained a new concession to coin in Nuevo Reino. Whether a mint ever operated at Cartagena is problematical. An 8 reales dated 1655 exists without the mint mark NR but showing what might be a C (Cartagena?).⁷ Dasi believes this to be a pomegranate similar to that appearing on an 8 reales of 1662 in the Salbach-Newcomber collection.⁸ A one-real in the present hoard plainly shows the C but more evidence would be necessary to prove that these pieces were struck at Cartagena.

As with all hammer-struck coins it is hardly possible to classify the coins into die varieties. This is due principally to the fact that most hammer-struck coins are double struck and that the entire die design seldom shows on the small cob type planchets. It is possible to group the pieces by the designs of the punches used to make the dies even when the dates are off the planchets.

The first coinage from the Bogotá mint was of a design similar to that used in Spain at the time showing the shield on the obverse and a cross with castles and lions on the reverse. When the new mint at Bogotá began coining, the only other

³ A. Heiss, *Descripción General de las Monedas Hispano-Cristianas* (Madrid, 1865), Vol. I, p. 175, pl. 34/6 and *Catálogo de la Colección de Monedas y Medallas de Manuel Vidal Quadras y Ramon* (Barcelona, 1892).

⁴ F. Xavier Calicó, *Aportación a la Historia Monetaria de Santa Fe de Bogotá (Colombia)* (Barcelona, 1953).

⁵ Calicó, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

⁶ J. T. Medina, *Las Monedas Coloniales Hispano-Americanas* (Santiago de Chile, 1919), p. 251.

⁷ *Catalogue of the Collection of Julius Gutttag* (New York, 1929), p. 141.

⁸ Tomás Dasi, *Estudio de los Reales de a Ocho* (Valencia, 1950-51), Vol. II, p. 183.

mints operating in the New World were at Mexico City and at Potosí (Peru). Mexico was using an M and Potosí was using a P. The Nuevo Reino mint at Bogotá used the mark NR. Besides this distinction, the pomegranate for Granada on the NR coinage appears at the bottom of the shield. On the smaller coins this is a mere dot in a triangle and on some is indistinguishable.

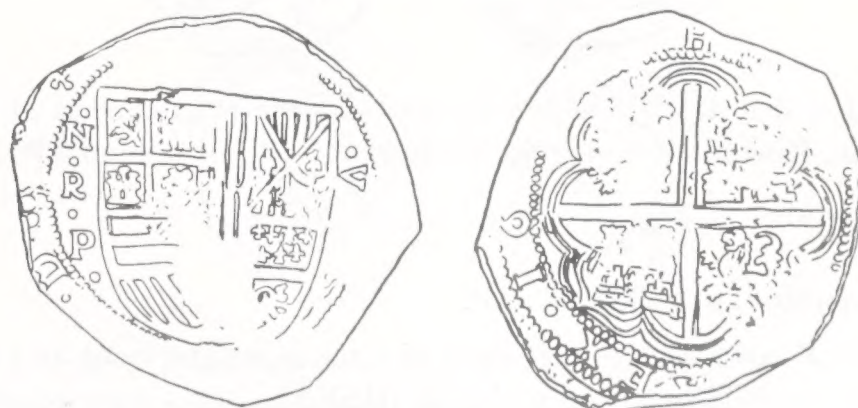
The second design adopted about 1650 by the Bogotá mint was, on the obverse, a shield with castles and lions in the quarters with a pomegranate in the base. Pillars dividing PLVS VLTRA appeared on the reverse with the mint and assayer's signs. This design was somewhat modified in details on the following coinages of 1656-1670 and the assayer's sign appears as P, P⁰R, and P⁰RS. The writer believes this to signify Pedro R (odrique)s, or a similar name.

This hoard comprises a total of 46 coins divided as follows:

1 silver cuartilla	(castle and lion design).
8 half-reals	(monogram PHS and cross design).
15 one-reals	(1st design, shield and cross).
11 one-reals	(2nd design, shield and pillars).
5 two-reales	(1st design, shield and cross).
1 two-reales	(2nd design, shield and pillars).
1 four-reales	(1st design).
2 four-reales	(2nd design).
1 eight-reales	(1st design).
1 eight-reales	(2nd design).

Although the dates on many are off the planchets, the readable dates of the first design are 1627, 1628, 1630 and 1647. Of the second series the dates 1651, 1652, 1653, 1655, 1657, 1658 and 1662 are found. All are of the reign of Philip IV.

The First Coinage of Nuevo Reino de Granada (Colombia).



Philip IV – circa 1630-40. Unpublished variety.

1. 8 reales – *Obv.* Shield, (crowned) with the arms of Castile, Leon, Aragon, Naples and Sicily, Austria, Burgundy, Brabant, Flanders and Tyrol with Granada at the bottom point of shield. Legend is off blank or unreadable, double struck. PLATE XXIX, 1.

$\begin{smallmatrix} \cdot \\ \text{N} \\ \cdot \\ \text{R} \\ \cdot \\ \text{P} \\ \cdot \end{smallmatrix}$ Nuevo Reino mint at left of shield.
 $\begin{smallmatrix} \cdot \\ \text{V} \\ \cdot \\ \text{III} \\ \cdot \end{smallmatrix}$ Assayer's sign
 $\begin{smallmatrix} \cdot \\ \text{V} \\ \cdot \\ \text{III} \\ \cdot \end{smallmatrix}$ Denomination .VIII. at right of shield.

Rev. Equilateral cross between double semicircles, with Lions and castles in the quarters. Legend:EX · 16 (??). Weight 27 grms.

The lions and castles on both the obverse and the reverse are transposed into the wrong quarters of shields by die-maker's errors.

Two other similar examples but with minor differences are known. The first in Fabrica de Moneda de Madrid is described by Calico, *op. cit.*, p. 27, and the castles and lions are also transposed, but the .N.R.P. appears at the right of the shield and the .VIII. at the left. The second example in the collection of Theodore Pyfrom of Nassau is described in A.J.S. McNickle, *The Lost Treasure of King Philip IV* (Nassau, 1953). On this piece the castles and lions are in the correct positions. .N.R.?. appears at right of shield and only the numeral 9. in the date, leading McNickle to date the piece as 1649.

See also Juan Valenti, "Un Duro Inedito Acunado de Santa Fe de Bogotà," in *Boletín Ibero-Americana de Numismática*, no. 16-17 (New York, 1951).



2. Philip IV. 4 reales. *Obv.* Shield with pomegranate for Granada at base of shield in small triangle. Mint mark and assayer's sign at left, but unreadable. PLATE XXIX, 2.

$\begin{smallmatrix} \cdot \\ \text{II} \\ \cdot \\ \text{II} \\ \cdot \end{smallmatrix}$ Denomination
 $\begin{smallmatrix} \cdot \\ \text{II} \\ \cdot \\ \text{II} \\ \cdot \end{smallmatrix}$ and
 $\begin{smallmatrix} \cdot \\ \text{T} \\ \cdot \end{smallmatrix}$ T (for Turrillo?) at right of shield.

Rev. Equilateral cross with double lines of semicircles and lions and castles in reverse positions. Legend begins at 9 o'clock HISPAN.....162 (??)

Unpublished and unknown denomination.

Weight 13.65 grms.



- 3a. Philip IV. 2 reales. Dated 1627. The earliest date found on coins from this country. Unknown and unpublished. PLATE XXIX,3a.

Obv. Crowned shield, castles and lions in reverse positions, pomegranate in base of shield. ·N·R· (vertically) at left.

Legend:(II)II·D·G·

Rev. Equilateral cross inside double lines of semicircles, with castles and lions in reverse positions.

Legend:PAN..... EX·1627·

Weight 6.65 grms.



- 3b. Philip IV. 2 reales. Dated 162(7). Similar to 3a. Unpublished. PLATE XXIX,3b.

Obv. Crowned shield, castles and lions in reverse positions, pomegranate in base of shield.

Legend off blank. II
P Denomination and assayer's sign at right of shield.

Rev. Cross with lions and castles in reverse positions. So badly double struck that they appear partly upside down and the date comes over the IIII.

Weight 6.64 grms.



- 3c. Philip IV. 2 reales. Dated (16)30 weakly. Large size blank for this denomination and dies were made with a different set of punches from 3a and 3b. The castles and lions are in their correct positions on both sides. PLATE XXIX,3c.

Obv. Crowned shield with N at left and $\frac{II}{P}$ at right.
(R) P (or R)

Rev. Cross. Legend: HISPA...RVM· REX· 1(6)30 ∴
Unpublished.

Weight 6.85 grms.



- 3d. Philip IV. 2 reales. Dated 1647. Large size with punches similar to 3c in design but worn. Castles and lions in correct positions. PLATE XXIX, 3d.

Obv. Crowned shield, with pomegranate in base at point.

$\frac{(N)}{R}$ at left and $\frac{II}{R}$ at right

Legend: ..HILI.....IIII·

Rev. Cross. Legend: HI.....REX·1647·
Unpublished.

Weight 6.88 grms.



- 3e. Philip IV. 2 reales. Date unreadable. Dies made with similar punches to those used in 3c. and 3d. Castles and lions in correct positions. PLATE XXIX, 3e.

Obv. Crowned shield, with pomegranate at base.

$\frac{(N)}{R}$ at left as on the 2 escudo gold coins of El Mesuno Hoard.
A at right, $\frac{II}{P}$ (possibly over R?)

Legend:ILIPPVS·III(I)

Rev. Cross. Legend: HIS...ANIA... and unreadable date.
Unpublished.

Weight 6.67 grms.



- 4a. Philip IV. One-real. Dated 1627. The earliest date found on coins of this country. It is also found on the 2 reales, 3a. and the following reales, 4b, 4c, which definitely establishes this coinage for an earlier date than hitherto known from the Santa Fe de Bogotá mint. The following series of reales are all unpublished. PLATE XXIX, 4a.

Obv. Crowned shield, with castles and lions in reverse positions.

·
N at left. The R punch has a broken leg which might be misread as P.

·
R Marks at right unreadable .

The pomegranate which usually appears at base of shield on coins from this country has been crowded off the die by lack of space, but it is missing from the center of the shields where it did appear on coins of Mexico and Peru.

Legend: P.....IIII·DG

Rev. Cross, with castles and lions in reversed positions.

Legend: HIS.....(I)627.

Weight 3.20 grms.



- 4b. Philip IV. One-real. Dated 1627. Similar type to 4a. Marks at left of shield off blank, but at right appear as

PLATE XXIX, 4b.

·
I denomination *Obv.* legend: PHIL.....

·
P assayer's sign *Rev.* legend: HIS..... (I)627.

Weight 3.32 grms.

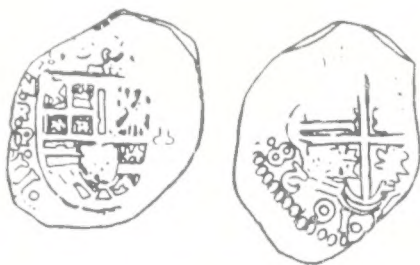


- 4c. Philip IV. One-real. Dated 1627. Similar type to 4a and 4b with obverse badly damaged, although I at right of shield and PHIL..... are readable. PLATE XXIX, 4c.

Rev. Cross, with castles and lions in reverse positions and legend readsREX.
1627.

Castles and lions in reverse positions.

Weight 3.30 grms.



- 4d. Philip IV. One-real. Dated 1628. Similar to 4a to 4c with castles and lions in reversed positions. The small triangle at base of shield, for pomegranate shows as does

N
R
P

at left and I at right.

PLATE XXIX, 4d.
Weight 3.07 grms.



- 4e. Phillip IV. One-real. Dated but off blank. Similar design to above, shield and cross type with castles and lions in reverse positions.

PLATE XXIX, 4e.

At left of shield: N
R and at right: I
P

Obv. legend:ILIPPUS.....DG

Rev. legend: ..ISPANIARV...REX · 16.....

Weight 3.18 grms.

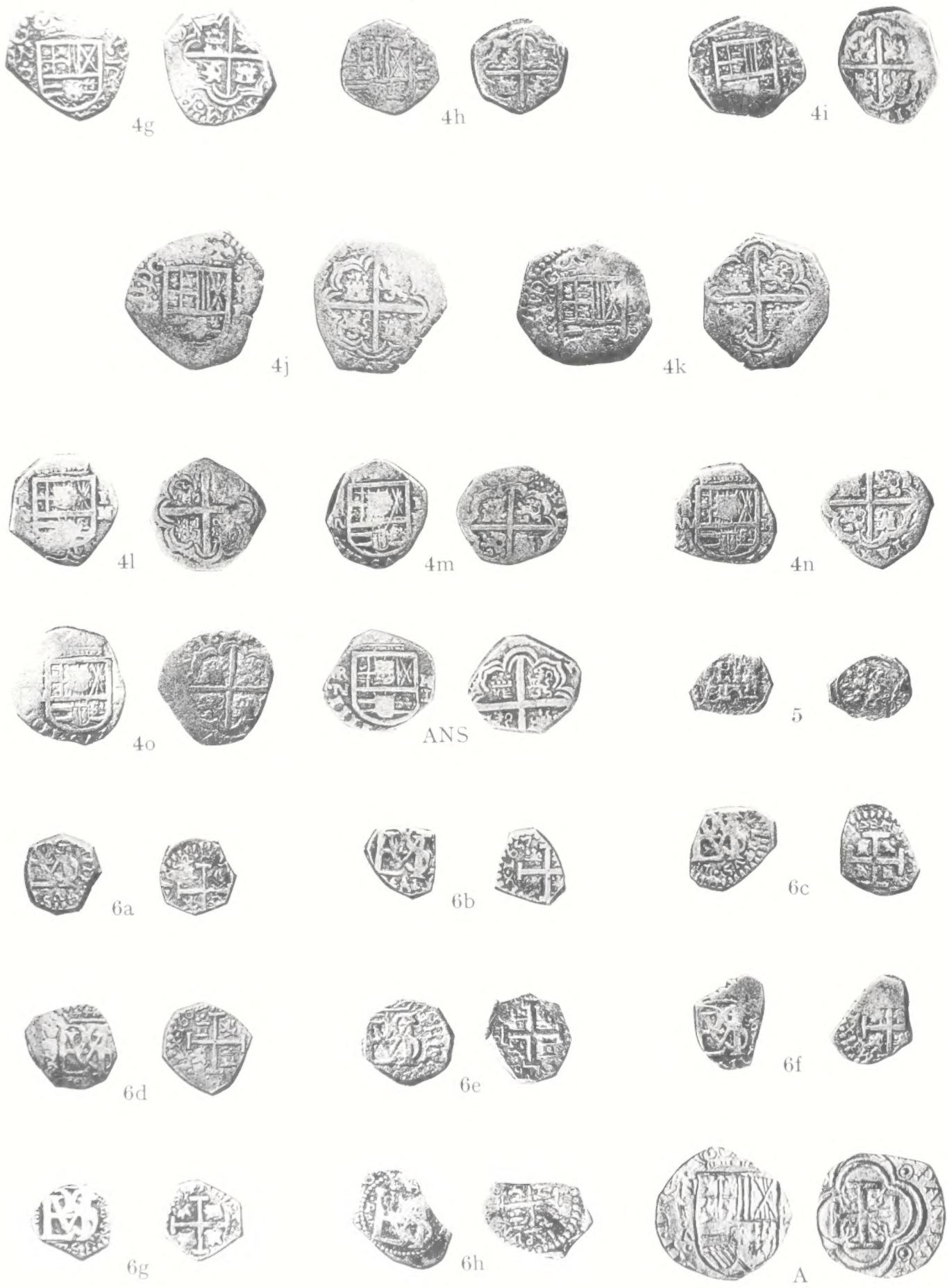


- 4f. Philip IV. One-real. Similar to above. Small, thick blank. Obverse dies appear to be the same as 4e, 4j and 4k · and reverse dies the same or similar. PLATE XXIX, 4f.
Date is off blank.

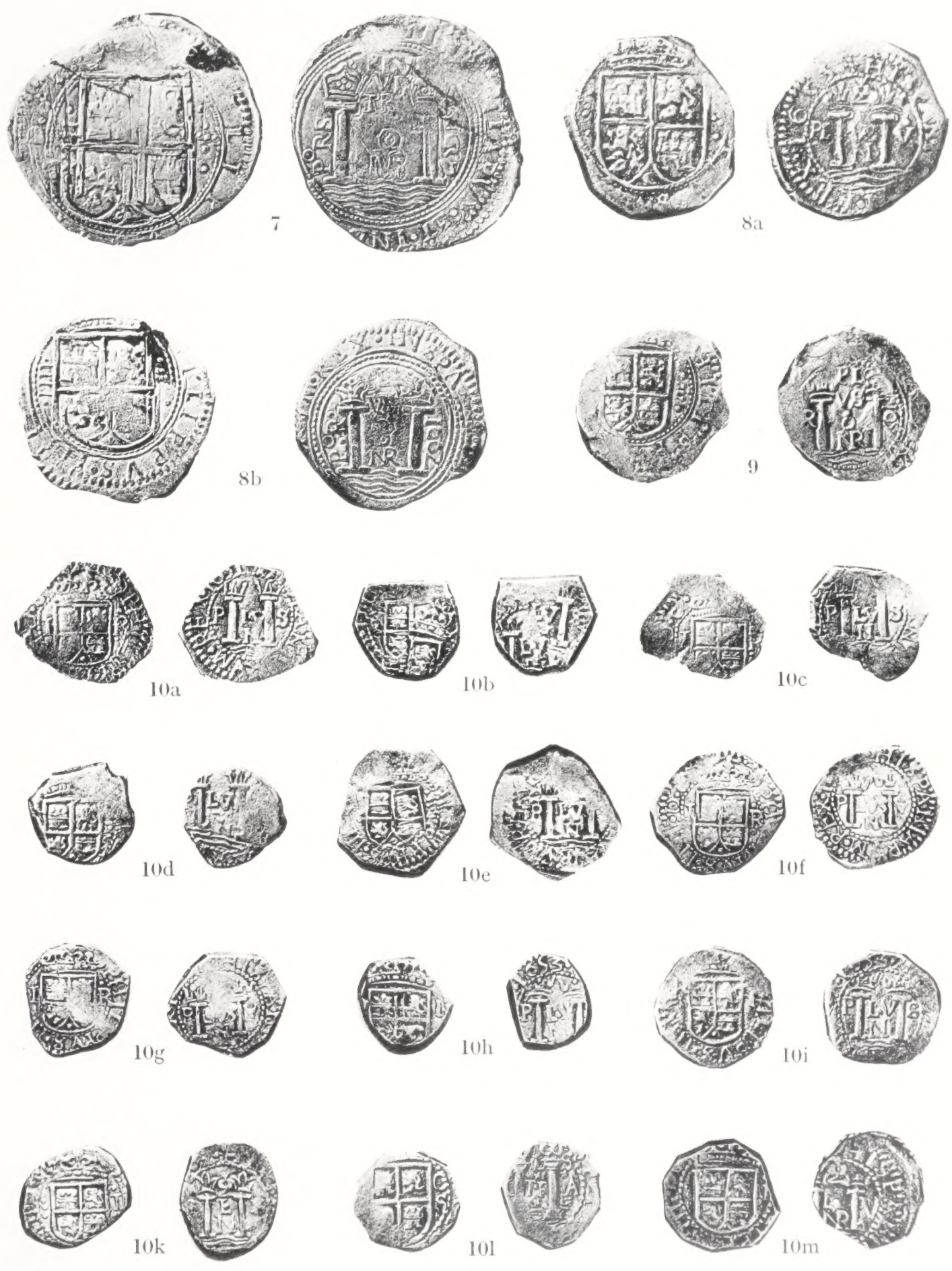
Weight 3.23 grms.



SILVER COINS OF NUEVO REINO DE GRANADA (COLOMBIA)



SILVER COINS OF NUEVO REINO DE GRANADA (COLOMBIA)



SILVER COINS OF NUEVO REINO DE GRANADA (COLOMBIA)



- 4g. Philip IV. One-real. Dated but off blank. Shield and cross design but *castles and lions are in correct positions on the shields.* PLATE XXX, 4g.

$\overset{\cdot}{N}$
 $\underset{\cdot}{R}$ in large letters at left. $\overset{\cdot}{R}$ at right.

Weight 3.34 grms.



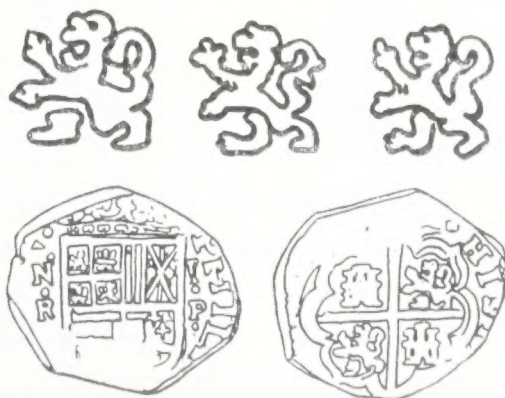
- 4h. Philip IV. One-real. Small, thick blank and no legend or mint and assayer's sign appear on coin.

Castles and lions are in reverse positions and although $\overset{\cdot}{R}$ appears at right of shield, the coin is one real size and weighs 3.20 grms. PLATE XXX 4h.

This series of one real pieces, 4a to 4h have been grouped because of the same punch for the lion being used on all, with tail turning right as in letter S, and on all except 4g the castles and lions are in reverse positions on both sides of the coins.

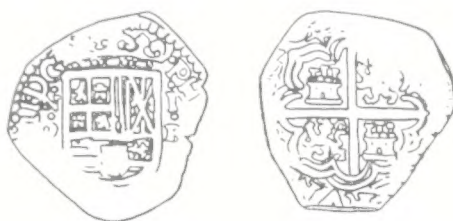


The following one-real coins use a different lion punch, on which the tail bends inward at the top towards his body and the castles and lions on the dies are in correct positions on the reverse and in reverse positions on the obverse. From this it would seem that the old design of obverse was continued but used with a new reverse.



- 4i. Philip IV. One-real. Shield and cross design. Castles and lions on obverse, shield in reverse positions.

At left of shield, $\begin{matrix} \dot{N} \\ R \end{matrix}$ at right, $\begin{matrix} \dot{I} \\ P \end{matrix}$
 New lion punch used on reverse die. Weight 3.65 grms. PLATE XXX,4i.

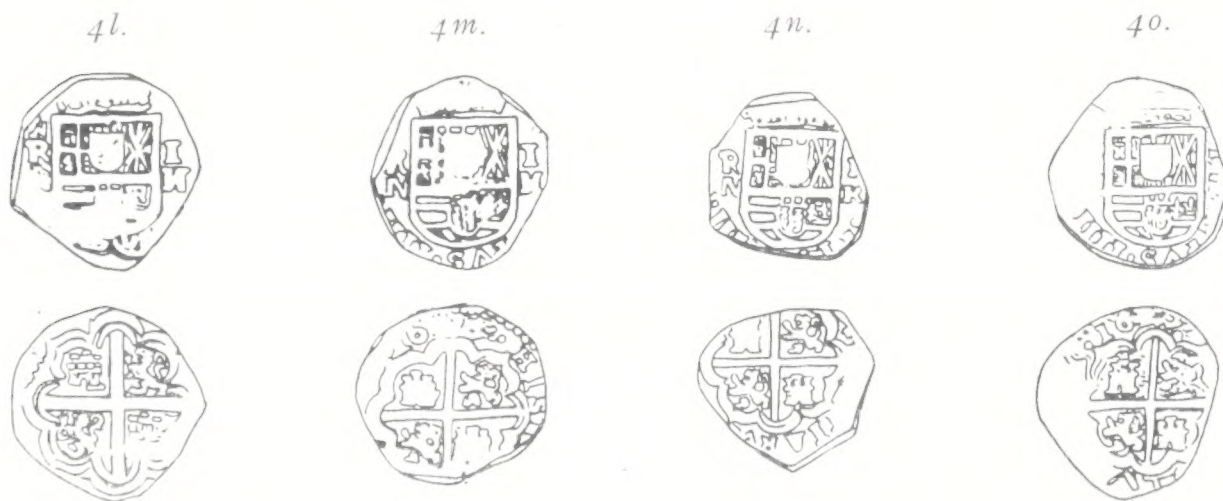


- 4j. Philip IV. One-real. Shield and cross design. Similar to above. Weight 3.24 grms.
 PLATE XXX,4j.



- 4k. Philip IV. One-real. Shield and cross design. Similar to above. Weight 3.32 grms.
 PLATE XXX,4k.

From the position of the D.G. in relation to the shield and the N in NR, obverses on coins 4a, 4e, 4f, 4j, and 4k, could be struck with the same dies.



- 4l, 4m, 4n, and 4o. Philip IV. One-real. Shield and cross design with a new shield on which the arms of Portugal are imposed. These might be questioned as coins from Santa Fe de Bogotá mint as for some unknown reason the mint mark appears at the left of the obverse shield as R. At the right is I ... (DENOMINATION)

N

N (or H) assayer ?

PLATE XXX,4l-o.

They were found in the same hoard and do not seem to fit any of the Spanish or Spanish Colonial mints of the period, particularly in the design of the lion punch, which is the same as on the series 4i to 4k. The blanks are so small, that although dated, these coins do not show much of the dates and legends, except enough to identify them as coins of this period of Philip IV. It seems strange that the NR for Nuevo Reino should be reversed to read RN but many strange details show up on the hammer struck coins of Spanish Colonial mints of the period.

Another example of this design is in ANS, weighing 3.14 grms. PLATE XXX,ANS. The weights on 4l to 4o are 2.90, 3.05, 3.16, and 3.35 grms.

This series is unknown and unpublished.



5. Philip IV (?) Cuartilla or Quarter real. Unpublished. *Obv.*: Castle. *Rev.*: Lion. No legend nor mint nor assayer's mark appears. PLATE XXX,5.

Silver cuartillas from Spanish Colonial mints are extremely rare among the first coinages. Only three examples are known from Mexico City Mint as they were discontinued about 1540. A single example is known of the first coinage of Peru.

That this small silver coin weighing .70 grams belongs to the first coinage of Nuevo Reino can only be based on the fact that it was found in this hoard with larger denominations of the Philip IV reign and that the style of the lion is the same as that found on some of the larger coins. They were unpopular due to their small size. It was not until the reign of Charles IV that silver cuartillas were again minted in Mexico in 1794.



- 6a. Philip IV. Half-real. Dated 1652. Weight 1.85 grms. PLATE XXX,6a.
Obv. PHLVS in monogram. Legend: ..HILIPVS....
Rev. Cross of Jerusalem with castles and lions in the quarters. Legend:x 1652.

- 6b. Philip IV. Half-real. Dated 1657. Weight 1.47 grms. Similar design to 6a. PLATE XXX,6b.
- 6c. Philip IV. Half-real. Dated 1658. Weight 1.67 grms. Similar. PLATE XXX,6c.
- 6d. Philip IV. Half-real. Dated 1662. Weight 1.70 grms. Similar. PLATE XXX,6d.



- 6e. Philip IV. Half-real. Dated 1662. Weight 1.89 grms. Similar. PLATE XXX,6e.
- 6f. Philip IV. Half-real. Dated 16(?)?) Weight 1.60 grms. Similar. PLATE XXX,6f.
- 6g. Philip IV. Half-real. Date off coin. Weight 1.55 grms. Similar. PLATE XXX,6g.
- 6h. Philip IV. Half-real. Date is off coin. Weight 1.71 grms. At left of monogram P on obverse PLATE XXX,6h.

On reverse the castles and lions are in reverse positions.

The half-reals are all struck on small cob type planchets. The mint mark and assayer's mark do not show on any, except that on 6h a P appears. But for the fact that these half-reals were found in this hoard of Nuevo Reino coins and that the designs of the castles and lions are slightly different from those on the Peru half reals of the period, all these pieces might be classified as from the Potosí mint of Peru. It is also the belief of the writer that the Potosí half-reals of Philip IV carried the date beneath the monogram on the obverse, whereas the coins in question carry the date in the legend on the reverse.

Santa Fe de Bogotá Mint – Second Series

7. Philip IV. 8 reales. Dated 1657.

PLATE XXXI, 7.

Obv. Crowned shield with castles and lions in the quarters with pomegranate at base (for Granada).

III at left of shield. ••• at right.

Legend: PHILIPV...III • D • G

Rev. Pillars of Hercules, crowned, based in waves.

	PLVS		
Between the columns:	VL	At left:	P ^o RS
	TRA		At right:
	O		1657
	NR		

Legend: HISPANIARVM • ET • IND.....

Weight 27.6 grms.

A similar coin dated 1657 was found in the Castine Hoard, for description see Sydney A. Noe, *The Castine Deposit*, NNM, No. 100 (New York, 1942).

The only 8 real of this design and mint and dated 1656 is the Nesmith-Rumbel-Prann example described in *Coin Collector's Journal*, Nov. Dec., 1947, p. 142, and in *The Numismatist*.

These pieces of 1656 and 1657 were unknown to Calico.



- 8a. Philip IV. 4 reales. Dated 1655. Unpublished.

PLATE XXXI, 8a.

Obv. Crowned shield with castles and lions with pomegranate at base of shield.

At right and left: designs of rondules, as at right of the shield on no. 7.

Legend: largely off planchet. Only part of P...VS shows.

Rev. Pillars of Hercules crowned based in waves, pomegranate between crowns, and PL / VS / V divided by pillars with N below.

Legend: HISPANIARVM · REX · 1655 ∴

Weight 13.90 grms.

The pomegranate also appears between the crowns on the pillars on one real no. 10k and on another one-real in ANS (Nesmith-Raymond piece).



8b. Philip IV. 4 reales. Dated 1662. Unpublished.

PLATE XXXI, 8b.

Obv. Same design as the 8 reales, no. 7, but with

III at left of shield.

Legend: ..ILIPPVS · IIII

Rev. Crowned pillars in waves with PL / VS / ^oNR divided by pillars. ^{P·R} At left and ¹⁶⁶² at right.

Legend: HISPANI...VM · REX ·

Weight 13.12 grms.



9. Philip IV. 2 reales dated 1652. Unpublished.

PLATE XXXI, 9.

Obv. Crowned shield with castles and lions in quarters and pomegranate below. Design of rondules at right as on no. 7.

Legend: ..HILIPPV.....

Rev. Pillars based in waves and between them PL / VS / ^oNR in four lines, with R at left and ¹⁶⁵² at right.

Legend: Largely off planchet. OnlyPA....AR showing. Weight 6.70 grms.



10a. Philip IV. One-real. Dated 1651. Unpublished.

PLATE XXXI, 10a.

Obv. Crowned shield with castles and lions and pomegranate represented by a rondule below. At left $\dot{I}$, at right $\dot{R}$

Legend: PHILIPPVS.....D· G·

Rev. Crowned pillars based in waves and P/ LV /S over N divided by pillars.

Legend: HISPAN..VM· REX· 1651

Weight 3.22 grms.



10b. Philip IV. One-real. Dated (1)653. Unpublished.

PLATE XXXI, 10b.

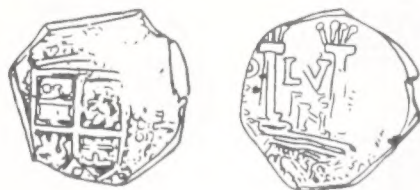
Similar to 10a, but badly double struck on a small planchet.

Obv. legend IIII· D.G.

Weight 3.48 grms.

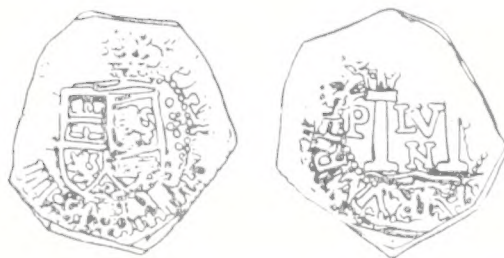


10c. Philip IV. One-real. Dated, but off blank. Similar. Weight 3.00 grms. PLATE XXXI, 10c.



10d. Philip IV. One-real. Similar. Small planchet no legend shows.

Weight 3.30 grms.
PLATE XXXI, 10d.



- 10e. Philip IV. One-real. Double struck.
Large planchet and legend readable as

Weight 3.50 grms.

PLATE XXXI, 10e.

Obv. PHILIPPVS·IIII

Rev.IARVM

At right of shield on obverse is the design of rondules as on no. 7. Pomegranate shows at base of shield.



- 10f. Philip IV. One-real, large planchet.

PLATE XXXI, 10f.

Obv. Shield with castles and lions and pomegranate in base, but with $\dot{I}$ at left and $\dot{R}$ at right.

Legend: PH...PPVS·IIII·D·G·

Rev. Pillars, with different crown design and P /LVS /V over N between and divided by pillars.

Legend: HISPANIARVM · REX · 16 ...

Weight 3.40 grms.



- 10g. Philip IV. One-real, small planchet. Same design and detail as 10f. Dated 16..7? I at left, R at right.

Weight 3.30 grms.

PLATE XXXI, 10g.



- 10h. Philip IV. One-real. Dated 1653, very small planchet.
Similar design but 1 at right of shield.

PLATE XXXI, 10h.

P /LV/ S over N divided by pillars.

Weight 3.15 grms.



- 10i. Philip IV. One-real. Dated 1655. Same design and details as 10h, but on a larger planchet.

PLATE XXXI, 10i.

Similar to 10a except for minor details such as R at left of shield and I at right on obverse and a different design used on crowns on the pillars on the reverse.

Weight 3.40 grms.



- 10k. Philip IV. One-real. Dated (16)62. Different design from others. PLATE XXXI, 10k.

Obv. Crowned shield with castles and lions and pomegranate in base. At left $\vdots$ and at right $\dot{\text{I}}$

Weight 3.21 grms.

Legend: PH.....IIII · D · G ·

Rev. Crowned pillars based in waves. A large pomegranate shows between crowns as on the ANS piece shown as 10m. Divided by pillars P / L / S over N. Because of the die-maker's center punch the L looks like an E. The design of the crowns on pillars is different from that on the other one-reals. and the pomegranate between the crowns, as on the ANS example, is so large that it looks like a figure 2.



101. Philip IV. One-real possibly struck at Cartagena belonging to the series of the design of Guttag no. 1186, 8 reales and the 4 reales illustrated in Calico at pages 29 and 30. PLATE XXXI, 101.

The obverse shield shows the castles and lions of Castile and Leon but there is no pomegranate for Granada in the base.

At the right of the shield appears $\begin{smallmatrix} C \\ S \end{smallmatrix}$ clearly.

The legend except for parts of the letters ILIP is off the planchet.

The reverse design is that of the pillars based in waves. (P) / L / S appears divided by
 $\begin{smallmatrix} * & * & * \\ (V)L / TR / A \\ * & * & * \end{smallmatrix}$

the pillars but there is no N or NR for the Nuevo Reino mint. This piece is unpublished and with the two larger pieces known of similar design presents a numismatic mystery which may be solved if and when more examples appear. Weight 3.28 grms.



- 10m. Philip IV. One-real enlarged. The Nesmith-Raymond example now in ANS. Shown here as it was the first of the one-reals of N.R. coinage of Philip IV to appear before the hoard described came to light. PLATE XXXI, 10m.

Obv. Similar to 10k.

Rev. Different from 10k. Large pomegranate between crowns. P/L/V over NR divided by pillars. The crowns on the pillars are of different design.

Weight 3.45 grms.

A RECENTLY DISCOVERED COIN SOLVES A VERMONT NUMISMATIC ENIGMA

ERIC P. NEWMAN

The discovery and identification of an early American coin, the existence of which was heretofore unknown, provides proof for a theory which has been the basis of controversy for a century. In the similar discovery of the element, helium, first there was a place logically reserved for it in atomic tables, then its apparent existence in the sun was theoretically proven and finally it was actually discovered on earth. The coin recently found is the culmination of similar events.

The enigma to be solved is why the series of 1787 and 1788 Vermont coppers with bust facing right displayed a distinctively British insignia, namely, the British Union (The Crosses of St. Andrew and St. George) in the shield on the reverse and not the emblem of Vermont. This is a startling inconsistency. England had recognized American independence in 1783. The legend on the coppers themselves emphasized independence and liberty (INDE ET LIB). Vermont, as an independent Republic, although not recognized as one of the thirteen original colonies, had been vigorously seeking statehood, using its 1785 and 1786 Green Mountain coinage with the motto STELLA QUARTA DECIMA to promote its campaign to become the fourteenth star.

The inconsistency is further emphasized by the fact that every Connecticut copper coined in the New Haven Mint from its beginning in 1785 had the Connecticut emblem (three vines) in a similar shield except as to varieties on which the shield appears undecorated; that the Nova Eborac coppers of 1787 had the

New York emblem inserted in each decorated shield; that, prior to or during the minting of such bust type Vermont coinage, all New Jersey, Massachusetts and unofficial coppers for American use featured only state and federal insignia; and finally that Vermont itself in its own 1786 "baby head" coppers had the Vermont emblem consisting of four haystacks in the shield on coins struck by the same franchise holders prior to the 1787 and 1788 coinage.

It follows that if the British emblem is in the shield at the side of the seated female figure on the Vermont reverses, the figure is Britannia. A collateral problem is whether the bust on the obverse of the 1787 and 1788 Vermont coppers with bust facing right is that of George III.

THE EARLY CONTROVERSY

The turmoil concerning the British designs on the Vermont bust type coppers started in 1870 when Edmund F. Slafter in *The Vermont Coinage*¹ castigated each previous writer who mentioned anything British about the Vermont coinage. He attacked such "unfounded insinuations and grave misstatements in connection with the coinage, implicating the loyalty and honor of the State of Vermont." In 1858, John H. Hickcox had written: "At the time the British in Canada were carrying on negotiations with the leading men in Vermont, for the purpose of making Vermont a Crown dependency, coppers were issued having on the obverse, 1, a bust of George III, Legend, VERMON AUCTORI, reverse, the figure of Britannia."² Slafter first replied that the negotiations with the British in Canada had ended in 1782 and were merely a means of keeping the British from attacking Vermont from Canada during the Revolutionary War. Apparently Slafter was unaware of the fact that the Separatist group in Vermont were negotiating with English officials until 1791 for the purposes of rejoining the Empire.³ He then continued:

"but we are told without any qualification that the coppers have upon them the bust of George III. Here, again, the author draws solely on his imagination. In regard to the coin first described by him, there is no inscription, not a word or an emblem⁴ upon the coppers to indicate that the bust is intended for that of George III*** Resemblance is one thing, an

¹ *Collections of the Vermont Historical Society*, Vol. I (Montpelier, 1870), pp. 289-318.

² *An Historical Account of American Coinage* (Albany, 1858), p. 31; republished as "The History of American Coinage," *Bankers and Magazine and Statistical Register*. Vol. XVI (1861), p. 253.

³ Samuel Flagg Bemis, *Jay's Treaty* (New York, 1923), pp. 17, 18, 42, 53, 125 and 353.

⁴ The British emblem on the shield was apparently not noticed.

intended representation is quite another. The nose on the effigy is prominent, giving the face an oval form; but unfortunately for Mr. Hickcox's fanciful theory the old King did not monopolize all large noses and oval faces."

In 1859 Dickeson had repeated Hickcox's statement as to the Vermont coppers and had added that the Connecticut coppers were also copied from the bust of George III.⁵ As to assertions "that the image on some of the Vermont coins is that of George III, while the mottoes and devices are those established by the legal authorities of the state," Slafter comments: "We need not give any serious attention to fancies so utterly baseless and idle."

In a paper prepared by Benjamin F. DeCosta, of New York, in 1868,⁶ it was stated as to Vermont coinage that "the authorities actually had a coin struck bearing the image of George III." As to this statement Slafter referred to the £ 5000 surety bond posted by the coiners for proper compliance with the statute and argued that such a violation of the statute was beyond comprehension. Then Slafter added, "Had he taken proper pains to look for the evidence on which the charge he was making must rest we presume it never would have been made."

None of the early writers commented upon the British emblem in the shield on the Vermont coppers. Crosby's illustrations⁷ show it, but he also omits any comment with respect to it.

As will be subsequently shown in this article, the original statements by Hickcox and DeCosta, that the Vermont coins bore the image of George III and the figure of Britannia were correct, and that Slafter, in spite of presenting many facts and clarifying many points as to the Vermont coinage, was logically sound but actually wrong on this major issue. Slafter's humor, however, in his description of how writers (not just those on numismatics) blindly copy one another without independent research is evident in the following comment:

"It is marvellous with what facility the 'surmise' of one writer becomes the 'impression' of the next, and 'the distinct opinion' of the third, and so on, crescens eundo, until it comes to be announced, without any foundation whatever, as the genuine fact of history".

Slafter himself has been so copied.⁸

⁵ Montroville W. Dickeson, *American Numismatic Manual* (Philadelphia, 1859), pp. 102, 106.

⁶ *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, Vol. XXII, p. 369.

⁷ Sylvester S. Crosby, *Early Coins of America* (Boston, 1875), p. 186, Pl. V, 2, 3 and 4.

⁸ "Coining Money - 1785 to 1788," *Records of the Governor and Council of the State of Vermont*, Vol. III (Montpelier, 1875), p. 383.

PREVIOUS RESEARCH ON VERMONT COPPERS

Before examining the new light shed upon these enigmas by the recent discovery of the coin responsible for this study, the applicable facts developed in the course of past research on Vermont coinage should be examined. After the publications of John H. Hickcox, Montroville W. Dickeson, Edmund F. Slafter and Sylvester S. Crosby came works by C. Wyllys Betts,⁹ Hillyer Ryder,¹⁰ John M. Richardson,¹¹ Howard H. Kurth,¹² Walter H. Breen¹³ and Kenneth E. Bressett¹⁴ who have each in turn progressively published new information and conclusions on Vermont coppers and the author has endeavored to minimize the repetition of as much of such material as it not inconsistent with a development of the facts to support the conclusions of this article.

The original franchise for Vermont coinage was granted to Reuben Harmon, Jr., for a period of two years beginning July 1, 1785, and he shared the franchise with three others, including William Coley, a goldsmith and die-cutter, who moved from New York to Rupert, Bennington County, Vermont, to participate in the work. Under this franchise the first series of Vermont coppers was minted at Rupert featuring the sun shining over the Green Mountains on the obverse and 14 sunrays and 14 stars on the reverse. Coley cut the dies and assisted in the striking. When Harmon received a renewal of his franchise on October 24, 1786, the design of the copper was completely changed. A head was to be the obverse design and a woman, suggested by the committee report to represent the Genius of America, was to be on the reverse. This change indicated the desire to improve the acceptance of Vermont coppers within and outside the state by making them similar to the coinage devices on Connecticut coppers and on British halfpence which constituted the great bulk of the coppers in circulation. Since the Vermont coiners had the problem of working their coppers into circulation, uniformity with other coppers in circulation would naturally be helpful. The provisions of the act included a requirement that "the device for coppers by him hereafter

⁹ C. Wyllys Betts, *Counterfeit Half Pence Current in the American Colonies and Their Issue from the Mints of Connecticut and Vermont* (New York, 1886).

¹⁰ Hillyer Ryder, "The Colonial Coins of Vermont," included in *The State Coinages of New England* (New York, 1920).

¹¹ John M. Richardson, "The Copper Coins of Vermont," *The Numismatist*, Vol. LX (1947), p. 331.

¹² Howard H. Kurth, "Connecticut and Vermont Coppers of British Type," *The Numismatist*, Vol. LV (1942), pp. 102, 514; Introduction to "The Copper Coins of Vermont," cited above.

¹³ Walter H. Breen, "Survey of American Coin Hoards," *The Numismatist*, Vol. LXV (1952), p. 7.

¹⁴ Kenneth E. Bressett, "Vermont Cent Variety," *The Numismatist*, Vol. LXV (1955), p. 162.

coined, shall be a head with the motto, *Auctoritate Vermontensium*, abridged – on the reverse, a woman with the letters, INDE:ET:LIB: – for Independence and Liberty.”¹⁵ In all probability no old dies remained since the change in design and legend had to be immediate.

Accordingly, coppers dated 1786 were struck, one variety with a “baby head” facing right (Ryder 9),¹⁶ and two varieties with an armored bust facing left (Ryder 10 and 11). The obverse of Ryder 11 was then combined with another reverse, apparently dated 1787, known as Ryder 15. The dies for these coins were sunk by a different craftsman than those struck under the original franchise. While the letter punches on these four varieties are generally the same, particularly evident in the M and N, they are entirely different from those used by Coley to make the dies for the earlier Vermont coppers. An examination of the punches used to cut the device on the obverses of Ryder 10, 11 and 15 shows that the same punch was previously used to cut 1785 and 1786 Connecticut obverse dies,¹⁷ namely, 1785 Miller 7(1), 7(2) and 8 and 1786 Miller 4(1), 4(2), 5(1), 5(2), 5(4), 5(5), 5(6), 5(7), 5(8), 5(9), 5(10), 5(11), 5(13), 5(14) and 5(15). In checking the device punch used in making the reverse dies of Ryder 10, 11 and 15 it can be noticed that the same punch was previously used on 1786 Connecticut reverse dies, Miller B(1), B(2), F, G, H(1), H(2), I, K, L, M, N, O(1), O(2), P, Q, R and S. (See PLATE XXXIII.) None of the Vermont or Connecticut reverse dies prepared with the last described device punch have any insignia in the shield.

By comparison with previous Vermont coppers the die workmanship of the four initial bust-type Vermont coppers is crude. The Connecticut mint was cutting its own dies as rapidly as possible for maximum production of its own coppers and had already been co-operative in permitting the use of two above mentioned device punches for the benefit of the Vermont franchise holders. William Buel, son of the notorious Connecticut diemaker, Abel Buel, had brought to Rupert late in 1786 these worn punches and other tools (inaccurately confused with coin dies by Abel Buel’s grandson)¹⁸ and apparently made the dies for Ryder 9,

¹⁵ Crosby, *Early Coins of America*, p. 183.

¹⁶ References to Ryder include the additions made by Richardson and Bressett.

¹⁷ Die identification is in accordance with Henry C. Miller, “The State Coinage of Connecticut,” included in *The State Coinages of New England* (New York, 1920).

¹⁸ *Vermont Quarterly Gazetteer* (Burlington, 1860) republished as *Vermont Historical Gazetteer*, Vol. I, (Burlington, 1867), p. 226; *Early Coins of America*, p. 188 and n. There is no basis for the assertion by Abel Buel Moore that William Buel brought dies for the 1787 Fugio copper and the specific die punch connection between the Vermont and Connecticut mints is by itself sufficient proof of the nature of William Buel’s participation.

10, 11 and 15. The need for a more skilled diemaker than William Buel was paramount for continued Vermont coinage, as the 1786 dies must have broken prematurely judging from the scarcity of these initial bust-type coppers. The reverse die of Ryder 15 was from its initial use badly broken across the date. William Coley, even though an owner of a one-fourth share of the business was financially disappointed in the enterprise and had joined another Vermont partner, Daniel Van Voorhis, of New York, in petitioning the New York Assembly on February 16, 1787 for a franchise to coin copper for New York.¹⁹

Having accounted for Ryder 15 (bust facing left and with no shield emblem) it is noticeable that all other regular 1787 and 1788 Vermont coppers have the bust facing right and the British emblem in the shield. By the use of the word, "regular," the mulings associated with Vermont coinage have been excluded. The regular 1787 and 1788 coppers with bust facing right are made up of 22 combinations of 13 obverse dies and 13 reverse dies. It is readily observed with respect to all of them except Ryder 27 (hereafter discussed) that the same device punch was used to cut the head into each obverse die and the same device punch was used to cut the seated figure into each reverse die. In other words, Ryder 12, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 28, 29, 30, 32, 33, 34, 35 and 36 were struck from dies cut with one obverse device punch and one reverse device punch. These coppers are hereafter described as "punch-interlocked." Ryder 14, as a representative of the punch-interlocked group, is illustrated on PLATE XXXII.

MULINGS ASSOCIATED WITH VERMONT

A sound approach to the problems involving the punch-interlocked coppers requires the elimination of conclusions based upon the mulings or hybrid coins associated with Vermont coppers. These mulings have confused the issues and are as follows:

<i>Classification</i>	<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Reverse</i>
Ryder 1, same as Crosby, fig. 36 (See PLATE XXXIII hereof).	Male bust facing right. VERMON AUCTORI (Made with same device punch as Ryder 31, Crosby VII-32, a 1771 imitation British halfpence and all punch-interlocked Vermont coppers).	Liberty with cap, flag and scales. IMMUNE COLUMBIA. 1785 (Die worn from previous use with Nova Constellatio series).

¹⁹ *Journal of the Assembly of the State of New York* (New York, 1787), p. 53.



Example (Ryder 14) of punch-interlocked group of 1787 and 1788 Vermont Coppers showing British emblem in shield.



1776 imitation British Halfpenny struck from dies cut with same pair of device punches as Vermont punch-interlocked group.



1786 Connecticut (Miller 1-A) struck with reverse die cut with same number punches as 1776 imitation British Halfpenny.

SOLUTION TO VERMONT ENIGMA
(Coins enlarged to two diameters)



1785 Vermont (R. 3)
made according to 1785 act.



1786 Vermont (R. 9)
made according to 1786 act.



1786 Vermont (R. 10)
Struck from dies cut with same pair of device punches



1786 Connecticut (54-G)



1788 Vermont (R. 27)
Struck from dies cut with same pair of device punches



Imitation 1778 British 1/2d



Imitation 1771 British 1/2d
Same obverse device punch as punch-interlocked Vermont group



Muling with same obverse die as 1776 imitation 1/2d
Same obverse device punch as punch-interlocked Vermont group



R. 31
Same obverse device punch as punch-interlocked Vermont group



R. I
Cr. VII-32

<i>Classification</i>	<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Reverse</i>
Crosby VII-32 (See PLATE XXXIII hereof).	Male bust facing right CEORCIVS III·REX· (Made with same device punch as Ryder 1, Ryder 31 etc.	(Same as above).
Ryder 31, same as Crosby p. 192 (See PLATE II hereof).	Male bust facing right GEORGIVS·III·REX (Made with same device punch as Ryder 1, etc.).	Seated female with British shield. INDE + ET. LIB + (Die previously used as Vermont reverses on Ryder 25, 28 and 29 and subsequently used on 1788 Connecticut Reverse I).
Ryder 13, same as Crosby 1-C	Male bust facing right VERMON AUCTORI	Seated female with British shield. BRITANNIA. 1787 (Die mostly illegible from previous use on imitation British halfpence).

It will be noted that in each of the above muled pieces the two sides of the coin bear no logical relationship to one another. They do not contain appropriate legends for compliance with the Vermont law and would have subjected the £ 5000 surety bond to forfeiture if made in Vermont or by authority of the Vermont franchise holders. The legends of the last three are part American and part British. The quality of craftsmanship on all existing specimens of these mulings is inferior to the standard of what the Vermont and Connecticut mints were capable of producing. From the quality and quantity of these mulings existing today it is clear that they are not mistakes or experiments, as Ryder 13 is found in substantial quantity, Ryder 31 is almost as common as the average Vermont variety, even though the IMMUNE COLUMBIA mulings are scarce. The obverse dies on all of the above mulings are not known to have been used on any other coins, while the reverse dies had been in service as previously indicated. The two obverse dies, Ryder 1 and Ryder 13, were obviously (because of their legends) made for regular Vermont use, but never so used.

The mulings therefore appear to have been made from dies which were remainders – dies without mates, dies rejected for quality or dies worn from use. The conclusion that the mulings were made after the 1787 and 1788 punch-interlocked Vermont coinage is inescapable. They must have been made at Machin's Mills before the middle of 1789 when the collapse of the value of coppers was caused by overproduction in American mints. The original Machin's Mills partners, disgruntled by failure to obtain any other coining franchise, were already at odds

by this time and were not concerned about Reuben Harmon and the sureties on his bond. There is no basis for the suggestion they might have been made for Canadian circulation.²⁰

Since the mulings were made subsequently and not prior to the 1787 and 1788 punch interlocked Vermont coppers they are not good evidence in ascertaining why the Vermont issues had the British insignia or why they contained a bust which appeared to be George III. They merely indicate that the original Machins' Mills group made dies for coining imitation²¹ British halfpence, a subject not within the scope of this article.

THE NEED FOR VERMONT DIES

James F. Atlee, the diemaker in the partnership formed April 18, 1787, for coining coppers at Thomas Machin's Mill, near Newburgh, New York, had committed his services and both his "implements" and those of Samuel Atlee²² to the use of that partnership. The Vermont coiners needed his services. The only way in which the New York partnership would work with the Vermont coiners was to share the Vermont franchise on a basis whereby the Vermont group yielded a sixty per cent share in the Vermont franchise to the New York group and in exchange the Vermont group was to have a forty per cent share in the profits of any other operations. The contract dated June 7, 1787, sets forth the arrangement.²³ The New York group had no franchise for coining and had not by then received any favorable action in their petition to the State of New York for such rights. The Vermont group had a franchise to coin an unlimited quantity of copper without obligation to make any franchise payment on production for the first three years. It can be assumed that the Vermont group gave up 60% of their franchise because they had some very compelling reason — a desperate need for dies.

The October 24, 1786, Vermont act required coppers of specific weight, quality, mottoes and designs and a £ 5000 compliance bond, but there was no technical obligation as to where dies, planchets or even the coppers themselves had to be

²⁰ "The Coinage of Vermont", *AJN*, Oct. 1870, p. 42.

²¹ The word "imitation" is used as to American-made British halfpence in preference to "counterfeit" halfpence because in many American states it was not then illegal to produce copper coinage of any description.

²² *Early Coins of America*, p. 193.

²³ *Early Coins of America*, p. 196.

produced. Planchet cutting and striking facilities had already been in operation since 1785 at Rupert, so there could be no basis for criticism if dies were produced elsewhere. Connecticut, New Jersey, and Massachusetts coiners in addition to American importers of British counterfeit halfpence were beginning to flood the country with coppers and the Vermont-New York group did not wish to have coining delayed in any way. Any time saved in making dies would give the partnership extra profit from production. Device punches would ordinarily have to be prepared to make the dies.

Could it be that as part of the "implements" furnished by the Atlees to the Machin's Mills partnership there were obverse and reverse device punches which had been prepared for use in making imitation British halfpence? On what other basis could Vermont coppers contain the British Union and omit a Vermont emblem? For what other reason could the bust be so similar to that of George III?

PROGRESS TOWARD A SOLUTION

The dies for one Vermont coin, Ryder 27, were made with different punches from the punch-interlocked Vermont group. A comparison of its devices with imitation British halfpence results in the recognition that the 1788 reverse of Ryder 27 containing the British emblem in the shield is cut with the same device punch as the reverse of a variety of an imitation British halfpence dated 1778 (see PLATE II). The expression on the face and the domed hair confirm the identical punch source. Likewise the obverse device punch for Ryder 27 was the same as was used in the obverse of this same imitation British halfpence dated 1778.²⁴ The 1778 date found on this imitation is fictitious because a comparison with other imitations dated 1787 indicates its mintage in 1787 and a deliberate predating by using the same number punches.

A regular Vermont copper is therefore related to a regular imitation British halfpence by both obverse and reverse device punch identity and no mulings are involved in establishing this identity. If a similar association with imitation British halfpence could be established for the large punch-interlocked group of Vermont coppers the same theory of origin could be applied to both cases.

²⁴ The obverse and reverse device punches used on Ryder 27 and the imitation British halfpence dated 1778 were also used in cutting dies for most 1788 Connecticut coppers with bust facing right, other imitation British halfpence and the muling of an imitation British halfpenny obverse with 1788 Connecticut reverse D.

For many years the author has been examining imitation British halfpence in the hope, among other things, of finding specimens struck with dies cut with the same device punch used for the obverse or the same device punch used for the reverse of the punch-interlocked 1787 and 1788 Vermont group.

There is a regular imitation British halfpence dated 1771 which has the bust on the obverse cut with the same device punch as the punch-interlocked Vermont group (see PLATE XXXIII). The reverse device is, however, not so associated. Both sides have broad serrated borders similar to many Vermont coppers and to some Connecticut coppers such as 1786 Miller 1-A, 1787 Miller 1(1)-A and 1788 Miller 8-I. As is well known, Connecticut 1788 Miller obverse 8, which is the same obverse die as 1787 Miller 1(1), is found combined with the Vermont reverse used on Ryder 25, 28 and 29, and on the muling, Ryder 31. Due to these associations it can be reasonably assumed that the dies for this 1771 imitation halfpence were cut by James F. Atlee at Machin's Mills about 1787 and predated.

In spite of the foregoing examples of association between regular Vermont coinage and regular imitation halfpence the reverse device punch used for the punch interlocked Vermont group and having the British emblem had not been found on any imitation halfpence. A coin meeting these requirements has recently appeared.

AN UNKNOWN COIN IS FOUND

In 1950 there was excavated in Stepney, Fairfield County, Connecticut, an eighteenth century iron kettle containing 125 Connecticut coppers, 8 Vermont coppers, 3 Vermont-Britannia mulings (Ryder 13), 1 Nova Eborac and 72 British and Irish eighteenth century halfpence (chiefly imitation and counterfeit). The latest date was 1788 and the 209 dirt-encrusted coppers ranged from well-worn to uncirculated condition.²⁵

One of the imitation British halfpence, illustrated on PLATE XXXII, had the following remarkable characteristics:

A. The legends were CEORCIVS III REX and BRITANNIA 1776. Neither C had been cut into a G, a circumstance similar to the obverse of Crosby VII-32, heretofore described.

B. The bust faced right and was cut into the die by the identical device punch used on the group of punch-interlocked Vermont obverses and obverses of certain

²⁵ See n. 13.

affiliated mulings heretofore described. The facial form, the hair, the wreath and the hair ribbon as well as the general measurements prove this identity.

C. The seated female figure on the reverse was cut into the die by the identical device punch used on the group of punch-interlocked Vermont reverses. The facial expression, hair style, leg position and foot position prove this identity.

D. The British Union in the shield on the reverse was distinctively condensed into four single bands without any fillets between the crosses and the field, whereas it was technically proper for each band to overlay another wider band beneath. This condensed form of British union is found only on James F. Atlee's dies for imitation British halfpence such as the reverse of Ryder 13 and not on any genuine British halfpence or British-made counterfeit halfpence.

E. Most of the letter punches were identical to those used in cutting the dies for punch-interlocked Vermont coppers and certain affiliated mulings, particularly the V, E, R, O, N, T and B.

F. The weight (117½ grains), size, color, texture and weak striking is virtually the same as found on most of the punch-interlocked Vermont coppers.

G. The obverse die (not just the device punch) is the identical die which is muled with the LIBER NATUS LIBERTATEM DEFENDO die of New York (see PLATE XXXIII). Crosby,²⁶ points out how similar the obverse die of that muling is to the CEORCIVS · III · REX obverse which is muled with the 1785 IMMUNE COLUMBIA (Crosby VII-32). The finding of the 1776 imitation halfpence supplies the missing link.

H. The tiny date has a 1 which is much thinner and shorter than the other numbers. Each 7 has a shortened downstroke and the 6 has a flat top on its loop. The reverse of the 1786 Connecticut copper, Miller A, is cut from a die with the identical number punches. It also appears that both the obverse and reverse device punches used to cut the dies for 1776 imitation halfpence were also used to cut the dies for 1786 Connecticut Miller 1-A, even though substantially changed by further tooling of the coinage die itself. As will be noted on PLATE XXXII, the British union was eliminated on the Connecticut copper and a disproportionately small liberty cap was added. The border serrations as well as some of the letters are the same on both the Connecticut piece and the recently discovered coin.

²⁶ *Early Coins of America*, p. 322.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE FIND

There were no genuine British halfpence dated 1776 and therefore the date 1776 is deliberately fictitious. Since the numbers in the date 1776 can be made up out of those punches used in cutting the 1786 Connecticut Miller 1-A, it is reasonable to assume that the date 1776 was selected for convenience or patriotic significance and that the die for the imitation was probably made at least ten years after its dating. The predating of the coin is further confirmed by the fact that during the Revolutionary War there were copper shortages and copper coinage could not have been practical or profitable in America.

The 1776 imitation British halfpence in the Fairfield County hoard is the first known coin on which the so-called Vermont reverse device punch containing the British Union in the shield is found used with a consistent and proper legend, BRITANNIA. The intended use of this punch for dies for imitation British halfpence by the original Machin's Mills partnership is a logical conclusion. This conclusion is reinforced by the fact that the same obverse die punch used for the punch-interlocked Vermont group is also used on this newly discovered American-made imitation British halfpence. It is an additional fortuitous circumstance to have this same imitation halfpence also associate itself by punch identity with Connecticut coppers and by die combination with New York coppers.

If the obverse and reverse device punches used on the punch-interlocked Vermont series were originally prepared to make Vermont dies and later used for imitation British halfpence dies the British union would not have been in the shield. The punches were therefore intended for the imitation halfpence and their use was diverted to Vermont dies when the June 7, 1787, Machin's Mills agreement was made. Because there was no particular "head" for the obverse specified under the Vermont law and no particular "woman" specified for the reverse, the head of George III and the figure of Britannia holding a British shield were lawfully used so long as the proper legends were added. The Vermont coiners needed James F. Atlee's diemaking services, his punches and tools so desperately that they were willing both to give up 60% of the profits from their franchise and to decorate Vermont coins with the king and the symbol of the country against which they had fought to obtain their freedom.

On the one-hundredth anniversary of the publication by John H. Hickcox of the first book on the history of American coins it is a pleasure to corroborate with proof one of the most criticized allegations of this pioneer in American numismatics.

A LYCIAN HOARD

SYDNEY P. NOE

In the summer of 1954, a hoard said to have been unearthed in 'Anatolia' was brought to Constantinople. According to report, it consisted of sixty-seven silver staters of Persic weight, and of these, all but about a dozen were with obverses on which only traces of a type were discernible. Further, more than a score with these all but blank obverses had reverses without a type – reverses which showed only a square or nearly square frame or border. Early in 1955, fifty-four of these coins were purchased by The American Numismatic Society, accompanied by photographs of seven additional pieces (of which two had been sold). Assuming the report of the total found to be correct, this left six more to be accounted for. Two were said to have been analysed, two sold to private collectors previous to the acquisition of the lot sold to us, two more were reported in the Stockholm Cabinet, and a single further piece was promised for addition to the fifty-four purchased, having been 'overlooked'.

It would have been very helpful if we could have learned where in 'Anatolia' this hoard was found. Anatolia is too extended an area to provide a helpful indication. Singularly enough, all of the pieces with obverse types which could be identified bore the figure of Pegasus facing left, and prolonged examination has led to the conclusion that the remainder were also struck from dies with Pegasus, some of which dies had been used until they were little more than rounded bosses. None of these coins showed inscriptions, unless the single 'letters', if such they may be considered, which occur on three of the dies are to be counted as ex-

ceptions. Inasmuch as no similar hoard has ever been recorded, this intriguing accumulation promised reward to study. Because of its nature the hoard requires unusually detailed cataloguing.

GROUP A.

1. Figure of Pegasus bounding to left on a rounded boss or shield; from a very much worn die.

Rev. Irregular incuse punch with a triangular element at the bottom of the die (as mounted), and traces a smaller and similar element which had broken away or which had been erased because of its shattered condition, at the top. To the right, raised lines take the form of a V placed sidewise.

Æ. Lycian stater, 9.54 grams. Test cut on reverse.

PLATE XXXIV.

This coin vies with no. 2 for the distinction of being considered the earliest coin in the hoard. Although the obverse die is badly worn, the type on a rounded 'shield' is still visible. The reverse is similar in form to some of the early dies of staters from the Lycian *paralia*, but no identical parallel has been found. Babelon has placed the two types in the Paris collection among the Lycian issues, calling attention to the occurrences of Bellerophon among the types on bronze coins of the Imperial Period (*Traité*, II, 2, p. 219, Pl. XCIV, 23 and 24).

In addition to the attribution by this great scholar, there are many indications pointing to Lycia – such as the uniformly square reverse dies, the weight system and the conformation of certain of the reverse types. An unpublished coin from Mr. Newell's collection (PLATE XXXIV, a) offers interesting confirmation. On this piece, we find the Lycian triskeles on the shoulder of Pegasus. The weight, however, shows slight connection (5.81).

2. Similar to no. 1 and possibly from the same die.

Rev. Oblong incuse punch with no traces of type or of divisions.

Æ. Lycian stater. 9.08.

PLATE XXXIV.

3. Pegasus (?) to left from outworn die—the wing barely visible; the whole probably not on a raised boss.

Rev. Bull's head to left on a square die which is much worn; the horn (upper l. corner) and muzzle of the animal and the diagonal truncation (at right) discernible.

Æ. Stater, 9.42.

PLATE XXXIV.

4. All traces of a type worn away.

Rev. Probably die of no. 3, but more worn.

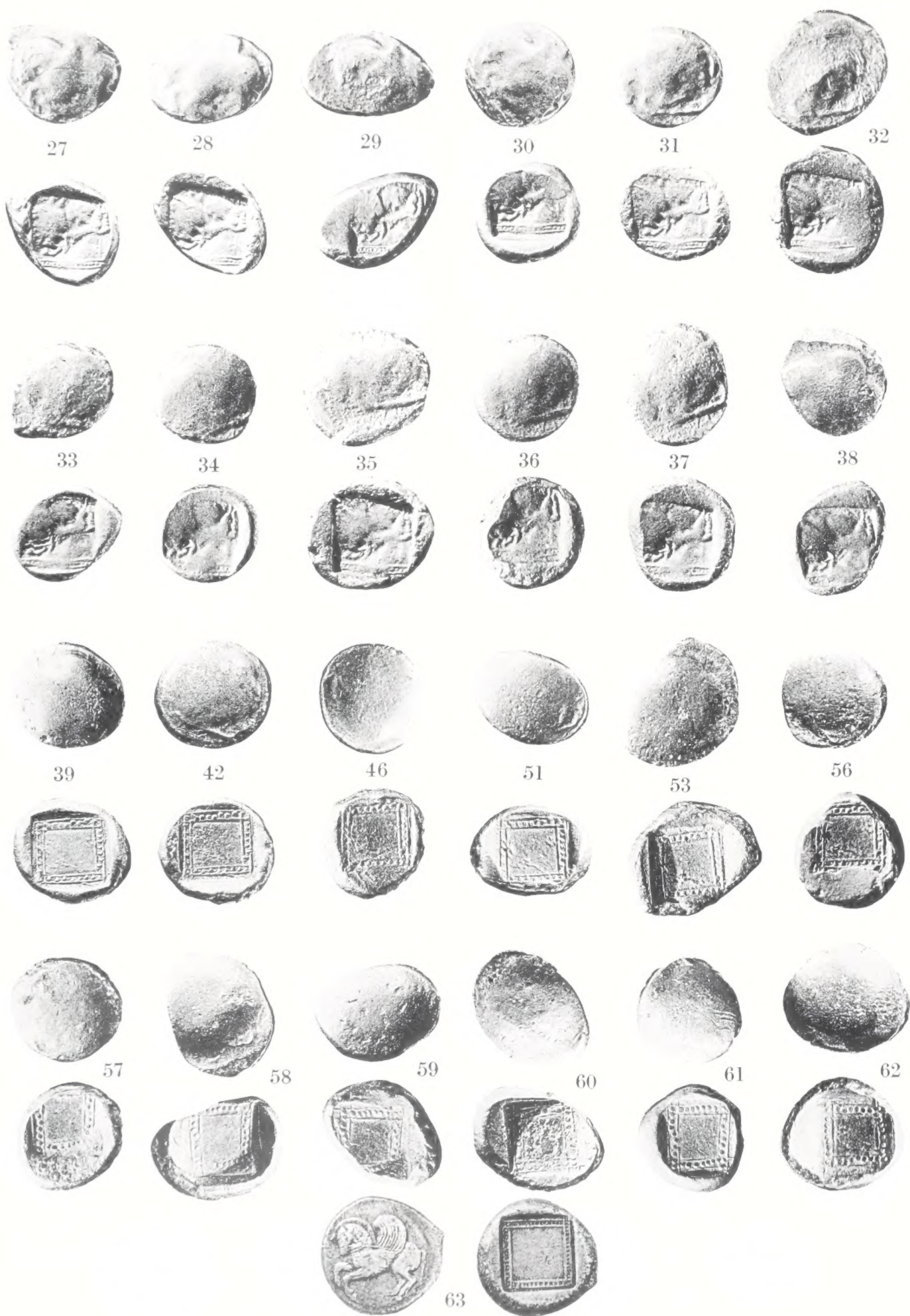
Æ. Stater. 9.40.

PLATE XXXIV.

The reverse die of these two pieces is similar to the reverse of a stater in Mr. Newell's cabinet, (PLATE XXXIV, b) but it is not the same die; it shows a



A LYCIAN HOARD



beaded border and is paired with an obverse having the forepart of a boar to left.

GROUP B

5-9. Figure of Pegasus galloping to left on a flat field. The tail consists of two straight lines at a right angle. The wing has its upper portion concave, with the feathers indicated by curved lines; the lower (left) portion is convex, with a contrasting feathering. The left foreleg is parallel with the right. On the rump of Pegasus (showing on no. 5 only), there are traces of a letter shaped like T, with its vertical element diagonally downward to the right.

Rev. Forepart of bull charging to left in incuse square with beaded truncation coinciding with right edge of the square; the legs are bent and turn back beneath the body. On the shoulder of the bull the letter T slanting diagonally downward to the left (best seen on no. 8). The left and lower edges of the die show beaded borders.

Æ. staters, 9.50; 9.45; 9.46; 9.55; 9.40.

PLATE XXXIV, 5-9.

The sequence is determined by progressing reverse die-breaks – one, from the nose of the bull to the left edge of the die is absent in no. 5, but grows in the succeeding pieces. The arrangement discloses a like deterioration in the obverse die. The disparity in scale between the types of these two dies should be noted. The obverse no longer shows the boldness of relief which marked nos. 1 and 2 or the coins of Group C which follow. On no. 6 a flaw shows at the extremity of the left foreleg of Pegasus – in most of the coins this is off-flan.

10. Pegasus as on nos. 5 to 9, in much higher relief, with additional feathering to the wing which extends across the body.

Rev. Die of nos. 5 to 9, with considerable re-cutting—see below for details.

Æ. Stater, 9.40. Coll. L. Zara.

PLATE XXXIV, 10.

This piece has the same obverse and reverse dies as the Paris specimen. The die-breaks of its reverse show that it comes after the dies of 5 to 9.

11. Pegasus to left, from die of no. 10.

Rev. Die of nos. 5 to 10, with three puncturings of its surface showing the copper core.

Æ. Weight 5.97.

PLATE XXXIV, 11.

An interesting example of an 'official' die used for a plated coin.

12. Similar to no. 5 but not the same die.

Rev. Probably from the die no. 5—compare the die-break at lower left. A chisel cut marks the coin as having been suspect in antiquity.

Æ. Stater, 7.42. Plated?

PLATE XXXIV, 12.

In the earliest stage of this reverse die, we have beading on the left and for the truncation (no. 5). The muzzle of the bull coincides with his right foreleg, and the hoof doesn't show because of the fracturing of the lower edge of the die. This break

extends to the lower left corner and makes it difficult to be sure that there ever was a beading to the die's lower edge. The die seems to have its right edge broken to r. of the truncation. A crack in the die extends from the top of the truncation to the ear of the bull parallel with his back.

In the next stage (6) a newly developed break extends from the nose of the bull to the left edge of the die, eliminating some of the beading in the process. The crack above the bull has widened. In this piece, the upper edge of the die is clear, showing that the die extended slightly beyond the truncation. It also shows traces of beading – on a bevelled plane.

On no. 9 the beading at the left shows above and below the break, and that at the top of the die faintly. The smaller size of the flaw at the extremity of the right foreleg indicates that 8 precedes 9. On no. 10, the edge of the die above the bull has been planed down so that it is on a less abrupt bevel to which beading has been added. This operation may have been intended to lessen the stress on the die-crack above the bull – it is still to be seen crossing the lines on the bull's shoulder. Deepening the die has changed the modelling of the body of the bull so that it differs radically from earlier states (9 and 5) including the joining of the legs to the body. The truncation beading has now broken away; the horn and ear of the bull have been changed and a new crack extends from the lower left corner of the die, across the shortened ear and follows the line of the back to the upper end of the truncation. It hardly seems credible that coins could have been struck from such a shattered die.

GROUP C.

13–26. Pegasus to left in high relief; the wing convex, the head large and with the mouth open. The left foreleg shows a flaw at its extremity (cf. no. 6). The eye (cf. nos. 21, 22 and 26) is crudely cut. A beaded 'bridle' crosses the neck of Pegasus.

Rev. Lion's mask, facing, in incuse square, with the lower parts of the pelt showing on either side of the muzzle faintly, as though not modelled comprehendingly. In the lower right field, an elongated object which may have been intended for a club. The right, left and lower edges of the die are beaded.

Æ. Staters, weighing no. 13 (ANS) 9.29; 14 (B.M.) 9.26; 17 (Coll. R. Pflieger); 18 (Stockholm) 9.43; 20–26 (ANS) 9.54; 9.42; 9.42; 9.50; 9.54; 9.47 (not on plate); 9.47 (not on plate).

PLATE XXXIV, 13–24.

Most of these staters are relatively sharp as compared with those of Groups B and D. Nos. 14 to 18 were retained by the vendor of the lot acquired by the American Numismatic Society. Since the figure of Pegasus is too large for the

obverse die, the entire type never shows on any one flan. The scale of the punch die is much better suited to the size of the flan. There is a possibility – hardly strong enough for certainty – that the obverse is a recutting of the obverse die of Group B. This opinion is based on the recurrence of the die-break at the end of the left foreleg of Pegasus, seen best in nos. 17 and 21 and in what may be its early stage in no. 6. The thickened legs, the enlarged head and the altered feathering of the wing are all details which may have been the result of a deepening of the die. On nos. 23 and 25, the flattened surface is the result of the silver not having been forced into the die because of weak striking.

GROUP D.

27–38. Pegasus to left. Below, from no. 30 on, a progressing die-break.

Rev. On the left, forepart of a bull facing right and confronting the forepart of a lion with extended paws, smaller in scale and occupying only the upper right-hand quarter of the die; a border or groundline of dots between two lines below the whole. In the lower right field a letter or monogram, ∇ or ∇ , possibly imperfect, since the die is weak at this point. This has crowded the figure of the lion above it into the upper quarter of the die.

R. Staters – Wts. 9.41, 9.40, 9.31, 9.26, 9.35, 9.38, 9.39, 9.20, 9.28, 9.54, 9.30, 9.50.

PLATE XXXV, 27–38.

The twelve coins of this group are all from the same pair of dies. The sequence shown on the plate was determined by the gradual breakdown of the reverse die. The resulting placement shows a like deterioration in the obverse die – the gradual growth of a break beneath the figure there. In the last piece of the group (38) this break is off-flan – as a result the lowered placement shows the tip of the wing.

The relatively smaller scale of the lion as compared with the bull is noteworthy; so too is the beaded truncation, as comparison with Group B will show. The base-line beneath the two animals is similar in its formation to the frame or border of the following Group E. The workmanship betrays an inexperienced hand – the disintegration of the die is clear evidence that the die-cutter had no very extensive knowledge of working in metal.

GROUP E.

39–56. Same die as 27–38.

Rev. Square frame of dots between two lines—without type. Small flaws within square. Wts. 9.32; 9.41; 9.60; 9.37; 9.48; 9.40. In Stockholm Cabinet; 9.37; 9.31; 9.35; 9.39; 9.32; 9.26; 9.50; 9.38; 9.32; 9.47; 9.44; 9.54.

R. Staters.

PLATE XXXV, 39.42, 46.51.53, 56.

57-59. Die of nos. 39-56.

Rev. Similar, the die has been mended at the lower r., where it has sheared off and then been recut with the beading of the frame. Wts. 9.47; 9.45; 9.46. PLATE XXXV.

60-62. Die of nos. 57-59.

Rev. Similar to 39-56, but another die. Wts. 9.34; 9.43; 9.38. PLATE XXXV.

63. Pegasus to l. with feathered wing, of much finer style than any of the other pieces in this hoard. Traces of a bridle are visible.

Rev. The frame is accurately squared and the beading regular.

Æ. Stater. Coll. R. Pflieger. PLATE XXXV.

Group E is placed latest in this hoard because it is the most numerous. Judgment based on circulation-wear is not dependable. The arrangement is by progressing die-breaks of the reverse – six selections have been made from the eighteen pieces from the same dies. (39-56). Two sub-groups of three each have been added – 57-59 and 60-62. The workmanship of both sub-groups is inferior to the larger preceding one, in both instances displaying carelessness. The reverses of 57-59 have been broken away at the lower right corner, leaving a bevelled triangle upon which the dots or pellets of the border have been recut.

It is scarcely to be hoped that the Pegasus of the out-worn obverse die will be perceptible in the reproductions, but occasionally the curved tip of the wing shows.

No. 63 stands by itself. In form there is but slight difference from the Pegasus on no. 5 (the first of Group B) or from no. 26, the first of Group D, although the relief is lower and less vigorous. The reverse, although similar to the others of this group, is notably larger, neater and more nearly square. The border is narrower and the die-cutting more refined. Do we have here the prototype of the other reverses, followed on them in a bungling way with a lack of technical comprehension, or is it more likely that this is a later replacement by an experienced die-cutter, put to use but a short time before the hoard was buried?

The identification of the district from which our coins come as Lycian will perhaps seem to some without sufficient support and to others not definite enough, since 'Lycia' is a none-too-clearly bounded portion of Asia Minor. With the plates of this article at hand and the catalogue to supply details which have not survived the photographic record, any such criticism may be faced. The absence of a single triskeles on the coins of this hoard should give pause to any unqualified assertion that the source was Lycian, notwithstanding similarities of fabric and weight and the occurrence elsewhere in Lycia of some of the types. There is a further

reason for caution in that the main type and the lion's mask hint strongly of Greek influence, while the lion confronting the bull has an impressively Lydian savor.

From the continued use of the obverse die or dies until the type was hardly recognizable any longer, we deduce that the mint which produced these coins must have been situated in an isolated city, and the evidence might even be interpreted to mean that a competent die-engraver was not to be had when needed. Such a deduction would be quite in accord of what we know of Lycia in the fifth century. Geographically, the mountainous terrain made access from the interior extremely difficult and this restricted development to cities on or near the sea-coast. Rhodes and such powerful neighbors as Phaselis, Selge and Aspendus are likely to have dominated all but minor coastal commerce. Keeping these conditions in mind, we must look for a small town with scanty natural or commercial assets, probably inland rather than coastal – without close contacts with the outer world, yet having a Greek tradition which it refused to forget, although compromising as to some of its coinage-forms such as the weight-standard. In the later coinage of Lycia, we have 'local dynasts' who placed their names on their coinages in an alphabet whose interpretation has caused much controversy. The occurrence of single letters on coins has been thought to indicate the initials of such dynasts, although in some cases the names of Lycian municipalities have been suggested as satisfying the evidence. For the letters or 'brand-marks' which occur on the shoulder of the Lycian boar, either explanation seems reasonable – from such occurrences, however, it would not be logical to generalize that all such markings are so to be explained.

The single brand-mark found on the coins of our hoard is in the form of a letter 'T' and this occurs on the Pegasus of no. 5 – on his hind-quarters – and at the same time, on the shoulder of the bull of the reverse. Unless this is the initial of a local dynast, we have no hint as to its significance. Another letter, χ , occurring on the reverse die of Group D, is unlike any in the Lycian alphabet as given by Head. Occupying the lower right field, it appears to have pushed the minimized figure of a lion into the upper part of the die. It is seen most clearly on nos. 27 and 28. I have not found a parallel placement in the coinage of this part of Asia Minor.

The resemblance of this reverse to the type used by Croesus on his coinage has been noted by Babelon, but the differences are considerable. The two animals are the same and for both only their foreparts are shown. But they are reversed from

the relation in which they appear on the Lydian coins where the lion is the more important of the two, whereas here we have the bull attacking the lion. This Lycian bull has his legs in a running position or in a posture which on the coins of Gela is taken to indicate swimming. A. H. M. Jones makes the statement (*The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, [Oxford 1937], p. 97) that in the sixth century the Lycians were the only people of western Asia Minor not subjugated by Croesus. This being so, why should there have been this echoing of the Lydian type? On the other hand, how shall we explain the creation of this type independently?

For Group E, the framed reverses without any trace of a type are very puzzling. And how can no. 64 be explained? If conceived as a pattern, this is the only specimen we have. Thought of as a replacement of the outworn dies of this group, we must find an explanation for the difference in its technique. For the border is not only much more regular – it is cut differently. On nos. 40 to 63 the frame shows raised dots between two lines. On no. 63, the beading is much more regular. The increased size of the square to say nothing of the obverse Pegasus and the excellent condition of both dies support considering it a replacement – one not much used before this hoard was secreted.

For the pieces in this hoard of which the weights were obtainable, the average is 9.40. This excludes no. 12 (possibly plated – 7.92) and no. 11 (certainly plated (5.47)). The frequency table gave approximately the same result. I am unable to find any standard or system into which these weights fit other than that for the early issues of Lycia.

We have no record of other coin hoards found in Lycia, nor do we have anything but its make-up to indicate that this is probably the first. The use of a single obverse type throughout this hoard and the combination of that obverse type with reverses of such a widely varying nature is interesting and significant. There can be little doubt that a single obverse die was in use throughout Groups D and E. If the obverse die of Group B was recut for that of Group C as has been suggested, it is tempting to speculate whether a single die sufficed for all four groups – recut in Group C, and so worn through use or abuse that the type is scarcely discernible in the other two. An anvil die, such as is in question here, can be deepened easily, and withstands the development of cracks better than a punch die. The reverses were replaced when they deteriorated – what can have been the reason that this was not done with the anvil die?

Using dies that show much wear is another characteristic of the coinage of Lycia. A mint with such low standards must have been a humble one considerably

removed from a source for replacements with a consequent necessity of depending upon the local blacksmith rather than a die-cutter. If this strange hoard provides new evidence, it brings also new questions and few answers. It does tell of the isolation of a village or of a dynast and suggests that there may have been many and good reasons for the secreting of the hoard.

Speculating on a date for the burial of this hoard offers little promise. Although the few coins of which we have no record might invalidate any conclusions reached, the probability is that they were either superior (first choice) or inferior specimens (melted in testing) of the varieties we have. Nor in my opinion do we need to fear that the lacking weights would contribute data of sufficient significance to change results. The coins recorded are our only witnesses and their testimony is as confusing as that offered in any court. The indications point to all these coins having come from a single mint with a small output and an inexperienced staff having little skill.

The reverse types show strange variance, and like the obverse Pegasus have scant relation to other Lycian types. Both the forepart of the bull and the lion mask are strongly reminiscent of Samos, even though the mask is without the frame of the Samian type and the weight-standard differs. The bull has the same swimming posture found at Samos. Consequently there is the possibility that our mint might have been one of the Samian 'colonies', or even more probably a foundation or seizure of the Samian refugees. The lion's mask has a further but still more remote resemblance to an early type of Gortyna (PLATE XXXIV, c), but there we have a frame to the type, whereas in our hoard the mask is without frame, and in Group D there is a frame without a type.

The bull confronting the lion differs markedly from the type on the Lydian coins and the time interval between the two seems insurmountable.

The format, the weights, the brand marks, and to a lesser degree, the types are Lycian. It is my belief that somewhere in that territory we shall ultimately find a location which satisfies the conditions of this hoard.

DIE MEDAILLONPRÄGUNG UNTER CARUS UND SEINEN SÖHNEN

KARL PINK

Das Grundsätzliche über die Medaillone habe ich bereits *NZ*, 1955, S. 16f. "Die Medaillonprägung unter Probus" angeführt. Besonders sei darauf hingewiesen, daß zur endgültigen Einordnung der Medaillone nach Zeit und Münzstätten zuvor der Gesamtaufbau der Münzprägung eines Kaisers oder einer Periode gemacht werden muß. Andererseits aber kann dieser Gesamtaufbau nur gelingen, wenn auch die Medaillone berücksichtigt werden, die oft zur historischen Gliederung, zur zeitlichen Gruppierung und zur Stilzuweisung wesentlich sind. Ich habe bereits für Carus und seine Söhne den Aufbau in großen Zügen fertig. Für die feinere Einteilung wird freilich noch manches Problem dieser schwierigen Epoche durchdacht werden müssen. Der Ordnung der Medaillone habe ich meine bisherige Aufbauarbeit zugrunde gelegt, kann aber hier die Einzelheiten zur Begründung meiner Zuteilungen nicht geben. Sie werden dann aus dem Aufbau, der auch in einigen Jahren in unserer Zeitschrift erscheinen soll, ersichtlich sein. Für das Verständnis ist meine Bemerkung *NZ*, 1955, S. 17 wichtig, "daß nur wenige Münzämter so eingerichtet waren, daß sie Medaillone prägen konnten. Daher manchmal die Transferierung von Münzarbeitern, die ihren Stil mitnahmen". Wenn also ein Medaillon den Stil von Cyzikus wie unten Nr. 17 zeigt, so kann es unmöglich aus dieser Münzstätte stammen. Alle Abweichungen von Gneecchi bedeuten, daß dort, wie bereits bei Probus erwähnt, große Verwirrung herrscht. Die Medaillone aus London und Paris habe ich in Gipsabdrücken mit genauen Angaben bekommen.

Hiefür sei beiden Kabinetten der beste Dank ausgesprochen. Auch für manche Mitteilungen aus anderen Kabinetten habe ich zu danken.¹

Die gewöhnlichen Abkürzungen: Pv = Paludament von vorn, Ph = ebenso von hinten, C = Cuiraß. AVGG muß nicht immer zwei Augusti bedeuten, manchmal domus Augusta. PA = Pink, Aufbau der Münzprägung unter Probus, NZ, 1949, 1f.; PM = Pink, Medaillone des Probus, NZ, 1955, S. 16f.

CARUS

I. Mit gesonderten Prägungen für Carinus

Aus *Ticinum* (dazu Parallelprägung für Carinus als Caesar, unten Nr. 6).

1. MONETA AVGG

IMP C M AVR CARVS PFAVG

alle drei nach links

Ph n. rechts

gepr. 282

Cohen 42 – Gneccchi II 120,2 Abb. Gn Tf. 122,2

1. Wien (Tiepolo), 22.35 g, 33 mm – 2. London, 24.75 g, 33 mm – 3. Paris, 19.5 g, 30 mm – 4. Berlin, 24.93 g, 34 mm – 5. Florenz, 19.5 g, 32 mm – 6. Trau, 3171, o. G., 32 mm

Bei Gn Verwirrung und Vermischung mit 120,1 (mit Cuiraß), die nach Siscia gehören. Nur durch freundliche Auskünfte der Kabinettsvorstände war eine Scheidung möglich.

Aus *Siscia* (dazu Parallelprägung für Carinus als Augustus, unter No. 7).

2. MONETA AVGG alle drei nach links (TAFEL XXXVI,1)

IMP C M AVR CARVS PFAVG

C nach rechts

gepr. um 283

Coh 41 – Gn II 120,1 Abb. Gn Tf. 122,1

1. Wien (vernutzt), 30.21 g, 35 mm – 2. Paris, 32.8 g, 36 mm – 3. Paris, 30.7 g, 36 mm – 4. Glasgow, 27.4 g, 37 mm – 5. Neapel, 31.97 g, 37 mm – 6. Madrid, 29.3 g, 35 mm – 7. Mzhdlg. Basel, Nr. 1, 2178 = Nr. 8, 1027, o. G., 35 mm – 8. Mzhdlg. Basel, Nr. 3, 922, o. G., 36.4 mm – 9. Naville XI, 962 (vernutzt), 29.13 g, 35 mm.

Über die Verwirrung bei Gneccchi vgl. oben.

¹ Auf TAFEL XXXVI sind 1, 6, 9 aus Paris, die übrigen aus Wien.

II. Gemeinsam mit den beiden Caesaren

3. **ADVENTVS AVGG** Die drei Herrscher reiten n. links m. Grußgeste, geführt v. Victoria. Im Hintergrund Soldaten.
 Gepr. 282 in Siscia
 Coh S. 366,1 – Gn II 123,1 Abb. Gn Tf. 123,10
 1. Agram (vernutzt), 29.73 g, 38 mm.
- IMPCAR[O AVG CARIN]O ET NVMERIANO** i.A: CAESS Die Kaiserbüste von vorn, die Caesarenbüsten im Profil, ihm zugewendet.

III. Gemeinsam mit Carinus

a) als Caesar

4. **SAECVLI FELICITAS** Die vier Jahreszeiten als spielende Knaben
 Gepr. 282 in Siscia
 Coh S. 365,8 – Gn II 121,1 Abb. Gn Tf. 122,3
 1. Paris, 52.0 g, 40 mm.
- IMP CARO [AVG ET] CARINO N CAES**
 Beide Büsten einander zugekehrt, Carus mit Pv, Carinus mit breiter Achselklappe wie auf Antoninianen in Siscia u. Rom

Bei Gn fehlt das zu ergänzende **AVG** im Avers. Der freie Platz und der Titel für Carinus verlangen diese Ergänzung.

b) als Augustus

In Gold

5. **VICTORIAE AVGVSTT** (sic!) zwei Victorien halten Schild mit **VOTIS/X** i.A. **SIS** (TAFEL XXXVI,2)
 Gepr. um 283 in Siscia
 Zur Ernennung des Carinus als Augustus
 Coh S. 366,11 – Gn I 11,1 Abb. Gn Tf. 4,8
 1. Wien (Fd. v. Petrianec), 27.42 g, 34 mm.
- IMPP CARVS ET CARINVS AVGG**
 Beide Büsten einander zugekehrt, Carus mit Pv, Carinus mit C

Das Gewicht bei Gn falsch.

O. Das Medaillon bei Gn II S. 122 (Tf. 123,1) von Carus und Magnia Urbica ist unmöglich. Es könnte eine Renaissance-Arbeit sein.

CARINUS

I. Als Caesar

(Parallelprägung zu Carus, oben Nr. 1)

Aus *Ticinum*

6. MONETA AVGG alle drei n. links

M AVR CARINVS NOB CAES

Pv n. rechts

Gepr. 282 (TAFEL XXXVI,3)

a) mit kurzer Büste wie bei Gneccchi

Coh 58 – Gn II 121,6 Abb. Gn Tf. 122,8

1. Wien (Carthus), 30.9 g, 33 mm – 2. (Wien Carthus), 27.05 g, 32 mm – 3. London, 20.86 g, 32 mm – 4. London, 23.0 g, 31 mm – 5. Paris, 22.18 g, 31 mm – 6. Paris, 20.43 g, 31 mm – 7. Florenz, 24.7 g, 33 mm – 8. Turin, 21.5 g, 32 mm – 9. Trau, 3221, o. G., 32 mm – 10. Mzhdlg. Basel, Nr. 1, 2179, o. G., 33.2 mm – 11. ebenda 2180, o. G., 30.5 mm – 12. ebenda Nr. 3, 928, o. G., 31.9 mm.²

b) mit langer Büste (TAFEL XXXVI,4)

1. Wien (Tiepolo), 34.65 g, 37 mm – 2. Wien (Carthus), 26.55 g, 36 mm.

O. traiectus augg .Schrift n. rechts m.
Ruderern u. fünf Soldaten. Der Kaiser
regiert das Steuer.

maur carinus n c .Pferdebüste nach
rechts

(Gepr. 282, wahrscheinlich aus Ticinum)

Coh 128 – Gn II 121,7 Abb. bei O. Strada, *De vitis imperatorum etc.* (Frankfurt a. M., 1615), S. 163.

Ein recht zweifelhaftes Stück. Zunächst fraglich, ob es überhaupt ein Medaillon ist, da Strada alle Stücke in fast gleicher Größe abbildet. Auf die Zeichnung – es ist bis jetzt die einzige Abbildung – ist nicht viel zu geben, sie ist teilweise phantastisch. Die Averslegende ist zwar sonst nicht bekannt, wäre aber in Ticinum möglich. Pferdebüsten haben wir zwei von Carinus, eine von Numerian. Traiectus aug öfter bei Gordian III, auch mit Schiff (Gn Tf. 105,8, sehr ähnlich). Das Schiff als Glückszeichen mit abundantia aug für Carus auf Doppelantoninian aus Lugdunum (NZ, 1951, S. 49).

²) Hierher gehören wohl die beiden Stücke aus Glasgow bei Gneccchi.

II. Als Augustus

a) Mit Carus als Parallelprägung in *Siscia*, oben Nr. 2.

7. MONETA AVGG alle drei n. links

IMP C MAVR CARINVS PFAVG

Pv n. rechts, an der linken Seite abstehende Pteryges, in *Siscia* häufig.

Gepr. um 283, vgl. oben zu Nr. 5

Coh 54 – Gn II 121,2 Abb. Gn Tf. 122,5

1. Paris, 39.58 g, 37/40 mm – 2. Slg. Gneccchi, 29.5 g, 38 mm.

Bei Gneccchi sind zwei verschiedene Typen unter dieser Nummer, solche mit Pteryges, wie oben, und solche mit gewöhnlichem Pv, die unten bei Rom behandelt sind.

b) Er prägt auch für Numerianus in *Rom* (unten Nr. 19)

8. MONETA AVGG alle drei nach links

IMP C MAVR CARINVS PF AVG

Pv n. rechts

Gepr. in Rom 284

Coh 54 u. 55 – Gn II 121,2

1. Wien (Theupoli), 23.26 g, 33 mm – 2. Wien (Carthus), 25.26 g, 36 mm – 3. Paris, 23.47 g, 33 mm – 4. Florenz, 19.8 g, 33 mm – 5. Kopenhagen, 35 g – 6. Bologna, 18.0 g, 32 mm – 7. Naville XI 964, 24.36 g, 32 mm.

c) Für Numerianus in *Siscia* (unten Nr. 20ff.)

Eine vorbereitete große Serie für das erwartete Zusammentreffen der Brüder mit Siegesfeiern für beide und Konsulatsfeier für Numerianus. Die Parallelstücke fehlen vielfach. Alle Stücke aus *Siscia* vom Sommer 284.

9. [ADVENTVS AVGG] abgeschliffen

IMPP CARINO ET NVMERIANO PP

FF AVGG Die Büsten (Carinus mit Pv u. Numerianus mit C) zugekehrt.

Gn II 123,1 Abb. Gn Tf. 123,9

1. Budapest, 32.57 g, 38 mm.

Die Reverslegende unleserlich, aber wegen der parallelen Adventusprägungen für Carus (AV), Carinus (An), alle drei (oben Nr. 3) und Aurei für Carinus und Numerianus wahrscheinlich. Vgl. Elmer in *Der Münzensammler* (Gablonz, 1935), No. 86.

10a. P M TRI COS PP i.A. SC

IMP CARINVS PFAVG

C n. rechts m. Schild

Quadriga mit beiden Kaisern n. rechts

Coh 80 – Gn III 94, 34 Abb. Gn Tf. 161, 10

1. Petersburg (Slg. Fontane), 35 mm.

10b. Derselbe Revers

IMP C NVMERIANVS C n. rechts

Gn III 94, 20 Abb. Gn Tf. 161, 9

1. Slg. Gnechi, 27 g, 35/40 mm.

Beide Stücke dürften Abgüsse sein. Parallele Aurei in Siscia. SC wurde richtig als Abkürzung für Siscia schon von Missong gedeutet. Vgl. die Anmerkung zu Gallienus Gn S. 93, III.

11. ADLOCVTIO AVGG Beide Kaiser
auf Estrade n. links m. Rednergeste,
dahinter der Präfekt, vorne Soldaten
(TAFEL XXXVI, 5)

IMP C NVMERIANVS PF AVG COS
Trabea n. rechts, Adlerzepter u.
Kugel m. Victoriola.

Coh 4 – Gn II 122, 1 Abb. Gn Tf. 123, 2

1. Wien (Carthus), Vergoldungsspuren, 57.56 g, 41 mm – 2. Wien, 30.56 g, 37 mm – 3. London, 39.0 g, 40 mm – 4. Paris, 45.03 g, 41 mm – 5. Slg. Jameson, Nr. 469, 55.98 g.

Derselbe Avers dann für die Moneta-Stücke unten Nr. 20. Daher kann das zweite Pariser Stück mit abgeschliffenem Revers nicht zugeteilt werden. Es wiegt 47.33 g. Ein angeblich drittes Stück aus Wien, das Gnechi anführt, hat den Revers Moneta augg unten Nr. 20.

12. TRIVNFV QVADOR Beide Kaiser auf
Quadriga n. links, geführt v. Victoria,
hinten Soldaten und eine Trophäe
m. Gefangenen, i.A.: zwei sitzende
Gefangene u. Waffen
(TAFEL XXXVI, 6)

IMP NVMERIANVS PF AVG
C n. rechts, Lanze u. Kugel

Coh 91 – Gn II 123, 11 Abb. Gn Tf. 123, 8

1. Paris, 21.53 g, 35 mm.

Nach Elmer (vgl. oben No. 9) Abschlag eines Quaternio. Es ist ein Sieg des Carinus, das Parallelstück fehlt. Das Porträt zeigt den breiten Stil von Ticinum wie auch die Aurei aus dieser Zeit. Über das Wandern der Münzarbeiter vgl. Pink (PA S. 23).

In Gold

13. VIRTVS AVGVSTOR Carinus steht links, bekränzt von Sol, und überreicht dem gegenüber stehenden Numerianus, der von Hercules bekränzt wird, eine Victoriola (TAFEL XXXVI,7)
- IMP C M AVR CARINVS PF AVG
Pv n. rechts

Coh 189 – Gn I, 10,1 Abb. Gn Tf. 4,4 u. 5

1. Wien (Bachofen 2290), 28.65 g, 30 mm – 2. Paris (Henkelspur), 28.25 g, 32 mm.

Dazu zwei Abgüsse in AE

Coh 190 – Gn II 121,8 u. III 74,9 Abb. Gn Tf. 122,9

1. Paris, 16.21 g, 30 mm – 2. Berlin, 10.77 g, 29 mm.

In Gold

14. VIRTVS AVGVSTORVM Beide Kaiser zu Pferd im Schlachtgetümmel, bekränzt von je einer Victoria, unten Feinde
- IMP NVMERIANVS AVG
Pferdebüste n. links, C u. Lanze
- Gn I 11,1 Abb. Gn Tf. 4,7

1. Petersburg, 27.0 g, 35 mm.

Dazu ein Abguß in AR in Wien, 29.7 g, 13 mm, und anscheinend in AE nach Coh 117 aus Vaillant, *Numismata Imperat. Roman.* (Rom, 1743), III,222.

Weitere Parallelprägungen mit Siegesdarstellungen im Avers

- 15a. MONETA AVGG alle drei n. links (TAFEL XXXVI,8)
- IMP C MAVR CARINVS AVG
Pv n. links, vorn Schild u. Lanze in Ausfallstellung

Coh 56 – Gn II 121,4 Abb. Gn Tf. 122,7

1. Wien (Carthus), 28.65 g, 38 mm – 2. Ehem. Vatikan, bei Gn abgebildet.

15b. Wie oben, die mittlere vorn

1. Paris, 29.0 g, 37 mm – 2. Paris (gelocht), 23.48 g, 36 mm.

In Slg. Weber Nr. 2429 ein ganz überarbeitetes Stück, nicht mehr zu identifizieren. Bei Gnechi herrscht bei den Nrn. 3–5 ein völliges Durcheinander. Ich habe nur Stücke aufgenommen, die ich selbst gesehen habe.

16. MONETA AVGG die mittlere von vorn

IMP C MAVR CARINVS AVG

C n. links, Lanze über der rechten Schulter, in der Linken den Schild (vgl. unten Nr. 21)

Coh 57 – Gn II 121, 3 u. 5 Abb. Gn Tf. 122,6

1. Paris, 18.41 g, 32 mm – 2. Slg. Gnechi, 19.0 g, 33 mm.

17. MONETA AVGG alle drei nach links

IMP C MAVR CARINVS PFAVG

Pv n. rechts

Bachofen Nr. 2283 Abb. ebenda Tf. 26

1. Wien, aus Slg. Bachofen, 18.27 g, 33 mm.

Dieses Stück hat, wie die Parallelserie von Numerian Nr. 23, den Stil von *Cyzicus*. Daß gelegentlich auch scalptores aus anderen Münzstätten berufen wurden, habe ich bei Probus gezeigt. Vgl. oben Nr. 12.

d) Als Alleinherrscher

Nach dem Tode Numerians

18. MONETA AVG die mittlere von vorn

IMP C MAVR CARINVS PFAVG

Pv n. rechts. Die Pteryges nach Siscianer Art abstehend

Geprägt in Rom 285

Gn II 121,1 Abb. Gn Tf. 122,4

1. Berlin, 47.17 g, 37 mm.

NUMERIANUS

(Die Festmedaillone, gemeinsam mit Carinus, siehe oben No. 9ff.)

a) Romprägung 284 wie Carinus No. 8

19. MONETA AVGG alle drei n. links
(TAFEL XXXVI,9)

IMP C MAVR NVMERIANVS AVG

Ph n. rechts m. Nackenband über Achsel

Gepr. Rom 284

Coh 30 – Gn II 123,7 u. 8 Abb. Gn Tf. 123,7



MEDAILLONPRÄGUNG UNTER CARUS UND SEINEN SÖHNEN

1. Wien (Carthus), 21.0 g, 33 mm – 2. Paris, 21.92 g, 32 mm – 3. Paris (vernutzt), 15.18 g, 32 mm – 4. Slg. Gnechi, 16.7 g, 33 mm – 5. Schulman 1923, Nr. 2497 (früher Slg. Bizot), 23.10 g, 33 mm.

Gnechi No. 7 = No. 8; Coh 31 gibt es nicht in Paris; Coh 32, Fälschung aus Rollin, ist zuletzt bei Naville VIII, 1428 aus Slg. Weber aufgetaucht. Das eine Nackenband über der Achsel kommt nur hier vor, sonst auf Consecrations-Münzen.

b) Zur Festprägung in *Siscia* 284 wie Carinus Nr. 15f.

20. **MONETA AVGG** alle drei n. links **IMP C NVMERIANVS PFAVG COS**
Trabeabüste n. r. m. Adlerzepter
u. Victoriola auf Kugel; derselbe
Avers wie adlocutio augg, oben
Nr. 11

Coh 25 – Gn II 122,2 Abb. Gn Tf. 123,3

1. Wien (Carthus), 29.25 g, 32 mm (martellatus) – 2. Paris, 40.04 g, 37 mm – 3. Paris, 33.57 g, 37 mm – 4. Paris, 31.95 g, 35 mm – 5. Slg. Gnechi, 39.59 g, 35 mm.

21. Wie oben **IMP C NVMERIANVS PFAVG**
C n. links über der rechten Schulter
Lanze, in der Linken Schild (vgl.
oben Nr. 16)

Coh 29 – Gn II 123,6

1. London, 22.61 g, 35 mm – 2. Paris, 19.44 g, 34 mm.

22. Wie oben Wie oben, aber ohne Schild

Coh 26 – Gn II 122,3 Abb. Gn Tf. 123,4

1. Paris, 36,32 g, 37 mm.

Das angebliche Londoner Stück bei Gnechi gibt es nicht

23. **MONETA AVGG** alle drei nach **IMP C NVMERIANVS PFAVG**
links C n. rechts, Lanze über linker
Schulter

Coh 27 – Gn II 122,4 Abb. 123,5

1. Wien (Bachofen 2277), 31.57 g, 36 mm – 2. Parma, 32.0 g, 21 mm – 3. Verona, 36.0 g, 33 mm.

Ob 2 u. 3 hierher gehören, ist mangels Abbildung unsicher. Es ist der Stil von *Cyzicus* wie Carinus Nr. 17

24a. MONETA AVGG alle drei nach Legende wie oben, Pv n. rechts
links

Coh 28 – Gn II 122,5 Abb. Gn Tf. 123,6

1. Paris, 24.73 g, 31 mm – 2. Florenz nach Gori, *Mus. Flor.*, Tf. XCII, 1. 22.75 g, 30 mm –
3. Trau 3191, o. G., 32 mm – 4. Basel, Nr. 3, 923, o. G., 32 mm.

24b. Die mittlere von vorn

1. London, 23.65 g, 33/37 mm.

IV. FÜR MAGNIA URBICA

25. PVDICITIA AVG Die Kaiserin MAGNIA VRBICA AVG Büste
sitzt n. links, vor ihr zwei Kinder, m. P nach rechts
hinter ihr Felicitas (TAFEL XXXVI, 10)

Gepr. 284 in Rom, wohl zur Hochzeit

Coh 6 – Gn 122,1 Abb. Gn Tf. 122,10

1. Wien (Tiepolo), 56.65 g, 42 mm – 2. Paris, 67.0 g, 40 mm – 3. Slg. Weber 2438, 62.4 g,
42 mm – 4. Basel, Nr. 8, 1035 (früher Wien), 59.11 g, 42 mm.

STORE-CARDS OR TOKENS OF MEXICO

A. F. PRADÉAU

To approach the subject intelligently, one must determine whether the aborigines of New Spain were free or slaves. The conquerors were men who had been in Cuba and Española for some time, had learned to regard the natives as their property, to exploit as they saw fit, to overwork, enslave and even to brand them as ranchers brand cattle. Throughout the sixteen and seventeen centuries, the *conquistadores*, their immediate descendants, government officials, the Church and the Crown, employed various devices for coercing labor with as little cost to themselves as possible, either in food, care or vestments. The sworn declaration of Manzanárez, assistant treasurer of the Mexico City mint, testifying before a notary during the Tello de Sandoval investigation in 1545 discloses that of the twelve slaves the treasurer had, four had died of overwork, two more were dying and only six remained active! This explains why, as it had happened in Cuba, the population of Mexico declined between eighty and ninety per cent. The laws that from time to time were enacted for the protection of the Indians, were modified according to the circumstances of the person claiming exemption, who being a Spaniard and a Christian considered it degrading to do manual labor! This attitude, remains one of the persistent traits of the so-called "higher class" of Mexico.

Another aspect of this study should comprise the wages paid. By edicts of January 7, 1549 and February 22 of the same year, the Queen of Spain approved that the Indians be used instead of beasts of burden to carry loads into mining

regions, work for which the Council of Mexico authorized a daily wage of one-fourth of a *real*. Two centuries later one finds that the natives, rendering coerced services, were the source of cheap labor, and while the Crown, the Church and the Spaniards continued to retain control in New Spain, there was hardly a chance for improvement.

By 1900 in rural communities the monthly salary received by the mayor of a town was sixty *pesos*; clerks were paid twenty to twenty-five *pesos* for a thirty day period which meant working Sundays; a bookkeeper earned fifty *pesos*, a teacher thirty, and laborers four to five *pesos* a month. All this being somewhat higher in the cities and large mining centers, where proportionately, living expenses were also much higher.

A careful study of the prevailing conditions and the scarcity of coins of small denomination with which to carry on commercial transactions will impress the reader as the most obvious cause for the existence of Mexican tokens.

From 1550 to 1794, the smallest denomination issued by the Spanish-Colonial Government was the silver *half-real* coin, equivalent to 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ cents. As the earnings of the individual were small, his purchases had to be in the same category, rarely higher than one-fourth of a *real*, eighths of a *real* and sixteenths of a *real* being the most prevalent.

The difficulties arising from the lack of a circulating medium of exchange of low denomination were a constant source of annoyance. More often than not, the aborigines suffered considerable mulcting. Therefore, it was evident and essential that the monetary system of the colony be modified to meet the needs of its inhabitants. Yet, for over two centuries the Spanish authorities failed to recognize the importance of the problem or chose to ignore it.

Sometime during the first quarter of the eighteenth century, shopkeepers (*pulperos*) contrived the issuance of tokens or store-cards which would serve as fractional currency. Although these *necessity* pieces were redeemable by the issuer only—and he was not always reliable—they received popular approval. As the need was extreme, no coercion was necessary and the existence of these *private issues* became a “must” in the vast expanse of New Spain. Within a short time the colony was flooded with innumerable issues, most of which were cast in a diversity of forms, designs and markings.

The earliest account dealing with these counters (*tlacos*) was a viceregal decree or ordinance issued by don Juan de Acuña, Marquis of Casa-Fuerte in 1731 by which it was attempted to regulate the use of tokens; unfortunately, the copy

of this earliest document, seen and studied by don Manuel Romero de Terreros, could not be located.

Another was the narrative written in German by the Jesuit Joseph Och who during his stay in Mexico City in July, 1756 noticed that "there was a curious kind of money, invented by the shopkeepers, each having its own seal stamped upon small pieces of iron (sic) copper, wood, or even bars of soap about the length of a finger. "This money-making system," states Father Och, "was quite lucrative to the merchants, for as no one but the issuers would accept such counters, the customer was obliged to return to the same shop to make them valid."¹

The third of December, 1757, Ferdinand VI issued a *real decreto* regulating the issuance and acceptance of *pilones*, *vales*, *señales*, and *tlacos* in New Spain. This decree, consisting of twenty-nine articles, was made public in Mexico the following year by don Agustín Ahumada y Villalón, 42nd Viceroy of New Spain, in a twelve page pamphlet printed by the heirs of the widow of don Joseph Bernardo de Hoyal under the pompous title of *Ordenanzas para el Régimen y Gobierno de los Tenderos y Tiendas de Pulpería dadas por la muy noble, leal, Insigne e Imperial Ciudad de México, Cabeza de los reynos y Provincias de esta Nueva España: Confirmadas con precedente parecer del Señor Fiscal de su Magestad por Superior Decreto del 3 de Diciembre de 1757*.

The government of the Spanish-American colonies was highly centralized with the supreme authority vested in the king of Spain to whom all matters were submitted for final decision. Therefore, it was not at all strange that on December 29, 1766, a high official of the Inquisition reported to Charles III that in Mexico City there were more than two thousand shopkeepers, each with a sort of coinage of his own, wholly different from that of his competitors. The alarmed informer explained that when the issuers had establishments within the City of Mexico, the tokens were made of metal, but those whose establishments were in the outskirts consisted chiefly of wooden planchets. He then proceeded to enumerate the undesirable features of the method: (a) the tokens were not acceptable by all merchants; (b) should the issuer sell out, the new owner might not make good the store-cards; (c) in case of bankruptcy or closing of the store the public would suffer a loss and lastly (d) the Indian who brought his wares from out of town was compelled to

¹ *Nachrichten von seinen Reisen nach dem Spanischen Nord-Amerika . . . vom Jahr 1754-1767, und Rückkehr nach Europa* (Halle, Westphalia, 1809-1811), I, p. 57. The publisher of the book was Christoph Gottlieb von Murr.

accept payment, half cash and half in tokens, which were worthless in any other community. Consequently he was forced to go from house to house, seeking a buyer at 5 or 6 tokens for half a *real* instead of the assigned rate of exchange of four. Throughout the lengthy and well detailed report, the King was urged to consider the issuance of fractional currency. An investigation followed, but in the end, June 18, 1768, the suggestion was overruled.

In 1794 the Count of Revilla Gigedo in the secret instructions left to his successor the Marquis of Branciforte, article 452, annotates that "coins of small denomination exerted great influence in the commerce of the Colony, but not having copper coinage it became necessary for the storekeepers to devise a medium of exchange called *tlacos* that permitted them to retail their wares at excessive profit. . . . I tried to prevent abuses and started to prepare a report for His Majesty but in the meantime the silver fourths of a *real* were minted, which to some extent have relieved the needs of the poor."

Another complaint was filed December 1, 1805. This time it was presented to Viceroy Iturrigaray of New Spain, who, less capable than his predecessors, refused to do anything about it. In fact, since 1794 the Mexico City mint had been striking *cuartillas* (fourths of a *real*) and it was expected that these tiny silver coins would alleviate the exchange difficulties. They might have done so, had it not been for the unrest noticeable in the Colony caused by the Napoleonic invasion of Spain, the dethronement of Charles IV, and virtual imprisonment of the heir, Ferdinand VII. The Spanish-American colonies seized the opportunity and from 1810 to 1821 rose in revolt against Spanish domination. During this period, because of the lack of safety on the highways, the private issues increased tremendously. The copper coinage of Morelos, 1811-1814, did not help matters.

The War of Independence was rapidly gaining ground and adherents. By February, 1813 a new viceroy was appointed in the person of the Division Commander, Félix María Calleja, who had had some degree of success against the insurgents and was a man of action; but the revolution had decreased the revenues, and to conduct a war money was necessary. Therefore, on August 23, 1814 Viceroy Calleja, using the circulation of tokens as an excuse to cover up the real reason for the issuance of copper specie, made public an edict which in the related part reads:

"Always alert and willing to extend to the people of New Spain every possible aid, I have promoted the issuance of copper specie in order to

put an end to the usurious, ruinous and arbitrary circulation of the tokens commonly known as *tlacos*, in use by all stores."

"And so that no one may suffer, I have assigned the next eight days as the period in which said *tlacos* must disappear. The shopkeepers must accept all the tokens brought in, but after three days following the publication of this order, he shall not use them to 'make change'. Infractions will be punishable at the rate of fifty *pesos* each."

Because of the unsettled condition of the country, this salutary measure did not put an end to the store-cards. After the Spanish yoke was overthrown (1821), Mexico embarked in a series of revolutions. The private issues continued, more numerous, perhaps, than during the colonial days, until the last decade of the nineteenth century.

A study of the tokens of Mexico should include a primary classification: Colonial issues, those in circulation during the period comprised between 1730 and 1821; and Republican, those emitted from 1821 to about 1900. The monarchical regimes of Iturbide, 1822-1823, and Maximilian, 1864-1867, can be eliminated because they were of short duration and also because each actually disapproved of the private issues, decreeing their suppression and authorizing the striking of cents and half-cents.

A second classification, perhaps the most important, should be their segregation into Store-Cards, Mining Industry Fichas (chips) and Hacienda Tokens.

No mention is made of Municipal Issues as these, as well as the State Issues, must and should be considered under Copper Coinage of Mexico, mattering little whether it was regional or national; and because they were issued by constituted authorities, it is improper to classify them as private issues. These were, perforce, a necessity coinage, which occasionally might have been obsidional; yet, the fact remains that they were authorized by a governing body extant at the time. Therefore, such emissions should not be grouped under the category of tokens.

To determine whether the tokens are of the Colonial type or of comparatively recent manufacture is rather difficult as the pieces are seldom dated. Anyone attempting to classify these pieces will find the task arduous, more so if not well versed in the history and geography of the country.

As stated before, the majority of these pieces are cast; a vast proportion is unifaced, and because of the inability of the Mexicans to work iron, the earliest

are made of copper. Later ones – perhaps within the Colonial epoch – were brass or bronze. Those made of iron, whether dated or not, belong to the republican period, definitely after 1830. Others made of glass, hard-wood, leather, and on occasion, bars of soap, may be attributed to the late nineteenth century. For obvious reasons, tokens made of vulcanized rubber, aluminum or celluloid are of recent manufacture.

As to the second classification – that of differentiating tokens into store-cards, etc., – this writer wishes to express his opposition to the misnomer Hacienda tokens, which leads one to believe that *haciendas*, plantations or ranches, were the sole issuers of this medium of exchange. Nothing can be further from the truth.

As it has been shown in the documents cited, storekeepers were the first to use them. Whether *haciendas* used them during the Colonial period is open to doubt. The plantations were located far away from towns. Furthermore, the owner did not permit strangers on his premises and he kept a store (*tienda de raya*) where his *peons* could obtain merchandise.

The degree of illiteracy up to 1821 was almost one hundred per cent. By 1900 only about sixteen per cent could read. Thus, it would have been difficult or well nigh impossible for the agricultural laborer to determine the value of tokens except by its form or size; besides, of what earthly use would such token be to him if it were not acceptable outside of the plantation? The system of peonage that existed until the Madero revolution, 1910–1913, kept whole families for generations in the servitude of the *hacendado* or *patrón*. During the Colonial period, divisible into three epochs, the Spaniards established a feudal system. During the first fifty years the conqueror seized the land and levied tribute on his serfs, the natives. After that, the *encomienda* was a modified feudal system, and it, as well as the *corregimiento* that followed, allowed the conqueror to continue enslaving the aborigines. The pittance that each laborer might have received as wages during the Colonial period could be covered easily with the existing coin of the realm, but as he was rarely permitted off the plantation, his needs were met by the general store kept by the owner.

During the Republican period, the employer devised a system whereby the *peon* himself could keep track of what he earned, spent or owed. It consisted of a sheet of paper which the *peon* kept rolled and protected in the hollow of a bamboo segment. The system used was simple and easily understood by an illiterate person; an “o” indicated eight *reales*; half a circle, four *reales*; a vertical line stood

for one *real* and a diagonal over three vertical lines indicated four *reales*. As the average monthly *raya* or wage of a peon was thirty to forty *reales*, the entries in the debt-sheet were charges for goods purchased at the *tienda de raya* (general store) for himself and his family over and above what he had earned. Credit was extended in order to keep the worker in servitude but should another plantation owner request his services, the *peon* was free to go, provided his new employer paid his debt, who, in turn, continued carrying the charge. After 1869, when the metric system was adopted by Mexico, the *peon's* method of accounting continued the same except that a vertical line indicated a dime and the diagonal line over four verticals stood for half a *peso*.

As to size, weight and shape, Mexican tokens vary considerably; the circular form predominated, although the oval, the square and the rectangular pieces are numerous. There are a few triangular pieces and at times one finds rhomboidal, pentagonal, hexagonal and octagonal ones. Being lovers of nature, the natives showed their temperament by having their tokens in the forms of leaves, such fruits as the pomegranate and pear; animals as for example the dog, goat or pig. Frogs and fish, and even heavenly bodies as a star or a half-moon are crudely represented. Not a few are heart shaped. It is the belief of the writer that some of these forms might not have been the original but the past-time of an idle possessor.

As to the markings appearing on the tokens, occasionally on both sides, consist of orthographically incorrect surnames, abbreviations, or as in the rare exceptions where haciendas issued them, the reproduction of the cattle branding iron, a mark that in Republican Mexico had to be registered with the authorities. Many of the later tokens were made in the United States, and in these the workmanship is excellent. Incidentally, to the author's knowledge there were no toll bridges in Mexico and the word PUENTE must be considered a cognomen, a rather common one in all Spanish speaking countries.

The value assigned to each token does not seem to appear on the majority of them. In fact, it is scarcer than the date. However, some bear the word *tlaco* which in itself means "half" and as such, could be a rather elastic term, applicable to any value. In the beginning *tlaco* or *claco* was indicative of one-half of a *cuartilla* (at times *Quartillo* or *Quartilla*) which would make it one-eighth of a *real* (about a cent and a half). Thus, four *tlacos* would be equivalent to one-half *real*. As a general rule, one could state that those pieces showing the value, either in fractions or spelled out, belong in the classification of coins, municipal, state or national.

It is true that some tokens carry numerals such as 1, 2, 4 or 8. These have been interpreted by some investigators as representing *reales* (the Spanish monetary unit indicative of 12½ cents). This assertion may be correct, but unless followed by the letter "R", the abbreviation "Rs." or the word *Reales*, it should be open to doubt. These would have taken the place of the coinage of the realm, either colonial or republican, and neither government was sympathetic towards counterfeiters who were usually summarily executed.

Frequent depreciation of the governments' copper specie, issued by either national, state or municipal authorities, was another reason for the existence of tokens. From 1824 to 1837 fourteen million *pesos* of this despised coin existed in Mexico which was then populated by less than seven million people! By 1881 the country was bankrupt and the advent of the nickel coinage during the following two years made matters worse. Many a government supported by an issue of copper coin came into power only to fall within a short time! One revolution after another made the finances of the country sink lower and lower, until all revenues were mortgaged. Counterfeiting was rampant in Mexico, and the United States with its great productive capacity also participated. On August 16, 1833 the ship "Robert Wilson" sailing from New York brought into Veracruz a shipment of spurious coppers consigned to one Thomas Savage. In 1859 a firm in Allegheny dealing in water pumps, smuggled large quantities of counterfeit pieces hidden in the hollow parts of this type of industrial machinery. In 1862 another firm from San Francisco, California, passed an undetermined amount of spurious coins stuffed in water pipes under the very noses of Mexican Customs Inspectors of Mazatlán, Sinaloa! These are only a few of the many instances that could be cited.

Where copper currency was concerned, the populace, sensing the irresponsibility of the government, preferred to accept tokens issued by local concerns; in distant sections of the country, where coined money was scarce, private issues served the purpose satisfactorily, and indeed were received with less repugnance than the official specie.

The first legislation directed towards regulating and limiting the circulation of *tlacos* seems to have been enacted by the Spanish-Colonial government of Durango in 1797, at which time the issuance of private coinages without previous registration of the design and approval by the city council (*ayuntamiento*) was forbidden. Next in importance was the Morelos edict of July 13, 1813 by which he ordered: "..... that to prevent confusion (with his own coinage) all *tlacos* or

clacos made of copper must be retrieved by the issuers who should make them valid at their true silver value. For the time being, shopkeepers may continue using wooden tokens, and to avoid fraudulence, the issuers must obtain permission from these headquarters. Such permits shall be granted at a small charge which will be in proportion with the amount to be issued."

The Constitution of 1857, Article 72, section XXIII, reserves for the national government the privilege of coining money and by Article III, section III declares, that no state in the union shall coin money, issue paper currency, postage, revenue stamps or stamped paper (*papel sellado*). The subject of tokens, either as private or municipal issues, was not mentioned; however, by implication or deduction, these means of exchange were illegal. Article 114 of the same Constitution imposes upon the State's government the obligation of preventing the circulation of illegal coinage within its boundaries. Yet, in spite of extant legislation, the infractions were numerous and the unrest that prevailed made the enforcement of the law difficult, if not altogether impossible.

By Presidential decree of November 30, 1889, Article 13, it was specified that after July 1, 1890, the use of promissory notes (*vales*), debt-sheets (*papeles*), tokens (*fichas*), or the use of any means to supplant the coin of the realm, was strictly forbidden. Infractors would be subject to fines ranging from \$ 50 to \$ 500 for each offense.

Scarcity of transportation facilities and the insecurity on the highways restricted the circulation of the national coinage to the vicinity of the mints then in operation, depriving outlying states and districts of the necessary currency with which to transact business. The government, aware of this inadequacy, pledged the good offices of the *Banco de Londres, México y Sud-América* to gather the old coinage and make available the new, but this banking institution with its numerous branches and agencies, finding the task too difficult and hazardous, rescinded the agreement which would have brought them a three per cent commission on the amounts handled. Merchants, transportation companies, miners and *hacendados* continued paying their workmen with whatever money they had, and if none of the national currency were available, the obligation was met with tokens. It is to be surmised that if the employer were the owner of a general store, he would give preference to his own private coinage which, being unacceptable elsewhere, would force his workers to trade at the master's store, where the price of goods was nearly always higher than at commercial establishments in near-by towns. Such discrepancy was acutely resented by the poorly paid workmen. Thus, toward the end of the nineteenth century serious outbreaks occurred in various parts of the

country. In the southern part of Sonora the *Aduana* and the *Quintera* Mining companies, a short distance from the City of Alamos, witnessed a disorderly demonstration resulting in scores of wounded and some dead. After this episode the tokens ceased to circulate in the area, but not so in other parts.

The monetary law of March 25, 1905, Article 26, again takes up the subject of chips (*fichas*), tokens (*tarjas*), metal planchets or other objects employed as conventional substitutes for the coin of the realm, warning the issuers of such substitutes that they would be prosecuted under Article 430 of the Penal Code. By that time the country had entered into an era of relative prosperity. Mexican coins of all denominations, struck until then by various Mexican mints and aided from 1906 on by American and British coining establishments, were disseminated throughout the Republic. It was not until then that tokens ceased to circulate definitely and apparently permanently. However, during the revolution 1911-1916 which, in addition to World War I, caused Mexican money to disappear from the markets and Gresham's Law to exert its inexorable postulates, different and curious kinds of tokens appeared. They were of flimsy paper or cardboard, hurriedly printed, and easily reproduced, yet, because the issuers were known locally, these had better reception than the millions of revolutionary paper money of doubtful value and undetermined duration. The Supreme Chief of the Constitutional Forces, don Venustiano Carranza, fearing that the private issues would impair the circulation of the paper money being issued under his authority or that of his field commanders, issued a decree at Hermosillo, Sonora, on December 28, 1913, worded virtually the same as Article 26 of the March 25, 1905 monetary law, whereby the private issues were declared illegal tender. Nevertheless, public opinion prevailed and the private issues continued being printed and circulated until 1920 with the tacit consent of the helpless authorities. The 1917 Constitution, Article 123, Sec. X, stipulated that all wages had to be paid in legal tender, not in merchandise, orders, counters or tokens. Sec. XXVII did away with the *tiendas de raya*, while Article 123, Sec. XXIV, ended servitude by making debts payable by the individual who contracted them and not by his family. In order to wipe the slate clean, Transitory Article 13 cancelled all debts of the worker contracted from his master up to January 31, 1917. The bonds (*bonos*) sold by the *Liga Nacional de Defensa Religiosa* during the War of Religious Persecution, 1925-1929, might be classed as a private issue. If this be so, these were the last to have been circulated in México. Constitutional amendments up to and including 1955 have not dealt with the subject of tokens.

Because the subject of this paper has not received as much study as it deserves, the following works will be found of great aid:

- Manuel Romero de Terreros, "Mexican Hacienda Tokens," in *Spink's Numismatic Circular*, Vol. XLII (March 1934), p. 86. Illustrated.
- Los Tlacos Coloniales* (Mexico, 1935). 32 pages, illustrated.
- Las Monedas de Necesidad del Estado de Michoacan*. (Mexico, 1940). 23 pages of text, 5 plates.
- La Moneda Mexicana* (México, 1952). 52 pages of text and 15 plates.
- Ricardo Delgado Román, *Las Monedas Jaliscienses Durante la Época Revolucionaria* (Guadalajara, 1938). 285 pages, about 500 illustrations.
- Friedrich Freiherr von Schrötter, "Mexikanische Hacienda Marken," in *ZfN*, vol. XLII, 1935, pp. 128-135, two plates.
- O. P. Eklund and Sydney P. Noe, *Hacienda Tokens of Mexico*, NNM, No. 115, (New York, 1949). 42 pages of text and 22 excellent plates.

WOODEN TOKENS

1. Wooden planchet, 34 mm. in diameter, 7 mm. thick. (Unclassified)
Obv. In monogram the letters JD^a. within a twisted cord circle.
Rev. The block capital letter "T". (Apparently pressed) PLATE XXXVII,1.
2. Wooden planchet, 25 mm. in diameter, 3 mm. thick. (Unclassified)
Obv. Within a twisted cord circle the monogram TMo, very likely the cattle branding iron.
Rev. Three concentric circles, raised. (Also pressed) PLATE XXXVII,2.
3. Wooden planchet, 23 mm. in diameter, 5 mm. thick. (Unclassified)
Obv. Within an open wreath a letter "T" in English script.
Rev. A raised circle 18 mm. in diameter. (Also pressed) PLATE XXXVII,3.
4. Wooden planchet, 30 mm. in diameter, 6 mm. thick. (Unclassified)
Obv. In the field a nondescript symbol resembling a fat pig; directly above the letters M J. There were other letters but, they are now illegible. Raised circle 21 mm. in diameter. Well battered.
Rev. Also well battered. Within a raised circle 24 mm. in diameter a symbol resembling in contour a sort of a leaf with a small stem and five depressions. PLATE XXXVII,4.
5. Wooden planchet, rectangular, with corners cut, 38 × 50 mm. Unifaced. Moneda de Cambio de Huatusco. No value expressed. Spear-like ornaments at corners. Hardwood and hand-made. Undated.
 Huatusco is the name of a city and county of the State of Veracruz. The word signifies "site where the great rabbit is worshipped." PLATE XXXVII,5.
6. Wooden planchet, unifaced, 45 mm. in diameter, 7 mm. in thickness. Tlapacoyan, county of Zimapan, State of Oaxaca, Mexico, issued in 1872. (Pressed) A quatrefoil ornament in the exergue. Property and courtesy of Mr. Ricardo Delgado Román of Guadalajara, Jalisco, México. PLATE XXXVII,6.

GLASS MONEY

7. Dark-green glass coin, irregularly circular, 30 mm. in diameter, 7 mm. in thickness, uniface, without value and weighing 20 grams.
The name of the merchant and the date are the only distinguishing characteristics. Dr. Nicolás León, famous Mexican numismatist, has this to say: "It is probably the predecessor of the porcelain coinage of Meissen." PLATE XXXVII, 7.

VULCANIZED RUBBER TOKENS

8. Batopilas, State of Chihuahua, Mexico. One *real*, value. Date of issue 1887. Black in vulcanized rubber, undoubtedly of United States manufacture. 13 mm. in diameter. 2 mm. in thickness. PLATE XXXVII, 8.
Historical sketch – This rich silver mining district was accidentally discovered by Spanish explorers during the month of October, 1632. Until 1810 several Spaniards who had arrived penniless became multimillionaires. From then on Aquiles Morris, Frederick Fisher, John R. Robinson and Alexander R. Shepherd, all Americans, individually or through mining companies obtained tremendous profits.
9. La Colorada, Hermosillo district, Sonora, México. Ten centavos value. Date of issue not stated, but believed to be of the late nineties. Maroon vulcanized rubber. 30 mm. in diameter, 3 mm. in thickness. Manufactured by Moise Klinkner Co. of San Francisco, California. PLATE XXXVII, 9.
Historical sketch – Discovered in 1824 and for a time worked by the community. There are thirteen mines within a radius of three miles and because there were evidences of ruins of houses and smelting works as well as piles of scoriae, the general belief was that the area is the site of the long lost *Real de Tayopa*, famous in early Spanish annals. The title of the land was a grant of Charles III, vested upon don José Irineo Monge who worked some of the mines, but because of the incursions of the Apaches progress was slow. The mines were sold to Richard D. Johnson who later sold them to Jannin Brothers. They in turn transferred the property to Chamberlain & Price of New York City for \$200,000, and this firm, operating under the name of Minas Prietas Mining Co., enhanced operations. The Colorada ores produced from 212 to 320 ounces of gold per ton; the Prietas mines were rich in copper and sulphurettes. In 1907 both produced 87,165,532 kilograms of metal valued at \$1,734,199.00. In 1910 the mines were being operated by the Creston Colorado Mining Company.
- 10-12. Quintera Mining Company, Limited – This mining district was discovered in Spanish-Colonial times by a *peón* named Quintero. Claim was filed by a local politician D. Manuel Ambrosio Espinosa de los Monteros who retained title until 1850, at which time it was transferred to D. Ignacio Almada who sold it in 1881 to McFarland & Morgan of New York for \$210,000. They in turn sold it to the Franco-Egyptian Bank of Paris in 1894 who retained control at least until 1909 when work on a large

scale was suspended, but the property continues legally protected to this day. It has been estimated that its ores, containing 25 to 50% copper and yielding \$250 to \$500 of silver per ton, have brought profits of over \$25,000,000 since 1881.

This company issued brass tokens made by L. H. Moise of San Francisco, California. All of them seem to have been counterstamped with a punch portraying the head of a bovine animal. These were the tokens that caused the uprising during 1899.

PLATE XXXVII, 10-11; XXXVIII, 12.

- 13-16. Negociacion de Caborca - Bórquez y García - Dealers in grain, flour, and operators of the *Mina Grande*, paying \$50 in gold and \$15 in silver per ton. The owners were Modesto Bórquez and Benigno V. García. About 1880 they issued brass tokens in two's, one's, half's and one-fourth's of a *real*. Caborca is a town on the northwest of the State of Sonora, a short distance from the United States-Mexico boundary, well known because it was there that Henry Alexander Crabb and his party of filibusters were taken prisoners and executed in 1857. PLATE XXXVIII, 13-16.
17. Raymundo Murga M. - A saloonkeeper of Guaymas, the principal seaport of Sonora, issued a brass token inscribed *Bueno por una copa*, "Good for a drink." Date, unknown. PLATE XXXVIII, 17.
- 18-20. Negociacion del Tiro, owned by Agustín L. Serna. The Tiro mines were rich in gold and were discovered about 1799. Located on the northwest of the State of Sonora, 46 kilometers south of the town of Altar and less than 10 from the prehistoric settlement of Trincheras. Mr. Serna issued aluminum tokens in four denominations and the only value not illustrated here is the 12½ *centavos* which measures 25 millimeters in diameter. The edge of each token is plain. In 1910 the mines were being operated by the Llanos Consolidated Co. PLATE XXXVIII, 18-20.
- 21-22. Maquinaria de Los Angeles. The only textile plant that existed in the State of Sonora. It was founded in 1834 by Manuel Yñigo, Fernando Cubillas and Joaquín Lasteau-neau, but by 1855 when the tokens were issued, Yñigo, whose facsimilar signature appears on them, had obtained control. The location of the plant was at (San Miguel de) Horcasitas. This latter name given in honor of the 41st Viceroy of New Spain, Guemes y Horcasitas, is the one that persists and was the Capital of the Province from March 29, 1749 to 1777, superseding San Juan Bautista that was ordered abanoned. The plant was dismantled in 1948 and moved to Guadalajara, Jalisco. The half *real*, the only value not illustrated, measures 22 millimeters in diameter. The edge is plain. PLATE XXXVIII, 21-22.
23. Hacienda de Topahue is in the county of Hermosillo about 25 kilometers northeast of the Capital. It is owned by the heirs of D. Manuel María Gándara, a former governor of the state who was called the "stormy petrel" in political circles from 1838 to 1866 and who ceased his activities when sent to the penitentiary by the Federal Government for a two year stretch. About 1891 this plantation issued aluminum tokens *good for a day's wages*, marked 50, presumed to mean 50 *centavos*. The one

illustrated here is counterstamped with what appears to be a circular punch having seven spokes excentrically placed. The edge is plain. PLATE XXXVIII,23.

24. La Trinidad – A rich mining district located in the county of Sahuaripa about 28°40' North latitude and 109°10' West Longitude discovered in 1740 by Francisco Arredondo y Cornejo and Gaspar de Alvarado. It produces gold, silver, copper and traces of manganese, rendering about \$150 per ton. In 1910 it was owned by La Trinidad Mining Company Limited, with Ketelson, Degetau and heirs of Matías Alsúa as the principal stockholders. Prior to 1900 this company issued tokens of a white metal, heavier than aluminum, in denominations of one, two, and four – no value specified – in which both sides are exactly alike. The edge is plain. The *two* value measures 25 millimeters in diameter and the *four*, 31 millimeters. PLATE XXXVIII,24.
25. Palmarejo – Transportation token. Palmarejo is a silver producing district in the municipality of Chínipas in the southwestern part of the State of Chihuahua. It had a narrow gauge railroad owned by D. Oscar Ocháran & Co. of Alamos, Sonora, México. This brass token was good for half a passage. PLATE XXXVIII,25.



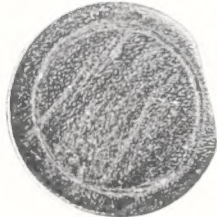
1



2



3



4



5



6



7



8



9



10



11



STORE-CARDS OR TOKENS OF MEXICO



STORE-CARDS OR TOKENS OF MEXICO

SUR DES TYPES DE MONNAIES IMPÉRIALES D'ASIE MINEURE

LOUIS ROBERT

Ayant l'honneur d'être depuis une dizaine d'années *corresponding member* de l'American Numismatic Society, c'est avec joie que j'ai accepté l'invitation de collaborer au volume qui marquera le centenaire de la Société. C'est une occasion de témoigner ma profonde estime pour l'activité multiple d'un organisme qui réussit à mener de front l'accroissement rapide et régulier de ses collections et la mise au jour de publications, soit occasionnelles, soit systématiques, dont la masse et la qualité ne trouvent ailleurs ni leur équivalent, ni même rien qui leur soit comparable; et surtout la Société a réussi à lier des enseignements souples et variés à son musée et, à mon avis, c'est la formule la plus heureuse, – et qui même est indispensable – pour le développement des études numismatiques, le recrutement des travailleurs et le contact étroit entre la numismatique et les autres sciences historiques et sociales.¹

J'avais entrepris de présenter ici quelques types connus par la collection de monnaies d'Asie Mineure de M. Hans von Aulock à Istanbul. Le possesseur de cette collection m'a ouvert l'accès de son médailler et permis d'en publier ce qui m'y intéresse,² et c'est un plaisant souvenir que celui des heures passées dans le

¹ J'ai essayé de marquer la nécessité de lier un enseignement à la collection des monnaies et j'ai cité l'exemple de l'American Numismatic Society dans une séance du Congrès international de numismatique tenu à Paris en 1953; cf. *Actes* (1957), pp. 15 et 17.

² Voir déjà dans *Hellenica*, X, des monnaies des villes lyciennes de Tlos (p. 12, dieu à la double hache), d'Arneai (p. 215, Nymphé et Pan) et de Kandyba (p. 221, le héros Deucalion; pour la

salon d'Arnavutköy, l'oeil ouvert à mainte nouveauté et l'esprit tendu sur les problèmes de déchiffrement et d'attribution, que l'on aboutisse à la solution ou que l'on doive garder un point d'interrogation jusqu'à ce qu'une comparaison décisive surgisse à la mémoire. Pour les types que je voulais expliquer ici, je n'ai pu pour tous aboutir à terminer à la date fixée le commentaire détaillé que j'en voulais offrir. Je donnerai donc ici deux types avec explication détaillée (Antioche et Euhippè), et d'abord je signalerai brièvement l'intérêt de deux autres types en attendant de les commenter comme ils le méritent.

La ville de *Siblia* en Phrygie a frappé monnaie très rarement et il ne serait pas long de dresser le *Corpusculum* des types et des exemplaires. Jusqu'ici les types divins ne prêtaient pas à des observations intéressantes.³ Voici, dans la collection H. von Aulock, un type dont on ne peut dire la même chose. Il a été émis sous Caracalla, c'est-à-dire à l'époque à laquelle remonte presque tout le monnayage. Le revers du bronze est très fin et permet de distinguer tous les détails: c'est une Sélénè tenant sur sa main droite une Victoire qui tend une couronne; on la reconnaît au croissant lunaire sur les épaules. Mais il y a une influence très intéressante du type de Men, en sorte que l'on a une Sélénè locale de l'Asie Mineure, – celle qui apparaît dans des dédicaces ou surtout dans les imprécations des tombeaux, qu'elle protège au même titre que Men, Men Ouranien et Men Katachtonien (ou les deux Men Katachtoniens⁴), – et non la déesse grecque: elle est coiffée du bonnet phrygien,^{4a} et elle pose un pied sur une tête d'animal, comme fait Men; mais ce n'est pas le taureau de Men; la finesse de la représentation et la belle conservation m'ont permis d'y reconnaître la tête allongée d'un équidé, animal en rapport avec la Lune.⁵

descendance de Deucalion dans des légendes de fondation de cités, rapprocher aussi l'inscription hellénistique de Chios, qui mentionne l'arrivée dans cette île de la famille d'Oinopion: Οἰνοπίωνος γυναῖκες· Κριτοφήμη, Δευκαλίωνος θυγάτηρ, μήτηρ δὲ Ἀθάμαντος· ταύτην εἰς Χίον οὐκ ἤγετο, [Ν]ίκην δὲ τὴν Βάρβαντος [ἀδελφὴν, ἐξ ἧς ἐγένοντο αὐτῶι υἱοὶ Κρηθεὺς κτλ.: N. M. Condoléon, *Rev. Phil.*, 1949, pp. 5 sqq.; *Bull. Epigr. (REG)* 1950, n° 162; cf. p. 214. Pour une monnaie de Tralles relative aux fêtes, voir *Mélanges Taubenschlag (Eos, tome 48, fasc. 2, 1958)*, pp. 315–316.

³ Head, *BMC, Phrygia*, p. XCIV, écrivait: "The types of the Siblian coins call for no special remark".

⁴ Sur ces aspects de Men et sur "les trois Men" dans les épitaphes du centre de l'Asie Mineure, voir notamment J. Keil, *Denkmäler aus Lykaonien* etc. (1938), commentaire au n° 18.

^{4a} Comme par exemple Artémis à Tabai (*Carie*, II, p. 145).

⁵ Voir une bibliographie choisie à propos de types de Sélénè équestre dans *Hellenica*, X, pp. 155–156; cf. aussi Ernest Will, *Le relief cultuel gréco-romain* (1955), pp. 107–08, 280 sqq. Sur le geste de Men posant le pied sur une tête de taureau ou sur le cou d'un taureau, voir E. Will, *loc. cit.*, "Le dieu au taureau", pp. 134–135.

C'est aussi la finesse d'un exemplaire de la collection H. von Aulock qui me permet d'interpréter un type énigmatique d'une ville dont le monnayage est également très rare, *Laranda* de Lycaonie. Imhoof-Blumer a décrit et reproduit un type représenté dans sa collection en deux exemplaires.⁶ Au revers d'un bronze de l'empereur Philippe, on lit la légende Σεβ(αστῆς) Λαρανδέων μητρο(πόλεως) κοινόν, et l'on voit l'image "d'un loup marchant à gauche, tenant dans la gueule une proie (poule?)".⁷ Or, je reconnais très nettement sur le bel exemplaire Von Aulock – et M. von Aulock s'est rangé à mon avis – que ce qui sort de la gueule du loup n'est pas un oiseau, mais une main humaine. Dès lors, l'image entre dans le type des carnassiers androphages, dont les légendes et les représentations ont été très étudiées en ces derniers temps, dans l'Occident celtique comme en Orient et comme dans les oeuvres d'art romanes; le type se trouve sans doute très largement en mainte région et dans maint répertoire artistique, mais, à Laranda, on peut penser d'abord aux lions de l'Anatolie centrale, qui jouent un si grand rôle dans la décoration et la symbolique des tombeaux à l'époque romaine.⁸ Mais ils n'ont pas le réalisme de la bête de Laranda; loin de là, s'ils ont terrassé le défunt figuré couché entre leurs pattes, sans doute le protègent-ils autant qu'ils l'ont emporté. Sur la monnaie de Laranda, nous sommes dans une sphère différente, et nous avons apparemment l'écho de quelque légende. Je crois que le loup est à mettre en relation avec le nom même des Lycaoniens et avec leur éponyme grec, l'Arcadien Lycaon, dans les légendes hellénisantes, et sans doute avec la légende de la lycanthropie.⁹

⁶ *Kleinasiatische Münzen*, II (1902), p. 419, et Pl. XX, 18.

⁷ D'où Head, *HN*², p. 714: "Wolf carrying bird"; sans réserves. Il ne semble pas qu'on ait publié d'autre exemplaire.

⁸ Pour certains cas où le lion funéraire est nommé dans l'inscription, voir *Etudes anatoliennes*, pp. 390–398; cf. encore, en Galatie, *JHS*, 1899, p. 105, n. 92 (non transcrit). Mon interprétation de la formule ἀνέστησεν ἑαυτὸν λέοντα a été acceptée par F. Cumont, *Anat. Studies Buckler* (1939), p. 71, n. 3 (cf. B. M. Metzger, *AJP*, 1945, pp. 232–233, n. 35), et par M. J. Vermaseren, *Corpus Inscr. et monum. religionis Mithriacae*, I, (1956), p. 50, n. 21 (cette opinion n'a pas été "prouvée" par F. Cumont, qui croyait encore à l'interprétation mithriaque dans *Etudes syriennes* (1917), p. 56, n. 3). J'ai rassemblé là de nombreux exemples de lions funéraires, dont certains sont androphages, pour deux des régions du centre de l'Asie Mineure, la Lycaonie précisément, et la Kibyratide (pour cette dernière région, cf. encore Spratt-Forbes, *Travels in Lycia*, I, pp. 250, 268, 273). La Phrygie fournirait aussi des documents.

⁹ Je traite des légendes sur l'origine des Lycaoniens, considérés tantôt comme autochtones, tantôt comme Arcadiens, dans mon livre sur *Les Origines légendaires de Synnada et les parentés de peuples* (cf. *Hellenica*, VIII, p. 91).

Les suites cariennes de la collection H. von Aulock contiennent ce bronze pseudo-autonome inédit d'*Antioche du Méandre*. Au droit, la tête barbue du Démos à droite, avec la légende Δῆμος. Au revers, un homme debout à gauche, avec tunique, manteau et bottes, fait une libation sur un autel à feu. La légende, outre l'ethnique Ἀντιοχέων, donne le nom du personnage: Κραναός. Or, Pline, *NH*, V, 108, écrit sur Antioche, en la citant parmi les villes de l'intérieur de la Carie: *Antiochia ubi fuere Symmaethos et Cranaos oppida; nunc eam circumfluunt Maeander et Morsynus*.¹⁰ Le renseignement de Pline est confirmé par la monnaie: le héros Kranaos sur le bronze d'Antioche est l'éponyme d'un établissement antérieur à la fondation de la ville séleucide et au synécisme par quoi elle prit naissance, comme il était normal pour une fondation de cette sorte.¹¹ Comme toujours, la ville nouvelle a fait siennes les légendes des localités antérieures qu'elle a absorbées et remplacées.¹²

Il faut signaler autre chose. Imhoof-Blumer a publié¹³ un nouveau type, connu par deux bronzes de sa collection,¹⁴ des pseudo-autonomes qu'il attribue à l'époque de Trajan ou d'Hadrien. Au revers, avec le nom du peuple Ἀντιοχέων, l'image d'Athéna debout à gauche, la main droite posée sur le bouclier, la main gauche tenant la lance. Le droit porte la tête de la déesse de la ville, couronnée de tours; en légende circulaire, le nom Ναρβίς. L'excellent commentaire de l'excellent numismate,¹⁵ après avoir rappelé les noms antérieurs d'Antioche d'après Pline

¹⁰ C'est d'après les monnaies d'Aphrodisias que le numismate Pinder a rétabli ce nom de fleuve dans Pline, où les manuscrits donnent *Orsinus*; cf. *Villes d'Asie Mineure*, p. 157, n. 6.

¹¹ Cf. V. Tscherikower, *Die hellenistischen Städtegründungen* (1927), p. 27, qui donne "Seminethos": "Wir haben es also augenscheinlich mit einem Synoikismos zu tun". Il n'y avait pas de raison pour en douter plus ou moins, avec A. H. M. Jones, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces* (1937), p. 43 ("This may mean that it was formed from an union of these villages") et D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* (1950), II, p. 989 ("A. replaced two *oppida* named Symmaethos and Cranaos; if this is true, a synoecism probably took place").

¹² Voir par exemple *Etudes anatoliennes*, pp. 262-265 (Amastris et Kromna); *Rev. Phil.*, 1939, pp. 168-169 (Nicomédie et Astakos).

¹³ *Kleinas. Münzen*, I (1902), p. 109, n. 9, et Pl. IV, 16.

¹⁴ Il a signalé que le bronze *Inv. Waddington*, 2158, avec légende effacée, était du même type.

¹⁵ Un numismate dans un compte rendu, d'ailleurs très bien intentionné et sympathique, a bien voulu écrire que dans *La Carie*, II, il est exercé "die mitunter recht scharfe Kritik", "selbst Meister wie Fr. Imhoof-Blumer oder B. V. Head, entgegen ihr bisweilen nicht" (*Schweiz. Münzblätter*, oct. 1956, p. 61). Je voudrais bien que l'on me montrât à quelle page, dans *La Carie* ou même ailleurs, j'aurais jamais parlé d'Imhoof-Blumer de cette façon. Pratiquement je n'ai guère eu à contredire Imhoof-Blumer; quelquefois seulement à le compléter (cf. *Etudes anatol.*, pp. 418 sqq., sur Tralles; *Hellenica*, II, pp. 94 sqq., sur les Nymphes de Brousse), grâce au progrès de nos connaissances ou à des méthodes nouvelles de liaison avec l'épigraphie et la géographie, et toujours en mettant

et d'après Etienne de Byzance,¹⁶ explique: "Der Beiname der Stadtgöttin, Ναρβίς, scheint an eine noch ältere Benennung der Stadt oder an eine Gründungssage zu erinnern". Les historiens ont ignoré cette mention monétaire si intéressante dans leurs études sur Antioche.¹⁷ Le nom n'a pas été enregistré non plus parmi les noms indigènes;¹⁸ or, il a certainement ce caractère. Car on peut rapprocher¹⁹ non seulement un nom de ville carienne qui, différent, a une carcasse bien proche, Larba,²⁰ mais un anthroponyme carien absolument semblable. A Mylasa, une épitaphe collective donne les noms au génitif de ces hommes et femmes:²¹ — Αβας²² τῆς Μ —, Φανίου τοῦ Ἀριστέου, Σαπφοῦς τῆς Παμμένου, Ναρβα τοῦ Διοσκουρίδου. On avait suggéré, je ne vois pas pourquoi, de corriger Ναρβας en Μαρβας;²³ c'était une correction parfaitement arbitraire en soi; elle est infirmée par mon rapprochement. Nous avons ainsi aux origines d'Antioche un toponyme carien,²⁴ que la ville

en pleine lumière tout son mérite; d'autres fois j'ai eu à prendre son parti contre des critiques erronées et à le soutenir fermement (cf. *Villes d'Asie Mineure*, pp. 175-180, 188 sqq.); dans *La Carie* précisément, plusieurs pages, pp. 237-242, ont été employées à célébrer, défendre et confirmer son "Scharfsinn" dans l'attribution de monnaies et l'identification de Tripolis de Lydie et d'Apollonia du Méandre. En tout cas, je n'ai jamais écrit de lui — et parlé, dans mes cours, où je le donne comme un modèle — qu'avec respect et même avec vénération. Mais, parce que j'ai pu parler de quelque saboteur avec franchise et sévérité, on imagine à tort et sans examen que je parle sévèrement aussi des grands savants qui, en fait, ont été mes maîtres. Il ne faut pas faire d'erreur sur les personnes et m'attribuer, vaguement, des critiques que je n'ai pas faites. Faut-il ajouter que ce volume est intitulé *Le plateau de Tabai*, et non pas *Le tableau de Tabai*, ce qui n'a pas de sens en français, comme il est écrit là par lapsus, et aussi dans *Hamburger Beiträge zur Num.*, pp. 9-10, 249, et par suite dans *Num. Lit.*, 1957, p. 276? Heureusement que ce critique amical a bien voulu ne pas nous juger, à la différence de tel autre, uniquement sur nos fautes d'impression.

¹⁶ Le nom de Pythopolis, donné par cet auteur, est couramment écarté et considéré comme venant d'une confusion avec Nysa; cf. notamment les auteurs de la n. 11. Je ne crois pas à l'explication de V. Tscherikower, *loc. cit.*

¹⁷ Voir notamment les auteurs cités dans la n. 11.

¹⁸ Pas dans J. Sundwall, *Die einheimischen Namen der Lykier* (1913), ni dans ses *Kleinasiatische Nachträge* (1950; sur ce dernier volume, cf. provisoirement les indications auxquelles je renvoie dans *Hellenica*, X, p. 118, n. 6; cf. p. 90, n. 4; p. 92, n. 7).

¹⁹ Imhoof-Blumer avait rappelé: "Nach Steph. Byz. war Ναρβίς auch der Name einer illyrischen Stadt".

²⁰ Voir *Villes d'Asie Mineure*, pp. 142 sqq.; *La Carie*, II, pp. 334-336; 340; 355.

²¹ G. Cousin, *BCH*, 1898, p. 385, n. 31.

²² Cf. une autre Αβας, fille de Ἰατροκλῆς, prêtresse de Déméter, à Mylasa (*Etudes anatoliennes*, p. 440, avec la note 3); ailleurs en Carie, à Aphrodisias: Αβας Ἀτραπάτου (*BCH*, 1890, p. 237, n. 12); de provenance inconnue, pour une Carienne, Αβας Ὑσσαλδωμου (*Sanctuaire de Sinuri*, p. 100); — Αβας à Mylasa-Olymos.

²³ Sundwall, *Einheim. Namen*, p. 164, avec la provenance trop vague "kar(isch)", et l'observation: "narbba (soll vielleicht Μαρβας sein)".

²⁴ Car l'héroïne poliade tire évidemment son nom du lieu même.

rappelait sur ses monnaies à l'époque impériale, alors que l'on ranime ou que l'on fabrique tant de légendes de fondation, cependant que l'autre personnification locale, Kranaos, quelle que soit son origine,²⁵ portait un nom intelligible et transparent en grec et pouvait facilement être identifiée à un roi mythique d'Athènes,²⁶ la plus belle des parentés.²⁷

En publiant une inscription de la vallée du Méandre, transportée au musée de Smyrne par Ahmet Dönmez, j'ai pu, par le contenu de cette inscription – édit du proconsul d'Asie Gaius Gabinius Barbarus Pompeianus, sous Caracalla, à la suite d'une supplique de ἡ Εὐπιππέων πόλις — et par le lieu de trouvaille, identifier enfin la ville carienne d'*Euhippè* à un site antique près de Dalama, sur la rive sud du Méandre, sur les collines qui bordent la plaine et précèdent la chaîne de montagnes qui forment la barrière nord de la Carie.²⁸ C'est exactement un site antique nommé Arytepe (colline des abeilles), découvert par W. R. Paton en 1900 et que l'on croyait être Koskinia. Peu après, nous avons, ma femme et moi, au début d'août 1953, visité le site et parcouru toute la région montagneuse mal connue, au Sud-Est. La pierre provient exactement d'une petite colline au pied

²⁵ Sundwall, *loc. cit.*, p. 113, l'enregistre comme "kar. Ort", d'après Pline, et rapproche le "kar. demos (*JHS*, X, p. 57) Κρηνη". Ce dernier mot, dans une inscription de Lycie, vers les confins cariens, à Lydai, peut parfaitement être le mot grec, et le "dème" a pu tirer son nom d'une fontaine (*Tituli Asiae Minoris*, II, n° 148: Μηνοδώρα Ἀπολλοδώρου Κρηνεῖτις Θευγένην κτλ. Κρηνεά τὸν ἑαυτῆς ἄνδρα).

²⁶ Sur cet "autochtone", successeur de Cécrops, d'après lequel la future Athènes et ses habitants s'appelaient Kranaè et Kranaens, voir Stoll, dans Roscher, *Lexikon*, s. v.; Tambornino dans Pauly-Wissowa, *RE*, s. v. 3.

²⁷ Ainsi que celle de Sparte. Cf. provisoirement, en attendant le volume sur Synnada, *Hellenica*, VIII, pp. 90-92. De ces belles parentés vient l'εὐγένεια dont se vante mainte ville et dont je réunis les témoignages. Ainsi une inscription inédite de Milet vante, pour cette ville, τοῦ ἐξ Ἀττικῆς εὐγενείας ἀξιωματος. Si, à Synnada, le peuple s'intitule ὁ εὐγενέστατος δῆμος, c'est, à mon avis, à cause des origines athéniennes (Akamas, fils de Thásée) et lacédémoniennes qu'il s'attribue et qu'il illustre sur ses monnaies des Synnadéens Ioniens et des Synnadéens Doriens; à ces légendes sur les origines se rattachent, par exemple, les noms Ἀττικιανὸς β' τοῦ Ἀττικοῦ de la dédicace à Zeus Pandémios (le dieu qui réunit les deux illustres parties de la population) *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua*, VI, n° 370, et le fait que le peuple d'Athènes élève à Synnada la statue de Claudius Attalos, *ibid.*, n° 374; et si l'oncle de ce personnage est qualifié de ἱερεὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ce n'est pas, comme l'ont cru les éditeurs, qu'il fût prêtre du Panhellénion fondé par Hadrien, mais, comme je le montrerai, il a été prêtre de Zeus Eleuthérios dans la Confédération des Hellènes à Platées (cf. *Bull. Epigr.*, 1951, n° 2, p. 122; n° 104, p. 162; 1955, n° 118).

²⁸ *CRAI*, 1952, pp. 589-599: "La ville d'Euhippè en Carie. Sur l'origine byzantine du nom de Dalama, voir P. Wittek, *Byzantion*, 10 (1935), "Von der byzantinischen zur türkischen Toponymie", p. 26, n. 1; p. 53. ²⁹ J. et L. Robert, *Bull. Epigr.*, 1954, n° 225.

de la plus grande, qui était seule signalée jusqu'ici; là était peut-être bien l'agora de la ville.²⁹ L'enquête numismatique que nous nous réjouissions d'entreprendre fut décevante au plus haut point. Dans les villages de la montagne, où nous n'avons pas vu de ruines appréciables, on n'a pu nous montrer aucune monnaie, et au village proche des ruines d'Euhippè, à Dalama, nous n'avons vu, en tout et pour tout, qu'une seule monnaie grecque, qui était conservée à l'école et dont, dans ces conditions, la provenance exacte est inconnue. Il est cependant caractéristique que ce soit précisément un bronze de la ville voisine, celle d'Orthosia à une quinzaine de km. à l'Est, elle aussi sur une colline bordant au sud la vallée du Méandre, à peu près, comme Euhippè, en face de Nysa.³⁰ On voit au droit les têtes accolées de Néron et d'Agrippine et, au revers, avec la légende [Ἰ]ορθ[ο]σί[α]ς, l'enlèvement de Korè par Plouton,³¹ type fréquent à Orthosia et qui rappelle le grand sanctuaire en face, le Ploutonion voisin de Nysa, consacré à Plouton et à Korè, et où l'on célébrait le concours panhellénique des Théogamia. Tout le reste était moderne. Une telle pénurie n'est pas étonnante; l'enquête dans les gros bourgs, comme est Dalama (où il y a un *müdiir*), est assez rarement profitable; car on n'y peut, à beaucoup près, établir le même contact avec les habitants que dans un vrai village; de plus, par l'autobus le bourg est proche d'Ayдын (Tralles), et les monnaies trouvées éventuellement doivent aussitôt partir chez les marchands de cette ville.

Cette trouvaille de l'édit du proconsul a fixé d'un coup la position d'Euhippè. Jusque-là, on n'avait guère d'indices, sauf qu'elle était en Carie. Aussi n'avait-on proposé aucune localisation, ou, d'après certains types monétaires, on avait pensé au massif montagneux entre l'Harpasos et le Marsyas, entre Tabai et Stratonicee, vers Kys, – donc bien loin du Méandre, – ou au voisinage d'Alabanda, dans le nord de la plaine alabandienne, sans doute d'après Pline.³² Le monnayage est très rare, depuis la basse époque hellénistique jusqu'à Maximin, et le Corpus-

³⁰ Orthosia fut identifiée, par le nom moderne et par une inscription, aux ruines d'Ortas (Kubitschek et Reichel, *Anzeiger Wien*, 1893, pp. 6–7 du tirage à part). Cf. *Villes d'Asie Mineure*, p. 157; W. Ruge dans Pauly-Wissowa, *RE*, s. v. *Orthosia* (où la réflexion sur sa dépendance de Nysa n'est pas exacte et vient d'une erreur sur le sens de κατοικία; cf. *Hellenica*, I, p. 144, n. 1. *Bull. Epigr.* 1942, n° 6). Nous avons visité le site en 1947 (*Hellenica*, VI, p. 6, n. 1), sans pouvoir faire d'observations numismatiques.

³¹ Exemple du type publié par Imhoof-Blumer, *Monnaies grecques* (1883), p. 313, n. 75.

³² Sur tout cela, voir mon article dans *CRAI*. Le fait qu'un coin d'Euhippè sous Commode avait été regravé sur un coin d'Ephèse (J. G. Milne, *NC*, 1922, p. 45: *Recutting of dies*) n'a pas de signification géographique (cf. *Villes d'Asie Mineure*, p. 191, n. 4).

culum que j'ai réuni ne compte pas beaucoup plus d'une vingtaine d'exemplaires.³³

Or la collection H. von Aulock contient un type inédit acquis en 1955. Au droit, une tête d'empereur imberbe (Caracalla); la légende est effacée. Au revers, un dieu fleuve est couché à gauche, tenant un roseau dans sa main droite; accoudé sur une urne, il tient dans la gauche une corne d'abondance; en haut, à gauche, légende circulaire: Εὐιππέων (*epsilon* lunaire); en exergue, Μέανδρ[ος].

C'est le premier type d'un dieu fleuve à Euhippè, et avec son nom. Il s'accorde exactement avec la localisation. Cet exemplaire, acquis et connu plus tôt, eût apporté une contribution géographique de la numismatique. Il eût écarté la localisation approximative dans les montagnes du centre de la Carie, – et aussi celle à laquelle on avait pu songer, dans la plaine d'Alabanda. Car une ville de la plaine d'Alabanda n'a pas de territoire sur le Méandre; or c'est la condition pour qu'une ville représente le fleuve³⁴ ou son symbole dans son monnayage.³⁵ Combiné avec le rapport de parenté entre les éponymes mythiques d'Alabanda et d'Euhippè, que j'ai dégagé d'après Etienne de Byzance et expliqué, et qui établit quelque rapport avec Alabanda,³⁶ le nouveau type, obligeant à chercher la ville dans la vallée du Méandre, eût pu permettre, avec quelque ingéniosité, de localiser presque exactement la ville, sur les collines du sud de la vallée, soit vers Dalama, soit quelque part sur les collines à l'ouest du Marsyas, dans la région qui fait face à Tralles et à Magnésie du Méandre, car il n'est pas dit que tous les sites urbains de cette région aient été déjà découverts.

³³ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 589. Une vingtaine de descriptions dans la littérature et une vingtaine de moulages dans les musées (un type inédit, la corne d'abondance). La plupart des musées, sauf les grands, n'ont pas de monnaies d'Euhippè. L'American Numismatic Society n'en possède qu'une. Il n'y en a pas à Copenhague.

³⁴ Les deux seules villes qui, d'après le dépouillement des *Fluss- und Meergötter* d'Imhoof-Blumer (1923), aient mis le nom du Méandre, et pas seulement son image, sur leurs monnaies sont Apamée et les Hyrgaleis.

³⁵ Sur la situation géographique, par rapport au Méandre, des villes qui ont présenté le symbole du fleuve sur leurs monnaies, voir la discussion systématique *La Carie*, II, pp. 238–240 (avec la n. 6 de la page 240), 256.

³⁶ *CRAI*, 1952, p. 596.

SOME ELECTRUM AND GOLD GREEK COINS

E. S. G. ROBINSON

American scholars, notably men like Buckler and Shear, have done so much for the study of early Lydia that it seems appropriate to open this article, which I am honoured to contribute to the Society's Centennial Publication, with an unpublished Lydian stater.

1. *Lydo-Milesian standard*

Obv. Foreparts of lion and ox addorsed; lion on left, ox on right.

Rev. Three incuses: an oblong rectangle between two squares, with rough but unpatterned surfaces, each independently applied.

El. 13.93 grm. Stater. Ashmolean Museum (Loan Coll.)

(PLATE XXXIX, I)

This is a variety of the well known stater in Munich,¹ but the lion and ox have changed places. In style and fabric both coins resemble another Lydian stater with the forepart of a lion only, which is generally given to Alyattes.² The two beasts appear again, not addorsed but facing each other, on the simultaneous gold and silver coinages associated with Croesus (PLATE XXXIX, I A), and it seems

¹ Babelon, *Traité*, II, 1, pp. 33/4, no. 40, Pl. II, 3. The stater in the Ivanoff Sale (Sotheby, 29. V. 1863, lot 152) which is often quoted as being of the same type (e. g. *Traité*, pp. 33-4, no. 41) is of the type of *Traité*, pp. 27-8, nos. 26, 27 with two facing lions' heads joined by the neck, as is quite clear from the description in the Sale Catalogue. Its weight is the same as that of no. 27 which is now in the Waddington Collection and which is probably the same coin, for the buyer was Feuardent. Cp. the addorsed oxen of the Lykian dynast Koprlli (*Traité*, II, 2, Pl. XCVII, 4). The same motif appears on the capital of an Achaemenid column in the British Museum.

² Babelon, *Traité*, II, 1, Pl. II, 5.

likely that the two pieces now under notice belong to an early electrum issue of Croesus, struck before he introduced his new system, though they are often given to one of his predecessors. The lion is the royal Lydian badge; the significance of the ox, who now appears for the first time, is more doubtful. Both branches of the Lydian royal house traced their origin to a native solar deity who came to be identified with Herakles at Sardis, and the royal badge is also a solar symbol. Then the ox is perhaps a lunar one. Is it too fantastic to carry the symbolism one stage further? Lion = sun = gold: ox = moon = silver. In the issue of gold and silver alloy, lion and ox are shown still joined together, back to back. In the parallel issues of the later coinage in pure gold and silver they are not only separated but opposed.

2. *Obv.* Dolphin left; beneath, prawn? right; the whole set in striated field.

Rev. Similar.

El. 14.15 grm. Stater. Gulbenkian Coll.

(PLATE XXXIX,2)

There are specimens of a tritê of the same type in the Six and de Nanteuil collections³ the first might even be from the same die as our stater. The style is rough and primitive and the type difficult to make out, particularly on the smaller flan of the tritê. Six was content to say "Surface brute et irrégulière sans type apparent" and de Nanteuil said "un animal couché à gauche (lion?) retournant la tête et au dessous, un autre animal (lièvre?) à gauche". On the stater, with a little patience, the dolphin (very blunt-nosed!) becomes reasonably clear. The prawn is more doubtful; clearest on the de Nanteuil piece, but by no means certain; perhaps after all a shell. The fact that the type is still laid on a striated field shows that the beginning of coinage is not far behind,⁴ and the date should be towards the end of the 7th century. The type, though more likely to be the badge of an individual in whatever capacity, rather than of a city, suggests that the sea was not far away. Miletos, already recognized as one of the chief mints for electrum coins of this fabric and standard,⁵ would be an obvious choice. Apollo was the city's patron deity and as Delphinios might have a special appeal to one of its seafaring inhabitants.

3. *Obv.* Dappled deer grazing, right; above $\Sigma\Theta\epsilon\upsilon\alpha\alpha\Phi$, ground line.

Rev. Twin square incuses with irregular markings, independently applied.

El. 4.75 grm. Tritê. B.M. *British Museum Quarterly*, XV, p. 48.

(PLATE XXXIX,3)

³ NC, 1890, pp. 214, no. 24, Pl. XVII, 4; *Collection de Nanteuil* 601.

⁴ For the place of striated coins in the evolution of coinage see *JHS*, 1951, pp. 164-5.

⁵ Seltman, *Greek Coins*², pp. 26-7: but surely not for *all* of them, including the stater no. 3 A below, as the author implies.

This tritê with the same type and almost the same name as the famous inscribed stater also in the British Museum (PLATE XXXIX, 3A)⁶ finally settles the hitherto doubtful reading of the latter, and enables us to cut away a good deal of the conjecture that has sprung from it. Though the letters on the tritê have been slightly double-struck, the N being in consequence a little distorted, while the tops of the last three letters are missing, there can be no doubt as to the reading; Phaneos must be the genitive of a name Phanes. The usual declension of this name would give Phanetos, and I cannot find it elsewhere in the form here used, but one might compare the adjective epiphanes – ous (eos) which later became a Hellenistic title. The full inscription on the stater is Φάωνος ἐμὶ στήμα, retrograde, with a doubtful letter in the third place. Since identity of type combined with virtual identity of spelling make it certain that the same person is intended on both coins, what form does the name really take on the stater? and how is the divergence between the two be explained? It looks as if the engraver, who must of course cut his inscription mirror-fashion in reverse, if he wishes it to come out in relief the right way, in this case retrograde, accidentally transposed N and E. This would give as the original reading Phaenos, retrograde, instead of Phaneos. All that could be done to correct it, short of complete recutting, was to strike out the E, which has accordingly been obliterated; there was no room to reinsert it in its proper place on the other side of the N. So we are left, as Percy Gardner first proposed,⁷ with Phanōs, standing for Phaneos. It is surprising to find such a contracted form in Ionian Greek of about 600, but, as he pointed out, a similar use of O for OU is general in the Abu Simbel inscriptions of a very near date: e.g. τοῖ συν Ψαμματιχοῖ (dat.) τοῖ Θεοκλός (gen.), Ἀρχων Ἀμοιβιχο (gen.) etc.⁸ The first name with the contracted genitive Theoklōs is an exact parallel.

The deer, full – or half – length, is one of the constant coin types of Ephesos in later times, and there is a contemporary hekte and a hemihekete, uninscribed, (PLATE XXXIX, 3b, 3c) with a half-length deer of the same naïve and lively style.⁹ The stater was found at Halikarnassos and on that account attributed by Gardner (*l.c.*) to the Phanes of that city mentioned by Herodotos as a *condottiere* in the service of Amasis King of Egypt. His date, however, mid-sixth century or there-

⁶ *BMC, Ionia*, p. 47, no. 1. It will be sufficient to refer to Babelon's discussion in *Traité*, II, 1, pp. 57–66 for the voluminous literature that surrounds it.

⁷ *NC*, 1878, pp. 262ff.

⁸ Schwyzer, *Dial. Graec. exempl. epigr. potiora*, pp. 301–1.

⁹ Babelon, *Traité*, II, 1, nos. 65–6.

abouts, is surely too late, and the finding of the stater at Halikarnassos is more than counterbalanced by the finding of the hemihekte at Ephesos; for small coins are less likely to travel far from home than large ones. The hemihekte was found in a stratified context with two or three other coins in the filling of the Western Basis of the Ephesian Artemision, and attributed to the earliest (A) period.¹⁰ This gives us a date round about 600 B.C. and its finding there reinforces the suggestion made by the type that the whole set was struck at Ephesos. Admittedly the badge is a personal one but the man who chooses a theophoric badge is as likely as not to choose one relating to the chief deity of his own city.

4. *Phokaic standard*

Obv. Gamecock with high comb and long spurs standing right, holding tunny-head in beak.

Rev. Two square incuses, one larger, and one smaller, side by side, applied independently; flattened surround.

El. 16.22 grm. Stater. Formerly Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.)¹¹ (PLATE XXXIX,4)

5. Head of similar gamecock holding tunny-head in beak.

Rev. Square incuse quartered, with two quarters raised; flattened surround.

El. 2.60 grm. Hekte. Formerly Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.)¹² (PLATE XXXIX,5)

Von Fritze has already recognized that the cock's head on the hektê holds a tunny-head in its beak, and not, as it had been hitherto described, a shell.¹³ The same is obviously true of the full length gamecock on the stater, and it seems impossible to separate the two coins. The hektê is unquestionably of Kyzikos and we can only conclude that the stater comes from the same mint, in spite of the unusual reverse which shows instead of the quartered incuse, the same pattern as on the early staters of Phokaia, and also on three other staters of Phokaic standard whose attribution is less certain: those with the chimaira type (*Traité*, II, 1, Pl. V, 14), with the tunny fish with pendant fillets (*Traité*, II, 1, Pl. VI, 1), and the lioness now to be described.

6. *Obv.* Ravening lioness standing right, with head turned back, gaping jaws, and protruding tongue, roaring; three teats visible.

¹⁰ Hogarth, *Ephesus*, p. 85, no. 74. Though the absolute chronology at first put forward by Hogarth is no longer generally accepted, the relative chronology based on his careful excavation still stands.

¹¹ Babelon, *Traité*, II, 1, pp. 136-7, no. 205; *ZfN*, XVII, p. 8.

¹² *Ibid.*, no. 206, and XVII, 9. Casts of both these coins are fortunately preserved among the Imhoof casts at Winterthur and I am much indebted to Professor Bloesch for communicating them.

¹³ "Elektronprägung von Kyzikos", *Nomisma*, VII, p. 3, no. 20.

Rev. Two square incuses, one larger and one smaller, side by side, applied independently; flattened surround.

El. 16.45 grm. Stater. From a Swiss Collection.

(PLATE XXXIX, 6)

This unique and magnificent stater is one of the most vigorous productions of Eastern Greek engraving. The lioness is a type very rare at all times¹⁴ and otherwise unknown in the archaic period, though the greyhound bitch on a Lydo-Milesian stater (*Traité*, II, 1, Pl. II, 22) has sometimes been taken for one. The five staters are linked together by general similarity of fabric as well as by their common weight standard and unusual reverse pattern; they cannot be far from each other in time or indeed in space. It is true that a variant of the reverse, in which the larger square is notably larger, appears occasionally on a few silver coins¹⁵ but without throwing much light on the electrum issues, for the silver coins are mostly later and less uniform, and seem to be widely scattered in origin. On the other hand the seal stater (*Traité*, II, 1, Pl. IV, 3, 5) is generally agreed to be Phokaian, and grounds have just been advanced for regarding the game-cock as Kyzikene. Then it is more than likely that the three uncertain electrum staters come from one or the other of these two mints. The old attribution of the filleted tunny stater (*Traité*, II, 1, Pl. VI, 1) to Kyzikos, convincing in itself, which von Fritze rejected chiefly on account of the incuse pattern on the reverse,¹⁶ can now be restored. The staters with chimaira and lioness would fall more naturally to Phokaia. They are 'heraldic' types like the griffin's head which follows (no. 7 below) and probably personal badges. The coinages will have begun in the first half of the sixth century with the characteristic double incuse reverse, to be superseded at both mints towards mid-century by a simple square roughly quartered. Similarly the electrum staters of Chios, which begin about the same time, have a square incuse instead of the earlier triple incuse characteristic of the Lydo-Milesian standard on which they are struck.

7. *Obv.* Griffin's head right, with open mouth and protruding tongue; pointed ears, prominent eye, stalked knob rising from forehead, two locks with curling ends rising from crown.

Rev. Square incuse with irregular fillings; flattened surround.

El. 16.45 grm. Stater. From a Swiss Collection.

(PLATE XXXIX, 7 A)¹⁷

¹⁴ Cp. the lioness and her cub on a bronze coin of Ariarathes II: Newell, *NNM*, No. 30, p. 15, no. 13. The lions which occur not uncommonly as coin types, and in archaic art generally, without apparent manes are not on that account female.

¹⁵ E.g. at Kyme?: Babelon, *op. cit.*, Pl. XIII, 22-4, and in the South Eastern Aegean, Pls. XVIII, 9 and XIX, 1. ¹⁶ *Nomisma*, VII, p. 3, nos. 29-30. ¹⁷ Babelon, *op. cit.*, pp. 119/20, no. 169, Pl. V, 2.

This fine coin is a bolder, uninscribed, version of the stater in Munich which has been thought to read $\text{I}\text{I}\text{O}\text{M}$ for Teos. This would be a most difficult spelling, and actually, as Six has pointed out¹⁸ the legend is better read $\text{I}\text{I}\text{O}\text{N}\text{Y}$, and interpreted as a theophoric name compounded from Dionysos. The griffin is often associated with Dionysos and the set of Phanes coins supplies an obvious parallel for the appearance of a personal name. Then type and name would be complementary, and the main ground for the attribution to Teos is cut away. That attribution is somewhat unlikely for other reasons, and has not been accepted by Head in the *Historia Numorum* (p. 588); Teos was not a place of much importance, and it lies well within the Southern sector of Ionia in which the prevalent weight standard was not Phokaic but Lydo-Milesian; furthermore the mu-form of sigma is inadmissible in an Ionian alphabet. It is true that a griffin is the type of Teos later, but it is the full length figure, while the griffin's head is the regular type of the later coinage of Phokaia; several early issues of smaller coins bearing the griffin's head have already been attributed there,¹⁹ some of them closely resembling our stater. It is true that the first electrum stater of Phokaia with the seal type²⁰ has a different reverse pattern of two incuses, but so, in the view advanced above, have the early issues of Kyzikos (see nos. 4 and 4a above), and in view of their type and standard it seems more likely that the two staters with griffin's head are Phokaian than Teian. Their date should be somewhere in the second quarter of the sixth century; Six's identification of the name as that of Dionysios, the Phokaian admiral of the Ionian Revolt, however, seems altogether too late for style and fabric – and there are other possible compounds, e.g. Dionysodoros.

8. Euboic-Samian standard

Obv. Uncertain type: eagle? flying, left, with snake twining round neck and tail?

Rev. Two parallel oblong incuses with broken surfaces.

17.35 grm. Stater. Ashmolean Museum (Loan Coll). PLATE XXXIX, 8. Found in Samos

This must be one of the first staters of Samos. The types of the early Samian electrum are in a class by themselves, as a glance at Pl. IX of Babelon's *Traité* will show. The designs, which are of the crudest, with much filling ornament, often seem intentionally obscure. One may sense that a bird, or a quadruped, is

¹⁸ In a personal communication published by Meister in *Philologus*, XLIX, p. 611, Six incidentally makes the interesting observation that the same tiny reverse punch was also used for the square incuse of a hektê in his collection.

¹⁹ E.g. Babelon, *Traité*, II, 1, Pl. IV, 14–16.

²⁰ Babelon, *Traité*, II, 1, Pl. IV, 3, 5.

intended, but what exactly it is, or what doing, remains a mystery. On this unique stater, the provenance of which confirms its attribution, I seem to see a bird flying left, with one wing above and one below the body in the archaic manner, and a rather fish-like tail. On the left, round what could be the neck, is a coil which is carried underneath the lower wing, then upwards again on the right involving the tail, so that the type in general would be a crude version of that on the later coins of Chalkis.²¹ Eagles are common enough on contemporary Samian hektai and smaller pieces; alighting (*Traité*, II, 1, Pl. IX, 6.), devouring prey (IX, 8), or flying Pl. IX, 17; while no. 12 below is a later and normal version of the type which I have guessed for this stater.

9. *Uncertain type:*

Obv. Two highly stylised lion's scalps joined at their bases?

Rev. Two parallel oblong incuses.

El (plated). 10.69 gm. Stater? B. M.

(PLATE XXXIX, 9)

Here again the type is not clear, but resembles in general outline the two lions' heads joined at the base on a stater of Miletos (*Traité*, II, 1, Pl. I, 20-1); in detail, the scalps (if they be such) are not unlike the admitted lion's scalp on a Samian half-stater of the period in the British Museum (*ibid.*, Pl. IX, 22) though the faces on our coin have been stylised into what is almost a double volute.

In view of the three later pieces to be discussed in the next section it is interesting to find a plated electrum piece of the first half of the century. In this case the core is copper; the reverse with its parallel oblong incuses, which on normal Samian electrum are confined to the stater, should show the denomination intended. It is too heavy for any half-stater, but if meant for a stater it is nearly seven grammes short.

10. *Obv.* Naked male figure left, in the archaic kneeling-running posture, the hair falling in daedalic style over the neck, both arms flexed and the right raised, apparently holding two cords attached to a small globelike object hanging opposite the right knee.

Rev. Two parallel oblong incuses, neat and shallow, with smooth internal surfaces; flattened surround.

Lead. 6.49 gm. Half-stater? Paris (no. 131a)²²

(PLATE XXXIX, 10)

The figure is difficult to explain. It has no distinctive attribute except the globular object which appears to be hanging from the right hand. Though the

²¹ E.g. the Boston stater: Brett, *Catalogue*, Pl. 54, 1018.

²² I have to thank Monsieur Jean Babelon for communicating casts of this and the following coin, and Monsieur Yvon for help in studying them.

strings seem unduly long could this be an oil bottle, aryballos, like that one carried by a running Nike on a later silver Carian stater?²³ Then the type might be agonistic and the figure Agon personified, like the winged youth on a silver stater of Peparethos (*Traité*, II, 1, Pl. LIX, 15). But our figure is wingless and more horrific. On the whole I suspect some primitive daimon swinging a cult-object, perhaps some form of bull-roarer.

11. *Obv.* Ravening lion right, head turned back, with open jaws and protruding tongue; left forepaw raised; in field above on left, double volute.

Rev. Similar but two pellets in one oblong and three in the other.

Lead 6.56 grm. Half-stater? Paris (no. 131)²⁴

(PLATE XXXIX, 11)

12. *Obv.* Eagle right with open wings, attacking a writhing serpent with beak and claws.

Rev. Similar but deeper and less regular oblongs, with broken surfaces; convex flan.

Lead. 8.37 grm. Half-stater? Boston²⁵

(PLATE XXXIX, 12)

The wheel and the head of an animal which Greenwell saw in the two oblongs of the reverse when he published this coin²⁶ are surely due to irregularities of the surface.

Nos. 11 and 12 are already well known and only described here because they belong to the same series as no. 10, and all must be considered together. The twin oblongs of the reverse indicate a Samian origin, but the style and execution of the types are quite different from the early electrum. We are left in no doubt as to what is intended, and the work points to a date in the third quarter of the sixth century. Greenwell in his original publication, followed by Mrs. Brett in the Boston Catalogue, saw no. 12 as the lead proof of an electrum stater. As she points out, occasional strikes in lead do occur, and the explanation might seem reasonable if only one piece was in question. But it seems to stretch the limits of coincidence too far to assume that we have here leaden trial pieces of no less than three different issues of a series of which no normal electrum coins have survived. Already E. Babelon in discussing nos. 11 and 12²⁷ (no. 10 was unknown to him) pointed out that the reverse shows a Samian origin, and brought them into connexion with the amusing story retailed but rejected by Herodotos (III. 56), that

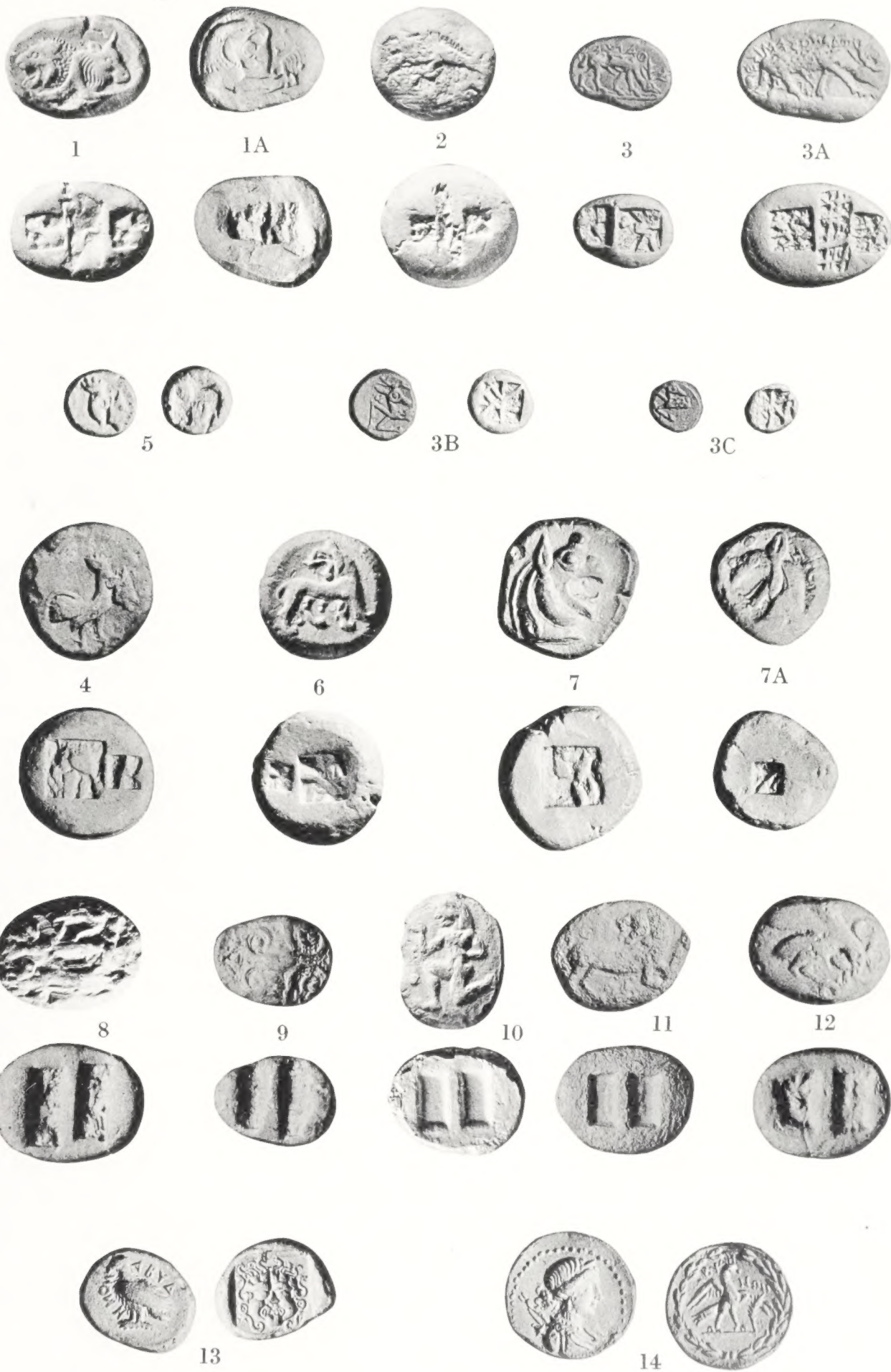
²³ *NC*, 1936, p. 266, no. 4, Pl. XIV, 4; the series to which it belongs has been usually attributed to Mallos or Aphrodisias, but for reasons there given is more likely to be Carian.

²⁴ Babelon, *Traité* II, 1, pp. 221-2, no. 395, Pl. II, 17.

²⁵ Brett, *Catalogue*, no. 2311. I was indebted to the late Dr. L. D. Caskey for a cast.

²⁶ *NC*, 1897, p. 282, no. 5.

²⁷ Babelon, *Traité*, II, 1, pp. 221-2.



SOME ELECTRUM AND GOLD GREEK COINS

Polykrates fobbed off the Spartans with a payment of staters in gilded lead. He is doubtless right in concluding that at some time Polykrates made an emergency issue of lead staters, whether once gilded or not,²⁸ and that this issue gave rise to the story of the "simple Spartans".

13. *Abydos*

Obv. Eagle standing left; above on right, slanting downwards, **ΑΒΥΔ**, on left, upwards **ΗΙΘΙ**.

Rev. Gorgan's head facing, wearing earrings?; a row of six snakes rising from her temples, and two pairs of snakes flanking her cheeks and chin respectively; square incuse.

Α 8.51 grm. Stater. From a Swiss Collection.

(PLATE XXXIX, 13)

The fifth century silver coinage of Abydos²⁹ seems to fall into two distinct groups though it is all commonly put to the second quarter of the century: there is an earlier group of siglos weight showing a broad-flanked, clumsy eagle, with a transitional gorgoneion on the reverse (*Traité*, II, 2, Pl. CLXVII, 29-31), and a later group apparently of Aeginetic weight, hemidrachm, obol and hemiobol (*BMC, Troas*, p. 1, no. 1, Pl. I, 3-5; *Traité*, II, 2, Pl. CLXVII, 32-3), often with symbol or monogram, on which the eagle is sparer and finer, and the gorgoneion later-looking and more elaborate. The earlier group could well be before mid-century; the later group with which, to judge by its style, goes our gold stater, must belong to the closing years of the Peloponnesian War from 412/11 onwards. After the Athenian disaster before Syracuse Abydos revolted and became one of the principal Spartan naval bases in the Northern Aegean. This would account both for the unusual issue of gold, and for the use of the Aeginetan standard for silver, familiar to Peloponnesian crews and conveniently related to the widespread Chian standard.³⁰ A similar issue of gold was made at Ephesos.³¹

It is interesting that the standard of our gold stater appears to be still Attic though the beautiful pieces issued some twenty years later (*Traité*, II, 2, Pl. CLXVIII, 1-2) are of the slightly lighter weight of the Lampsakenes. Both were made no doubt from gold actually mined in Abydene territory³² like the following coin.

²⁸ Babelon's heading in the *Traité* is "Statères en plomb doré" but, I could see no trace of gilding on nos. 10-11.

²⁹ Babelon, *Traité*, II, 2, pp. 1323-6, Pl. CLXVII, 29-33.

³⁰ The Chian tetradrachm was a fortieth of the Aeginetan mina and its nickname, τεσσαρακοστή Χία (*Thuc.* VIII. 10) implies that it passed freely among the Spartans.

³¹ Babelon, *Traité*, II, 2, pp. 1097-8, nos. 1879-81.

³² Strabo XIII, 1, 23. Xenophon *Hell.* IV-8-37.

14. *Obv.* Bust of Artemis right, wearing triple-pendant earring, the hair rolled and gathered into a bunch behind; bow and quiver at shoulder, the bow tipped with a stag's head; dotted circle.

Rev. Eagle with open wings right; below on right, palm; on left, slanting upwards, ΑΒΥΔΗ on right, across field, ΝΩΝ; the whole in wreath.

A 8.27 grm. Stater. B.M.³³

(PLATE XXXIX, 14)

The series of silver tetradrachms of Attic weight struck at Abydos in the second and early first centuries B.C. is well known. This unique gold stater, with the same types but without magistrate's name, bears the palm symbol associated on the silver with the name Απολλοφάνου (sic).³⁴ The absence of name on the stater is difficult to account for. S. P. Noe in his study of these tetradrachms³⁵ has noted only one instance of the same phenomenon: two coins both with the wreath symbol, one with a name, Διοδώρου, and one with none. But his explanation, that the nameless tetradrachm was the first to be issued, seems less likely now, for we have here another example, late in the series. Clearly the gold stater is a special issue and it is natural to associate it with the crop of gold staters struck by cities of Western Asia Minor, Ephesos, Smyrna, Tralles etc. during the Mithradatic War 88–5 B.C.³⁶ with which it seems to fall generally in line. It has been assumed, however, that Abydos was one of the few cities which remained faithful to Rome,³⁷ for, though not specifically named, it appears to have been open to the Romans in 85 B.C. when Lucullus secured the crossings of the Hellespont for Sulla's army.³⁸ Perhaps the assumption should be abandoned; if it is correct we can only conclude that in this case the gold issue was not an act of defiance on the part of rebels, but an emergency coinage arising from the sudden needs of the Roman army.

Postscript to nos. 10–12

Since the article went to press, yet another Samian lead stater of the same family has come to light in the Vienna Cabinet. It is not possible to discuss it here but I am indebted to the Director and to Dr. Bruck for leave to publish it and for a cast. Its description is as follows:

Obv. Winged lion r., with head turned to front, attacking bull, whose horned head, only is seen.

Rev. Two oblong incuses as before. Lead. 6.32 grm.

³³ *British Museum Quarterly*, XV, p. 50, Pl. XX, 3.

³⁴ *BMC, Troas*, p. 6, no. 52.

³⁵ *ANSMN*, I (1946), p. 8.

³⁶ D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*, II, p. 1103, n. 34.

³⁷ D. Magie, *op. cit.*, I, p. 234.

³⁸ Plutarch, *Lucullus* 4.

THE RING OF POLYCRATES

CHARLES SELTMAN

Among the many delightful stories recounted in the *History* of Herodotus one of the most pleasing is the tale of the ring which was said to have been owned by the celebrated Samian despot, Polycrates.

Relatively small as is the island of Samos, very close to the coast of Anatolia, it was the home, across the centuries, of a number of remarkable men. Kolaïos – the first Greek to get through to the Atlantic – famous engineers, architects, sculptors and engravers lived and worked there in the sixth century, as well as poets like Ibycus and Anacreon, and it was in that same century that Samos produced a “tyrant”, or despot, second only in fame to the Athenian Peisistratus. Polycrates, who gained control over many islands in the Aegean Sea surrounding Samos, raised that state for a time to a height of power which made it seem to be the most influential of all Greek islands for as long as Polycrates lived.

Restless energy was natural to these Samians throughout most of their history. Well before 600 B.C. Kolaïos was the first Greek to discover Tartessus – known to Phoenicians and Hebrews as Tarshish – an ancient tidal Spanish port on the Atlantic Ocean. Kolaïos himself became famous on account of the great wealth of a cargo he brought back from Spain and his exploit encouraged other merchant venturers among his compatriots. Enterprising seamen as they were, they displayed a tendency, not always popular, to combine the calling of privateer and pirate with that of trader, and practices such as these led to a certain ruthlessness in the home as well as on the high seas.

Members of the old and noble families who were landowners in the island naturally took to trade when opportunity presented itself, among them a certain Aiakes, son of Bryson, who held office in the island some time before 540 B.C. and left a statue of himself – which still survives – accompanied by an inscription which stated that he dedicated a tithe of plunder to Hera,¹ chief deity of the island. He was a man of great wealth and standing, having three sons named Polycrates, Pantagnotos and Syloson, the eldest of whom seized the administrative power and made himself tyrant of Samos about 540 B.C. A few years before this happened the Lydian kingdom had been engulfed by Persia, whose dominion spread all over the western seaboard of Asia Minor, putting Samos in great peril, since the Empire of the Medes was now only separated from the island by a mile-wide strait. Such danger as this may well have given Polycrates the opportunity to seize power, since the rule of an autocrat in control of a small professional army and a large powerful fleet was the one thing that could save the island from being annexed to the Empire. Leaving the mainland to the enemy, he concentrated on obtaining control of numerous neighbouring islands and thus building an Aegean maritime empire large enough to be classed by later writers in their catalogues of “thalassocracies”. His blockade of the mainland was certainly effective, though his buccaneering was often a great nuisance even to his friends. Herodotus, however, reports a saying of Polycrates who declared that he showed more favour to a friend if he restored what he had taken, than if he never took it at all. Our considerable knowledge of sixth-century Samos is due to the fact that Herodotus himself in the century which followed resided there for some time and was therefore well-informed; and for this reason the Third Book of his *History* contains, in its first quarter, a vivid and lively account of the despot and his circle. The famous Samians of those days included Mnesarchos, a gem-engraver, father of Pythagoras. He, though trained as an engraver, was later to found one of the most remarkable of all philosophic systems. There were great engineers like Eupalinos and numerous craftsmen skilled in other arts.

Diodorus² supplies a record of skill which Samian sculptors acquired from Egyptian contacts in the following anecdote:

Telekles and Theodoros, the sons of Rhoikos, made the statue of the Pythian Apollo for the Samians. The story runs that one half of the image was made at Samos by Telekles, while the other half was fashioned at Ephesos by his brother, Theodoros, and that when the

¹ P. N. Ure, *The Origin of Tyranny* (Cambridge, 1922), pp. 81 f.

² Diodorus Siculus, I, 98.

parts were joined together they fitted so exactly that the whole figure appeared to be the work of one artist. This method of working was never practised by the Greeks, but was in common use among the Egyptians. And the statue at Samos, being made in accordance with the Egyptian system, is bisected by a line which runs from the crown of the head through the centre of the figure to the groin, and divides it into precisely equal and similar halves.

Like Mnesarchos, father of Pythagoras, Theodoros was an engraver of gems and he made for Polycrates himself a signet-ring containing an emerald carved in intaglio, no mean accomplishment since emeralds are only a little less hard than diamonds. Although this celebrated gem has not survived there is in existence a small and almost contemporary replica of it, which shall presently be described.

Herodotus did not trouble to record what subject was engraved on this emerald, and consequently some rather foolish theories cropped up, even in ancient times. A case in point was Pliny³ who declared that the Emperor Augustus presented to the temple of Concord in the Forum Romanum a golden horn in which was set a sardonyx, believed to be the original gem engraved by Theodoros of Samos for the ring of Polycrates. Yet Pliny, further on,⁴ said this sardonyx was plain and unengraved; an absurd statement, since any signet-ring in the sixth-century B.C., and later, always bore an engraved design. Oddly enough we have to wait for the writings of Clement of Alexandria, who lived between A.D. 150 and 216. It is to this industrious, opinionated, offensive and neurotic polymath that we owe, concerning the ancient pagan world, a great deal of information which might otherwise have been lost to us.

He wrote a book called *Paedagogus, or The Tutor*, wherein, among other things, he briefed his co-religionists of the Christian bourgeoisie, about what kind of rings with engraved seal-stones they might or might not wear. We must not, said Clement, have on our rings images of idols, which it is forbidden even to look at, nor a sword, nor a bow, since we are followers of peace; nor drinking cups since we are sober men. Many pagans, he declares, have signet rings with engravings of their boys, or their naked mistresses, thus suffering continuously the torments of desire. But a good Christian who wears a ring may have in it a stone carved with a dove, or a fish, or a ship running before the wind, or *a musical lyre which was the blazon used by Polycrates*⁵ or a fisherman who will put the wearer in the

³ *Hist. Nat.*, xxxvii, 4.

⁴ *Ibid.*, xxxvii, 8.

⁵ The Italics are mine. The wording is as follows: ἡ λύρα μουσική, ἡ κέχρηται Πολυκράτης ... from Clement of Alexandria, *Paedagogus*, III. xi. 59 (ed. Stählin, 1905, I, p. 270).

mind of the apostle. From Clement we may now turn back to the well-known passage in the Third Book of Herodotus.

Polycrates' good fortune had long continued and his friend and ally Amasis, Pharaoh of Egypt, hearing the report of this took it to heart, and, being a superstitious person, wrote a letter as follows:

Amasis to Polycrates. Verily it is sweet to hear that a friend and confederate fareth well; but me thy great prosperities please not, because I well know that God is a jealous god. And I would that I myself and those for whom I care might prosper in some of their affairs and fail in others, and so spend their life faring well and ill by turns. For never yet have I heard of any man prosperous in all things who had not an evil end at the last and was not rooted out utterly. Therefore now be thou persuaded of me, and guard against thy prosperities thus: take that thing which upon consideration thou shalt find to be worth most to thee and for the loss whereof thou shalt most be grieved in heart, and so lose it that it shall never more come to the sight of men.

Duly impressed, Polycrates considered which of his possessions it would most hurt him to lose and his mind turned to the seal-stone carved by Theodoros and attached to its golden hoop. So he put to sea in a vessel of fifty oars and threw his treasure into deep water before the eyes of his companions. Five or six days later a fisherman who had caught a large fish brought it as a present to Polycrates addressing him in the following words:—

This fish I caught, O king, but albeit I live by the toil of my hands, I resolved not to take it to market, but deemed it worthy of thee and of thy great empire. Therefore I have brought it to thee.

Presently the cook, preparing the fish for dinner, found in its stomach the ring of Polycrates. The tyrant rejoicing reported his good fortune to his friend Amasis; the latter however, decided that it was impossible for one man to rescue another man from his fate and since Polycrates enjoyed too much good fortune he must inevitably come to an evil end. So, according to Herodotus, he sent a delegate to Samos and broke off the alliance.

The story about the fish swallowing the ring is not entirely fanciful. Parallels exist; for example one remembers the passage in the Gospel according to St. Matthew in which Christ told Peter to go and catch a fish and that inside it he would find a stater which would serve as tribute money for the two of them. Furthermore in an article which Sir George Hill wrote some years ago about Greek coins found in Britain he recounted the story of an old fisherman and his son who, off the East coast of Scotland, caught a fish in the stomach of which they

found a Ptolemaic copper coin. Fish, of course, are attracted by glittering objects so that the story about the ring of Polycrates may well be true.

There are now two sources of information which we may attempt to combine:—The facts supplied by Herodotus about the date, the power, the island empire and the ring of Polycrates; and the statement made by Clement that the said ring bore an engraved lyre. In fact we would like, if possible, to know what the lyre looked like. The despot controlled a large number of islands in the neighbourhood of his own State, among them the island of Calymna which lies fifty miles to the south of Samos; and there are some exceedingly rare sixth-century coins which probably belong to this State. On the obverse is a bearded head, Ares or a local hero, wearing a crested Corinthian helmet, eye large and full. The reverse shows a seven-stringed lyre, made of tortoise-shell and curved horns, within a neat sunk incuse cut to take the lyre's shape. The standard is peculiar, the two specimens in the British Museum weighing 10.51 and 10.11 grammes. Dr. Head remarked that the coins are on the Lydian silver standard of Croesus, and this pretty well fixes their issue between c. 560 and 546 B.C.

These coins were succeeded, after a very short interval, by a second issue (Figs. 1–2),⁶ which differed from the first in two points of detail.

On the bowl of the helmet, above the raised ridge, is a large letter A.⁷ The weight is no longer that of the Lydian standard, but Samian-Euboic, for the coins weigh 8.49 and 8.68 grammes. This standard had been employed in Samos for electrum coins minted in the seventh century B.C., and may, since the coin is certainly East Greek, be regarded definitely as a Samian standard. A cogent reason for regarding these coins with the helmeted head and the seven-stringed lyre as being struck within the region of south-western Asia Minor, is the fact that their die-positions are in every case regular ↑↑. And long ago, Sir George Macdonald pointed out that this part of the world was “the original home of the mechanical device to whose existence precision of adjustment testifies. In the coinages of places like Cnidus, Samos, Calymna, and Carpathos, irregularity is

⁶ Represented by two coins: in Boston, K. Regling, *Catal. Warren Coll.*, no. 1179; and in the Jameson Collection, *Catal.*, no. 1844, from the Taranto Hoard. See my paper in *NC*, 1949, on the problem of the first Italiote Coins.

⁷ “A” cannot be the middle letter of KAA, as Greenwell and Regling thought, for the A is far too conspicuous and must label the wearer of the helmet. But who is he? Ares, Ankaïos, Achilles, Ajax? For the style compare armed heroes by the Amasis painter in Athens, c. 550 to 535 B.C.

virtually unknown. There the dies seem to have been fixed from the seventh or sixth centuries B.C. onwards.”⁸

Here are coins bearing a lyre and struck in an island which we may assume to have formed part of the Samian sea-dominion of Polycrates. Accordingly there is a probability that the instrument depicted on the despot’s famous ring bore a



Fig. 1

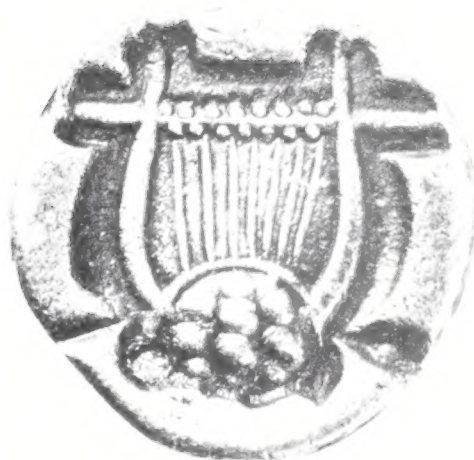


Fig. 2



Fig. 3

resemblance to the Calymnian coin-type; in fact that it was the old-fashioned object, made from the horns of a goat and the shell of a tortoise, known to the Greeks as a Chelys⁹ rather than a Kithara or Lyra with wooden or metal sound-box. Not many ancient seal-stones with this type survive. Two are described in

⁸ *Corolla Numismatica*, 1906, p. 180. Dr. E. S. G. Robinson pointed out to me that this is not true for the earliest issues of Cnidus where the dies are on the whole irregular.

⁹ *BMC, Caria*, p. lxxxvi. The lyre on the reverse is possibly a canting-type: Χέλυμνα (Babrius 115,5) = Χελώνη = Χέλυσ = lyre.

the *Catalogue of the Engraved Gems and Cameos in the British Museum*,¹⁰ but these are obviously late, the second being a Roman paste.

The first has a butterfly – symbol of the soul – as well as a lyre and was therefore a stone which any Christian follower of Clement would have been happy to wear.

There is, however, a little stone, formerly in the Collection of the late Earl of Southesk¹¹ and now in the possession of Henry St John Hart, Dean of Queens' College Cambridge, which is much closer in date to the time of Polycrates (Fig. 3). It is a small Sard scaraboid pierced on its shorter axis and mounted in a modern ring and engraved with a simple Chelys made from the shell of a tortoise and a pair of curved horns. The engraver had not room to show the full number of seven strings, but otherwise the instrument closely resembles that on the sixth-century coins of Calymna. Perched on the crossbar of this Chelys is a little crow, a bird sacred to Apollo, as the lyre was. In fanciful mood the engraver has adapted the bulges of the shell to make a facing head. This is not a gorgoneion, but a kind of "sprite" of the lyre; conceivably even a Muse. Anyhow, one is reminded of those coins of Akragas in Sicily – pieces roughly contemporary with this little sard – which have for reverse type a crab whose carapace has been represented as a frontal human face.¹²

Numismatists of an earlier age, like Dr. Imhoof-Blumer and Sir Arthur Evans, not infrequently made comparisons between ancient coins and gems. Rightly so, because the same engraver might work on both coin-dies and intaglios. Such comparisons are less frequently made now; but it is to be hoped that some younger scholars of today may find scope for further studies along such lines.

¹⁰ H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Engraved Gems and Cameos, Greek, Etruscan and Roman in the British Museum* (1926), Nos. 2652, 3408.

¹¹ *Catalogue of the Collection of Antique Gems Formed by James Ninth Earl of Southesk*, edited by Lady Helena Carnegie, I (London, 1908), p. 109, class I, 10, and Pl. IX. The stone is about 8 × 5 centimetres.

¹² For example *BMC, Sicily*, pp. 12, 62.

PARION

AU 3^e SIÈCLE AVANT NOTRE ÈRE

HENRI SEYRIG

L'histoire monétaire des villes d'Asie Mineure au 3^e siècle forme un chapitre obscur de la numismatique. Cette obscurité vient en grande partie de ce que les catalogues n'enregistrent, sous le nom des villes, que les émissions signées par celles-ci. Or les villes, au 3^e siècle, ne signent guère que leur monnaie divisionnaire d'argent et de bronze.¹ Leur numéraire de grand commerce, au contraire, qui consiste en tétradrachmes d'argent et parfois en statères d'or, ne porte traditionnellement que les types et le nom d'Alexandre ou de Lysimaque,² ce qui le fait classer fallacieusement sous la rubrique de ces deux rois, morts depuis longtemps.³

¹ Voir essentiellement sur ce sujet l'introduction préparée par E. T. Newell, et imprimée en tête de l'étude de S. P. Noe, *The Alexander Coinage of Sicyon* (New York, 1950); et, déjà, les justes observations de E. Bickerman dans ses *Institutions des Séleucides*, p. 229.

² Très peu de villes d'Asie, au 3^e siècle, ont frappé des tétradrachmes à leur propre nom. Tel est le cas de Sinope: *HN*², p. 508; sans doute vers 225 av. J.-C. — Héraclée de Bithynie: W. Wroth, *BMC, Pontus etc.*, p. 143, n^o 33; cette monnaie nous paraît postérieure au règne de Lysimaque. — Calcédoine: H. Waddington et al., *Recueil gén.*, I, 2^e éd., p. 294, n^{os} 22-23; autres ex.: Froehner (catal. Ratto, Gênes 1909, 3449); Consul Weber (catal. Hirsch, XXI, 1908, 2316): types imités de Lysimaque. Une autre émission de tétradrachmes, d'étalon rhodien, se place vers 220: Margaret Thompson, "A Countermarked Hoard from Büyükçekmece", dans *ANSMN*, VI (1954), p. 11 et s. — Sur Cyzique, voir n. 61. — Cos et Rhodes: voir *HN*². — Pergé: D. H. Cox, *A Third Century Hoard from Gordion*, p. 16, où ces pièces sont placées vers 220; mais elles pourraient être bien plus anciennes.

³ Le caractère municipal de ces émissions est reconnu depuis longtemps (par ex. par B. V. Head, *NC*, 1883, p. 18 et s.), ce qui n'a généralement pas suffi à les faire classer comme telles. Il y a des

Son absence dans les listes municipales fausse d'autant plus gravement la perspective historique, que la frappe des tétradrachmes et des statères semble un privilège des villes libres,⁴ et permettra peut-être un jour des conclusions juridiques importantes.

Cette perspective, du reste, exige aussi la connaissance des monnaies battues dans les mêmes villes par les rois dont elles furent sujettes à certaines époques. La numismatique d'une cité grecque doit comprendre toutes les pièces qui reflètent les vicissitudes de celle-ci, son autonomie comme sa sujétion, et c'est seulement quand elle aura été établie de la sorte, que l'on pourra attendre des historiens un usage valable des sources monétaires. A cet égard, l'inestimable *Historia numorum* de Head n'est plus à la hauteur des exigences.⁵

A vrai dire, une telle présentation demandera encore des recherches, car l'attribution et la chronologie des monnaies pseudo-royales sont souvent difficiles. Le travail que Newell a fait pour les Alexandres du 4^e siècle, pour les monnaies des Séleucides, pour celles de Démétrius Poliorcète, et (dans un ouvrage encore inédit) pour les émissions de Lysimaque en son vivant, reste à faire pour les pseudo-alexandres et les pseudo-lysimaques purement municipaux du 3^e siècle. Cependant l'histoire monétaire de quelques villes commence à se dessiner, et nous nous hasardons aujourd'hui à parler d'une cité notable, dont les monnaies de grand commerce semblent avoir échappé complètement à l'attention: c'est la ville de Parion, située sur la côte mysienne à l'Est de Lampsaque, à l'entrée de l'Hellespont.⁶

exceptions. Dans *SNG, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge* F. Heichelheim classe les alexandres posthumes – mais non les lysimaques posthumes – aux villes d'émission, quand on les connaît. Dans le *Corpus* de Berlin, B. Pick, et K. Regling font de même pour Istros, Tomis, Callatis et Odessos, bien que les pseudo-alexandres de Callatis soient omis comme d'attribution douteuse. Mais pour Aenos, M. L. Strack a omis les nombreux pseudo-lysimaques, importants pour l'histoire monétaire de la ville, et qui permettent notamment de reconnaître en Skostokès un tyran d'Aenos. – Certaines monographies ont inclus les séries en question: F. Imhoof-Blumer, *Die Münzen der Dynastie von Pergamon*; A. Baldwin (Mrs. Brett), "Lampsakos", dans *AJN*, LIII (1924); J. Mavrogordato, "Chronological Arrangement of the Coins of Chios", dans *NC*, 1918; et quelques autres.

⁴ Voir *Syria*, XXVIII (1951), pp. 213 à 215 (= *Antiquités syriennes*, IV, pp. 192-194).

⁵ B. V. Head, lorsqu'il écrivait, ne pouvait se fonder, pour Alexandre et Lysimaque, que sur les classements surannés de L. Müller. Les monnaies des Séleucides, non plus, ni celles de Démétrius Poliorcète, n'avaient encore été l'objet des études systématiques de E. T. Newell.

⁶ Cet article contient des matériaux que je n'aurais pu rassembler sans l'aide de nombreuses institutions, auxquelles va ma reconnaissance. Les cabinets d'Athènes, de Berlin, de l'Université américaine de Beyrouth, de Gotha, d'Istanbul, de La Haye, de Leningrade, de Londres, de Milan, de Munich, d'Oxford, de Sofia, de Vienne et de Paris, se sont très aimablement prêtés à mes recherches, et m'ont fourni des moulages. Parmi les personnes privées, feu M. Michel Chiha et le dr.

Parion

Les auteurs anciens ne disent presque rien sur Parion⁷ au 3^e siècle. De concert avec Lampsaque, sa voisine, la ville s'était soumise à Lysimaque en 303, comme il passait l'Hellespont pour combattre Antigone, et elle avait reçu de lui le statut d'une ville libre.⁸ Mais dès 302, Démétrius Poliorcète la reprenait.⁹ Reconquise par Lysimaque vers 295 ou 294,¹⁰ elle lui appartint jusqu'à sa mort en 281. On ne sait exactement ce qui en advint ensuite. Elle dut traverser d'abord des années troublées, tant au cours de la guerre d'Antiochus I contre Antigone Gonatas en 280 et 279, qu'au cours de l'invasion galate en 277/276,¹¹ puis retrouver la paix sous le régime séleucide. Le silence des auteurs n'est rompu que bien plus tard, quand on voit la ville profiter de la faveur des Attalides pour annexer une partie du territoire de Priapos:¹² encore ignore-t-on la date de cet événement, probablement postérieur à l'agrandissement du royaume pergaménien par le traité d'Apamée, en 188.¹³

Les inscriptions ne complètent ce tableau lacuneux que sur quelques points, mais d'une manière parfois intéressante. Deux décrets,¹⁴ rendus pour des juges que Parion avait demandés à Érésos et à Priène, n'attestent qu'une activité municipale courante, et semblent remonter plutôt au 2^e siècle. Mais un décret

Sami Haddad à Beyrouth, M. Mark Salton à New York, ont droit aux mêmes remerciements. Enfin une gratitude spéciale me lie au personnel de la plus grande collection existante d'alexandres et de lysimaques, celle de l'*American Numismatic Society*, dont les médailleurs, y compris ceux de E. T. Newell, m'ont été libéralement ouverts, au cours d'un séjour dont il m'est bien agréable de rappeler le souvenir.

⁷ Sur Parion, voir W. Leaf, *Strabo and the Troad*, p. 80 et s.; J. et L. Robert, *Hellenica*, IX, p. 80 et s.; X, p. 271 et s.

⁸ Diod. Sic., XX. 107; cf. D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*, I, p. 89.

⁹ *Id.*, XX. 111.

¹⁰ Plutarch., *Demetr.*, XXXV.

¹¹ Sur la chronologie de ces divers événements, fondée sur l'inscription des bienfaits de Philétaire pour Cyzique (W. Dittenberger, *Orientalis gr. inscr. sel.*, 748), voir M. Launey, *REA*, XLVI, 1944, p. 232. La paix entre Antigone Gonatas et Antiochus I remonterait au début de l'automne 279; le premier passage des Galates, qui épargna Cyzique mais n'épargna pas nécessairement les cités moins importantes, a pu se produire dès l'hiver de 278/277. — Cf. Liv., XXXVIII. 16. 11; W. W. Tarn, *Antigonos Gonatas*, p. 163; *id.*, dans *CAH*, VII, p. 105.

¹² Strab., XIII. 1. 14, p. 588. — Il se peut que Priapos ait été plus tard incorporée tout entière à la colonie romaine de Parion: J. et L. Robert, *Hellenica*, IX, p. 89.

¹³ C'est ce que suppose E. Bikerman, *REG*, L (1937), p. 236.

¹⁴ Érésos: *IG*, XII, suppl., 121. — Priène: F. Hiller von Gaertringen, *Inscr. von Priene*, n° 63; cf. L. Robert, *Rev. arch.*, II (1926), p. 179.

rendu vers 200 par la Confédération ilienne montre que Parion faisait partie de cette ligue.¹⁵ Enfin un texte important¹⁶ nous renseigne sur les vastes pêcheries qui occupaient les habitants, et qui formaient, avec l'exploitation de vignes réputées¹⁷ et le trafic d'un port bien placé, un des fondements de la prospérité de la ville: la date tardive de l'inscription n'empêche pas de reconnaître là une activité certainement très ancienne.

A en croire les ouvrages de référence, le monnayage de Parion n'aurait consisté au 3^e siècle qu'en d'insignifiantes émissions de bronze, dignes d'une bourgade. Même si l'on voulait faire descendre jusque-là une partie des hémidrachmes que l'on attribue au 4^e siècle, et qui furent exportés en nombre vers les marchés de la Thrace,¹⁸ ces pièces ne témoigneraient que d'un petit commerce.

La réalité, cependant, est différente, et nous proposons d'attribuer à Parion quatre séries de tétradrachmes, dont aucune ne porte le nom de la ville. — Ces pièces sont les suivantes.

Le premier groupe, dont Newell avait déjà vu l'unité en classant sa collection, se laisse diviser en deux séries. L'une (nos. 1 à 8) est caractérisée par le symbole du thyrses, le monogramme AP , et une indéniable communauté de style. L'autre (nos. 9 à 15) est caractérisée par le monogramme A et par une alternance du thyrses et de l'épi; son style, encore relativement homogène, est visiblement tardif. Les deux séries ne sont donc liées, en fait, que par le thyrses. Leur cohésion a néanmoins paru plausible à Newell, qui en connaissait peut-être d'autres chaînons. Quoi qu'il en soit, et comme on le verra plus loin, ce sont les nos. 1 à 8 qui nous intéressent directement ici. — On notera que le symbole de l'autel, sur les nos 5 et 6, lie ces pièces au troisième et au quatrième groupe.

Le deuxième groupe doit sa cohésion aux rencontres alternées de deux monogrammes, A et A , avec trois symboles: la tête de taureau, le taureau cornupète,

¹⁵ W. Dittenberger, *SIG*, 3^e éd., 596. Cf. M. Holleaux, *Études d'épigr. et d'hist.*, I, p. 289 et s. Sur la confédération ilienne: J. Vanseveren, *Rev. phil.*, X (1936), p. 262 et s.; D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*, II, p. 869 et s.; L. Robert, *Études de numismatique*, p. 97, n. 4. Monnaies de Parion, trouvées à Ilion: L. Robert, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

¹⁶ *IGRom.*, I, 817. Mais l'interprétation a été entièrement renouvelée par J. et L. Robert, *Hellenica*, IX, pp. 80 à 94; cf. *ibid.*, X, p. 272 et s.

¹⁷ Strab., XIII. 1. 12, p. 587.

¹⁸ Voir l'index de S. P. Noe, *A Bibliography of Greek Coin Hoards*, 2^e éd., et, pour plus de détails, G. Seure, "Monnaies antiques en Bulgarie", dans la *RN*, XXVI (1923), pp. 8-35; 111-153. — Les monnaies de Parion sont mêlées principalement, dans ces trésors, à celles de Chersonèse et d'Apollonie du Rhyndakos. Dans les inventaires dressés par D. E. Tachella, les monnaies attribuées à Abydos sont en réalité d'Apollonie.

PREMIER GROUPE: TÉTRADRACHMES AUX NOM ET TYPES
DE LYSIMAQUE¹⁹

PLANCHE XL, 1-15

Nos	coins		à gauche		à droite	exergue
	droit	revers	extér.	intér.	extér.	
1	I	A	—	Σ	thyse	—
2	II	B	—	⌘	thyse	—
3	II	C	—	⌘	thyse	—
4	III	D	—	—	—	⌘
5	IV	E	—	⌘	thyse	autel
6	V	E	—	⌘	thyse	autel
7	V	F	—	⌘	—	—
8	V	G	—	⌘	///////	serpent
9	VI	H	thyse	⌘	—	—
10	VII	J	thyse	⌘	—	—
11	VIII	K	—	—	thyse	⌘
12	VIII	L	épi	⌘	—	—
13	IX	M	épi	⌘	—	—
14	X	N	Ipi	⌘	—	—
15	XI	O	⌘	grappe	—	—

DEUXIÈME GROUPE: TÉTRADRACHMES PSEUDO-ALEXANDRINS,
À FLAN MOYEN²⁰

PLANCHE XLI, 16-22

Nos	coins		à gauche	trône
	droit	revers		
16	I	A	tête de taureau, de face	Λ
17	II	B	tête de taureau, de face	⌘
18	III	C	taureau cornupète à g., ⌘	Λ
19	IV	D	taureau cornupète à g., ⌘	⌘
20	V	E	taureau cornupète à g., ⌘	⌘
21	V	F	taureau cornupète à g., <i>vac.</i>	Λ
22	VI	G	cithare, Λ dans une couronne. Les montants du dossier du trône sont surmontés de petits sphinx assis.	⌘

TROISIÈME GROUPE: TÉTRADRACHMES SÉLEUCIDES²¹

PLANCHE XLI, 28-35

Nos	rois	coins		gauche		droite		exergue	Newell, W. S. M.
		droit	revers	ext.	int.	ext.	int.		
23	Séleucus II				☉		☉		1459
24	Hiérax	I	A					☉ ☉	1460
25	Hiérax	II	B					☉ ☉	1461
26	Hiérax	III	C					Pan, grappe	—
27	Hiérax	III	D					Pan, ☉	1462
28	Hiérax	III	D					Pan, taureau cornupète.	—
29	Hiérax	IV	E					☉	1463
30	Hiérax	V	F					☉ ☉	1464
31	Hiérax	VIa	G					☉, masque à droite	—
32	Hiérax	VIa	H	☉ ☉					—
33	Hiérax	VIa	H	masque ☉				☉	1465
34	Hiérax	VIa	J		☉	masque			—
35	Hiérax	VIb	K	☉		masque			1466
36	Hiérax	VIb	K	autel					1467

QUATRIÈME GROUPE: TÉTRADRACHMES PSEUDO-ALEXANDRINS,
A FLAN LARGE²²

PLANCHE XLII, 37-39

Nos	coins		à gauche	en bas
	droit	revers		
37	I	A	autel quadrangulaire, figuré en perspective de manière à présenter un angle saillant. Au dessous: ☉	masque comique, de face
38	I	A	symboles regravés dans le même coin. L'autel est traité de façon linéaire. Au dessous: ☉. Au droit, contremarque oblongue: ancre.	id.
39	II	B	autel schématiquement dessiné, mais où l'on a visiblement tenu à marquer l'arête de l'angle. Au dessous: ☉	id., de 3/4



1



2



3



4



5



6



7



8



9



10



11



12



13



14



15





16



17



18



19



20



21



22



28



31



32



33



35





37-39, Parion. — A, C, G, Lampsaque. — B, Abydos. — D, H, Alexandrie de Troade. — E, Chios. — F, Pergame. — J, K, Assos.

et la cithare. Un troisième monogramme, Ξ , ne figure que sur une seule pièce. – Le deuxième groupe n'est pas lié au premier, mais il l'est au troisième, que nous allons voir, par le monogramme Ξ et par le taureau cornupète.

Le troisième groupe a été réuni, dans son ensemble, sous une autre attribution, par Newell,²³ qui en a solidement établi l'articulation. La seule appartenance douteuse est celle de la monnaie de Séleucus II, qui n'est liée aux autres que par des monogrammes analogues, mais non identiques. Notre tableau conserve l'ordre chronologique que Newell lui a donné. – Le troisième groupe est lié au premier par le symbole de l'autel, au second par le taureau cornupète et par le monogramme Ξ , au quatrième par le masque de comédie et par l'autel.

Il nous importe cependant, pour confirmer la liaison entre le troisième et le quatrième groupe, de bien montrer ici l'ordre de succession des n^{os} 31 à 36. On notera donc les points suivants. Quatre émissions différentes (n^{os} 31 à 34) sont issues du coin VIa. Sur la première (PLANCHE XLI, 31), le coin est intact; sur les

¹⁹ Les pièces marquées d'un astérisque sont figurées sur nos planches. – 1: Mich. Chiha*, ↑; BM, 16 g. 90 (RPK, B 32, p. 87). – 2: ANS*, 15 g. 78, ↑. – 3: Mich. Chiha*, ↑. – 4: ANS*, galvano. – 5: ANS*, 16 g. 72, ↓. – 6: ANS*, 16 g. 91, ↓. – 7: Catal. Signorelli 419*. – 8: Catal. Egger 26. XI. 1909, 307*, ↓; le coin de droit, après avoir servi au n^o. 7, a été raffraîchi. – 9: Münzhandl. Basel, catal. 10, 175*, ↓. – 10: ANS*, 17 g. 07, ↑. – 11: ANS*, 16 g. 95, ↑. – 12: Vienne*, 17 g. 18 (9402). – 13: Salton*. – 14: ANS*, 15 g. 87, ↑. – 15: Mich. Chiha*, ↑. – En cours d'impression, G. K. Jenkins veut bien me communiquer la photographie de trois pièces conservées à Londres. Ce sont: RPK, B 26 (comme notre n^o 9; même coin de droit, autre coin de revers; 17 g. 03 ↑); 1852, 12. 31. 3 (idem, coin de droit VIII, nouveau coin de revers; 16 g. 80 ↑); 1908, 12. 5. 2 (comme notre n^o 12, mais de coins différents; 16 g. 76).

²⁰ Dans tous les cas où j'ai pu m'en assurer, les coins sont disposés dans le même sens. – 16: Gotha*, 16 g. 87. – 17: BM*, 16 g. 45 (1841, 728). – 18: ANS, 16 g. 84; BM, 16 g. 95 (1888, 6. 14. 85); BM*, 16 g. 90 (1896, 7. 3. 180). – 19: Lockett 1470*, 16 g. 91. – 20: BM*, 16 g. 78 (1896, 7. 3. 171). – 21: Paris 849*, 16 g. 77; ANS, 16 g. 91. – 22: Gotha, 16 g. 59; BM*, 17 g. 10 (1896, 7. 3. 156). – En cours d'impression, une pièce nouvelle vient entre nos mains, ayant pour symbole la tête de taureau, et sous le trône un nouveau monogramme Ξ . Les deux coins sont nouveaux; 16 g. 80 ↑.

²¹ 23: Berlin, 16 g. 71. – 24: ANS, 16 g. 94. – 25: Salting n^o 40, 17 g. 10; La Haye, 17 g. 00. – 26: Istanbul (D. H. Cox, *Hoard from Gordion*, n^o 98). – 27: Leningrade; Univ. amér. de Beyrouth, 16 g. 10. – 28: Sami Haddad*. – 29: La Haye, 16 g. 90; ANS, 17 g. 07. – 30: ANS, 16 g. 28; Copenhague, 16 g. 98. – 31: BM*, 16 g. 67 (1924, 10. 18. 23). – 32: Commerce*, 16 g. 82. – 33: ANS, 16 g. 92; H. S.*, 16 g. 88; il est visible que le coin de revers est celui du no. 32, où l'on a retailé le croissant pour en faire un masque, et où le monogramme a été maladroitement défoncé, pour former soit un autel, soit un autre monogramme. – 34: Istanbul. – 35: Munich, 15 g. 27; Catal. Schlessinger, XIII, 1435, 16 g. 70; H. S.*, 16 g. 86. – 36: Catal. Sotheby, 1896 (Bunbury), 479, 16 g. 91.

²² 37: Paris 954*, 16 g. 38. – 38: H. S.*, 16 g. 77. – 39: H. S.*, 15 g. 62.

²³ E. T. Newell, *WSM*, pp. 275–280, n^{os} 1459–1467.

trois autres (PLANCHE XLI, 32-33), deux fissures se montrent, l'une sous le menton du roi, l'autre au dessus des extrémités flottantes du diadème. Or ces fissures sont visibles aussi, exactement aux mêmes endroits, sur les deux émissions issues du coin VI b (nos 35 et 36, cf. PLANCHE XLI, 35), dont l'effigie est toute différente. De cette observation, l'on conclura que le coin VIa, bien qu'usé, ne parut pas l'être assez pour être mis au rebut, et que l'on y grava un nouveau portrait. Mais il fallut le graver à grande échelle, pour recouvrir complètement l'ancien: de là cette effigie large, où il ne paraît pas déraisonnable de voir les traits déjà fatigués d'Antiochus Hiérax à la veille de sa chute.²⁴ Or les pièces issues du coin VIa-VIb sont celles qui vont nous assurer de la liaison avec le groupe suivant.

Le quatrième groupe, encore inédit, ne comprend pour l'instant que trois pièces. Il est lié à la dernière pièce du troisième groupe par ses deux symboles, tous deux très particuliers, le masque de comédie et l'autel. L'autel unit aussi le quatrième groupe au premier.

Les quatre groupes paraissent donc bien cohérents.

Attribution

De nos quatre groupes, le premier semble n'avoir jamais été attribué,²⁵ et le quatrième, qui est inédit, non plus. Le deuxième a été classé à Antioche de Pisidie, puis à Magnésie du Méandre,²⁶ à cause du taureau cornupète.²⁷ Le troisième a donné beaucoup de perplexité à Newell, qui, ne pouvant connaître encore les monnaies du quatrième, a hésité entre la région de Sardes et celle de la Propontide, pour se résigner finalement au choix d'une ville intermédiaire, Magnésie du Sipyle: il a d'ailleurs entouré cette hypothèse des réserves les plus explicites.²⁸

²⁴ Cette effigie ressemble d'ailleurs à une effigie, évidemment plus jeune, du même prince, gravée à Lampsaque: *ibid.*, n° 1541, pl. LXX, 3-4.

²⁵ Notre n° 14 est attribué par L. Müller (*Die Münzen des Königs Lysimachus*, n° 242) à Callatis; les nos 1, 9 et 10 (*ibid.*, nos 362-363) à des villes incertaines de Macédoine. Dans la collection Newell, le groupe est classé aux ateliers incertains: il est évident que Newell, s'il avait pu pousser son étude systématique jusqu'aux émissions posthumes, aurait reconnu l'autel de Parion.

²⁶ L. Müller, *Numismatique d'Alex. le Grand*, n° 1176 (Ant. Pisid.); NC, 1883, p. 3; SNG, *Lockett Collection*, 1470 (Magn.).

²⁷ Les taureaux des monnaies cariennes sont toujours bossus (cf. J. et L. Robert, *La Carie*, II, p. 135). Plin., *Nat. hist.*, VIII. 70. 179: *Carici quoque in parte Asiae, foedi visu, tubere super armos a cervicibus eminente*. Sur les monuments de la plus grande partie de l'Asie mineure, les boeufs sont très souvent bossus: W. Déonna, *BCH*, LXII (1938), p. 214 et s. Mais dans la région de la Propontide, ils ne le sont jamais.

²⁸ E. T. Newell, *WSM*, p. 278: "the proposed assignment must be regarded as conjectural."

Notre attribution repose sur le symbole de l'autel, commun à trois groupes, et par là doté d'une valeur permanente. Sur les n^{os} 5, 6 et 29, où la gravure est soignée, l'autel se présente comme un grand bloc carré, figuré en perspective de façon à offrir un angle saillant.²⁹ Ce procédé de représentation, très exceptionnel dans la numismatique grecque, où la représentation plane est de règle,³⁰ ne rappelle qu'un seul type monétaire connu, c'est le célèbre autel, qui, dessiné en perspective, orne certaines pièces de bronze de Parion, justement au 3^e siècle.³¹ Ce monument, oeuvre de l'architecte Hermocréon, est décrit par Strabon,³² et sa splendeur proverbiale³³ en faisait un emblème approprié pour la ville.

Les autres symboles ne sont pas caractéristiques en soi, mais ils s'accommodent bien d'une attribution à Parion. Le thyrses,³⁴ la grappe de raisin,³⁵ la petite figure de Pan,³⁶ le masque de comédie³⁷ indiquent une tradition dionysiaque, qui s'accorde avec le culte du grand dieu de l'Hellespont, Priape,³⁸ et avec la réputation que Parion devait à ses vins.³⁹ Le taureau cornupète, sans être spécial à cette ville,⁴⁰ figure en bonne place parmi ses types monétaires au 3^e siècle. La

²⁹ Sur les n^{os} 28, 30 et 31, la gravure est simplement hâtive, comme il apparaît du fait que le n^o 31 est issu du même coin de revers que le n^o 29, où la forme et l'arête de l'autel sont très claires: mais l'ouvrier qui a regravé le coin pour frapper le n^o 30 s'est montré négligent. Sur le n^o 31, l'autel est de forme banale – comme il arrive d'ailleurs sur les bronzes de Parion (voir note 31) – mais le graveur a néanmoins pris soin de lui donner une arête médiane, qui garde le souvenir de la vue perspective.

³⁰ Ailleurs, la figuration perspective d'un édifice ne paraît pas se rencontrer sur les monnaies avant l'époque romaine, sauf peut-être lorsqu'il s'agit moins de monuments, que d'accessoires, comme le cippe sur lequel est assise la nymphe de Térina: voir par ex. *SNG, Lloyd Collection*, II, pl. XXV.

³¹ W. Wroth, *BMC, Mysia*, p. 97 et s.; 101; F. Imhoof-Blumer, *Monnaies grecques*, p. 250, n^{os} 114 to 116; *SNG, Copenhagen, Mysia*, n^o 271.

³² Strab., X. 5. 7, p. 487; XIII. 1. 13, p. 588. Cf. O. Puchstein, *JDAI*, XI (1896), p. 56.

³³ *Paroemiogr. graeci*, éd. Leutsch et Schneidewin, p. 439, 13: ὁ ἐν Παριῶν βωμός · ἐπὶ τῶν πολυτελῶς κατεσκευασμένων.

³⁴ Voir plus loin, n. 38.

³⁵ La grappe est attestée à Parion comme type monétaire: E. Babelon, *Traité*, II, 2, p. 1383.

³⁶ Elle n'a pas été reconnue comme telle jusqu'ici, mais ne semble pas douteuse.

³⁷ Ce symbole a passé jusqu'ici pour un masque de satyre. J'aurais bien voulu y voir celui de Priape. Mais il est évident qu'il s'agit d'un simple masque comique, à la bouche grande ouverte. Il n'est ambigu que sur notre n^o 31, où l'on pourrait à la rigueur reconnaître un masque de Pan.

³⁸ Sur ce culte à Parion: H. Herter, *De Priapo*, p. 41. Depuis lors J. et L. Robert, *Hellenica*, IX p. 82, ont publié un décret de Parion où l'image de Priape est employée comme parasème de la ville, avec adjonction d'un thyrses et d'un dauphin, par où "le caractère dionysiaque du dieu est bien marqué".

³⁹ Strab., XIII. 1. 12, p. 587. Cf. H. Herter, *loc. cit.*

⁴⁰ Parmi les villes de Mysie et de Troade – où le style de nos pièces contraint de les placer (voir plus loin) – le taureau cornupète est attesté comme type monétaire à Parion et à Cyzique. Mais Cyzique

cithare peut vraisemblablement se réclamer du culte d'Apollon Actéen, à qui était peut-être dédié le fameux autel.⁴¹ Mais le serpent, à l'exergue du n° 8, commémore sans doute une tradition plus précise. Une dame de Parion, en effet, nommée Halia, avait eu commerce avec un serpent dans le temple d'Artémis, pour donner naissance à la famille des Ophiogènes, qui savaient guérir la morsure des reptiles.⁴² Les monnaies de la ville représentent parfois Halia enlacée par le serpent, dont la rencontre sur nos pièces, comme celle de l'autel, est donc très convenable.

Le symbole de l'autel est si particulier, qu'il met hors de doute l'attribution à Parion. Du reste, celle-ci est encore confirmée par certains rapprochements stylistiques.

Dans les émissions lysimachéennes de notre premier groupe, en effet, le style est celui de l'Hellespont. Nos premiers numéros (PLANCHE XL, 1 à 3), en particulier, ressemblent à certaines émissions de Lampsaque (PLANCHE XLII, A) et d'Abydos (PLANCHE XLII, B), et copient certainement un modèle commun.

Le deuxième groupe est lié par son style aux pseudo-alexandres frappés dans le même temps par Lampsaque (PLANCHE XLII, C)⁴³ et Alexandrie de Troade (PLANCHE XLII, D).⁴⁴ La tête d'Héraclès y est exceptionnellement lourde et épaisse; l'oeil du lion, rarement indiqué ailleurs, forme souvent ici une petite olive; la mâchoire inférieure du lion y est bulbeuse, comme turgide; la patte du lion, nouée sous le menton, est souvent atrophiée. Ces détails forment un style régional caractérisé, et celui-ci s'encadre à son tour dans un style plus général, qui est notamment celui des premières émissions pseudo-alexandrines de Chios (PLANCHE XLII, E)⁴⁵ et celui des premières émissions séleucides de Pergame (PLANCHE XLII, F).⁴⁶

au 3^e siècle, a déjà de si nombreuses émissions de pseudo-lysimaques, qu'on hésite à lui donner tout à coup une série différente, qui par surcroît ne porte aucun de ses symboles usuels (le thon, la torche longue). Nous sommes ainsi ramenés vers Parion. — Le symbole du taureau cornupète se voit sur certains statères pseudo-alexandrins (un ex. dans la coll. Newell) et sur certains statères pseudo-lysimachéens (L. Müller, n° 358 et s.; Catal. Glendining, janv. 1951, no. 126; Catal. Münzen und Medaillen, VII, 1948, n° 421). Ces derniers appartiennent certainement à une ville de la Propontide ou du Bosphore. Mais l'attribution définitive des uns et des autres reste à faire.

⁴¹ Sur Apollon citharède en Mysie, voir L. Robert, *Hellenica*, X, pp. 126; 134.

⁴² Strab., XIII. 1. 14, p. 588; Aelian., *Hist. an.*, XII. 39; Plin., *Nat. hist.*, VII. 15. — Cf. F. Imhoof-Blumer, "Eine Sage von Parion", dans *Nomisma*, VI (1911), p. 7 et s.; J. G. Frazer, *ap.* W. Leaf, *Strabo and the Troad*, p. 81.

⁴³ Voir n. 76.

⁴⁴ Voir n. 75.

⁴⁵ Cf. J. Mavrogordato, *NC*, 1916, pl. X, n° 11.

⁴⁶ Cf. E. T. Newell, *WSM*, pl. LVIII, 11 à LIX, 6.

Le troisième groupe (Séleucus II et Antiochus Hiérax) a été étudié par Newell,⁴⁷ qui a souligné ses affinités stylistiques avec les émissions séleucides de Sardes et des villes de la Propontide. Ce dernier rapprochement nous paraît de beaucoup le plus probant, et l'analogie qui unit notamment l'effigie royale de nos nos 31 à 34 à celle des émissions lampsacéniennes d'Antiochus Hiérax,⁴⁸ est aussi étroite qu'on peut le souhaiter (PLANCHE XLII, G).

Le quatrième groupe ne se prête pas à la comparaison avec les monnaies de Lampsaque, car cette ville, au sortir de la domination séleucide, n'a pas frappé de pseudo-alexandres.⁴⁹ Pour trouver matière à rapprochements, il faut aller jusqu'à Alexandrie de Troade (PLANCHE XLII, H) et à Assos (PLANCHE XLII, J, K).⁵⁰ L'analogie, ici encore, est significative.

Ainsi les pièces que nous donnons à Parion sur la foi du symbole de l'autel s'encadrent très bien aussi par leur style dans les séries de la Troade et de Lampsaque. On peut même dire que ce style suffirait, à lui seul, à les faire attribuer à cette région.

Chronologie

Le classement des monnaies de Lysimaque, la discrimination entre celles qui furent frappées avant et après la mort du roi, forment un problème épineux, qu'il serait imprudent d'aborder avant la parution du livre que Newell lui a consacré.⁵¹ Ce problème, en ce qui concerne les séries lysimachéennes de Parion, ne paraît pas soluble avec les moyens dont nous disposons. Nous nous bornons donc à quelques remarques d'ordre général, et à une conclusion provisoire.

Newell paraît avoir fondé sa chronologie, en grande partie, sur les quelque 2000 pièces du trésor d'Armenak,⁵² qu'il avait acquis, et qui est aujourd'hui conservé à New York. Ce trésor ne semble être postérieur que de peu à la mort

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 275-280.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, n° 1546, pl. LXX, n° 9.

⁴⁹ Elle a frappé des pseudo-lysimaques: A. Hübl, *Münzsammlung des Stiftes Schotten*, n° 1803.

⁵⁰ Voir par ex., pour Alexandrie de Troade, les exemplaires reproduits par S. P. Noe, *ANSMN*, V (1952), pl. VII. — Pour Assos: Catal. Glendining, avril 1955, pl. XI, n° 275.

⁵¹ Il y a une vingtaine d'années, E. T. Newell avait donné dans ses *Royal Greek Portrait Coins*, p. 19, une ébauche des émissions de Lysimaque, contemporaines et posthumes. Depuis lors est intervenu le trésor d'Armenak (voir note suivante), et c'est principalement d'après ce trésor que nous avons composé notre carte, n° 1.

⁵² S. P. Noe, *Bibliography of Greek Coin Hoards*, 2e éd., n° 67; E. T. Newell, *ESM*, p. 23; *WSM*, pp. 44; 186; S. P. Noe, *Alexander Coinage of Sicyon*, p. 35.

de Lysimaque en 281: les espèces qu'il contient sont toutes d'aspect ancien, et en comprennent, par exemple, aucun lysimaque de Cyzique, de Byzance et de Calcédoine, qui étaient restées libres du vivant du roi, et n'ont commencé à frapper à son effigie qu'après sa mort.⁵³ On peut donc admettre, en gros, que les catégories présentes dans le trésor remontent au règne de Lysimaque, et que les catégories qui n'y sont pas représentées, ont quelques chances d'être posthumes.

Le trésor d'Armenak ne contient aucune des monnaies dont nous avons proposé l'attribution à Parion. Il semblerait donc, à priori, que ces pièces sont toutes postérieures à 281. Cette conclusion formelle (cf. *infra* fig. 1) soulève cependant quelques doutes. Les émissions de Parion ne sont pas communes, et pourraient faire défaut dans le trésor par hasard: c'est le cas des émissions de Smyrne, que Newell lui-même regarde comme frappées du vivant du roi. On a vu, d'autrepart, que les n^{os} 1 à 3 ressemblent étroitement à certaines émissions de Lampsaque, sans nul doute leurs contemporaines, et qui justement sont représentées dans le trésor. Enfin le style excellent des n^{os} 1 à 8 conviendrait aux émissions royales, vraisemblablement gravées sous le contrôle d'une autorité centrale, alors que les émissions posthumes dégénèrent rapidement en s'écartant de la tradition. Toutes ces raisons permettraient de croire que les n^{os} 1 à 8 sont encore du vivant du roi, alors que les n^{os} 9 à 15, avec leur style décadent et souvent grossier, seraient des émissions urbaines. La question reste, pour l'instant, sujette à caution.

Les pseudo-alexandres de notre deuxième groupe, on l'a vu, vont avec ceux de Lampsaque et d'Alexandrie de Troade, qui forment eux-mêmes une classe stylistique bien marquée avec ceux de Chios et avec les émissions posthumes de Séleucus I à Pergame.⁵⁵ Ce dernier rapprochement fait penser que nos pièces ne sont pas fort postérieures à 280.

Les émissions séleucides, qui forment notre troisième groupe, commencent par une pièce de Séleucus II, d'une attribution à vrai dire un peu douteuse. Puis viennent les nombreuses séries d'Antiochus Hiérax, qui a sans doute commencé à

⁵³ Le trésor d'Armenak contient, à vrai dire, une émission que Newell attribuait à Byzance, et pour laquelle nous pencherions vers une autre attribution. Mais de toute manière, le trésor n'a peut-être pas été enfoui si immédiatement après la mort de Lysimaque, que quelques émissions posthumes n'aient pu s'y glisser.

⁵⁴ On se rappelle d'ailleurs que l'attribution à Parion des n^{os} 9 à 15 reste, pour l'instant, sujette à caution.

⁵⁵ Voir les notes 45 (Chios; cf. notre PLANCHE XLII, E) et 46 (Pergame; cf. notre PLANCHE XLII, F).

battre monnaie vers 242, lorsque son frère lui délégua le pouvoir royal sur l'Asie cistaurique.⁵⁶ Ces émissions s'échelonnent jusqu'à la défaite du roi, en 229/228.

On se rappelle enfin que notre quatrième groupe, fait de pseudo-alexandres à flan large, est étroitement lié par ses symboles aux dernières émissions d'Antiochus Hiérax. Il en est de même à Alexandrie de Troade, où les pseudo-alexandres⁵⁷ s'enchaînent par leurs monogrammes à ceux de la série séleucide.⁵⁸ Leur date est donc très voisine de la fin de cette domination vers 228.

Si nos raisonnements sont justes, le monnayage de Parion a donc traversé au 3^e siècle quatre ou cinq phases. Vers la fin du règne de Lysimaque, la ville semble avoir servi d'atelier royal pour quelques émissions. Libérée de cette tutelle en 281, elle a peut-être frappé pour son propre compte des monnaies aux mêmes types. Un peu plus tard, changeant sa norme, elle émet des tétradrachmes pseudo-alexandrins. C'est probablement vers la même époque qu'elle applique, dans des circonstances que l'on voudrait connaître, sa contremarque sur un tétradrachme ptolémaïque.⁵⁹ Puis viennent des émissions royales, peut-être de Séleucus II, en tout cas d'Antiochus Hiérax. Enfin, se dégageant de la tutelle séleucide, la ville émet à nouveau des pseudo-alexandres.

Pour comprendre ces vicissitudes, il faut tenter de les encadrer dans un tableau plus général.

Monnayages royaux et pseudo-royaux.

Un tel tableau, qui comprendrait, entre le règne de Lysimaque et la fin du 3^e siècle, les monnayages de la région qui nous occupe, n'a pas encore été dressé. Nous croyons utile d'en tenter une esquisse, bien que celle-ci ne puisse être que provisoire.

Du vivant de Lysimaque, des ateliers royaux sont établis dans les principales cités (Fig. 1), et frappent une monnaie uniforme. Quelques grandes villes font exception à cette règle. Du moins ne connaît-on pas à ce jour de pièces de Lysi-

⁵⁶ Cette délégation (Justin., XXVII. 2. 6) est antérieure à la paix conclue entre Séleucus II et Ptolémée III, laquelle paraît être un peu antérieure à 240: J. Beloch, *Griech. Gesch.*, IV, 2, p. 454. – Voir H. Bengtson, *Die Strategie in hellenist. Zeit*, II, pp. 104-106.

⁵⁷ E. T. Newell, *WSM*, p. 345.

⁵⁸ Voir plus loin, n. 83, un cas peut-être analogue, dans un atelier incertain qui frappait des statères d'or.

⁵⁹ J. Svoronos, *Numism. des Ptolémées*, n° 255, pl. XXVII. 18. L'attribution à Parion est probable. Nous placerions volontiers cette contremarque à la même époque que celles que Byzance a posées en si grand nombre sur les tétradrachmes ptolémaïques, c'est à dire plus tard que 252 (*ibid.*, IV, p. 141).



Fig. 1. Carte provisoire des ateliers royaux de Lysimaque.
Ajouter peut-être Parion.

maque, qui semblent avoir été frappées sous son règne à Byzance,⁶⁰ à Calcédoine, à Cyzique, cependant qu'on attribue à cette dernière ville, avec apparence, et dans le même temps, une série de tétradrachmes autonomes, de poids non-attique.⁶¹ Ces remarques tendent à confirmer l'opinion des savants qui pensent que ces puissantes cités ont toujours conservé leur indépendance.⁶² Vers la fin de cette période, Parion semble avoir été pourvue d'un atelier royal.

⁶⁰ Plus haut, n. 53.

⁶¹ H. von Fritze, "Die Silberprägung von Kyzikos", dans *Nomisma*, IX (1914), p. 50, V^e série. – L'auteur conteste l'existence de pseudo-lysimaques à Cyzique: leur existence est aujourd'hui certaine. Mais son analyse stylistique pour la datation de la série V est accompagnée de rapprochements plausibles.

⁶² Pour Cyzique, voir M. Rostovtzeff, *Social and Econ. Hist. of the Hellenistic Period*, I, p. 588 et s. L'hypothèse d'une "espèce de souveraineté" de Lysimaque, puis des Séleucides (*op. cit.*, p. 1453

Les faits deviennent plus difficiles à embrasser et à interpréter après la bataille de Koroupedion. Séleucus, en 281, comptait évidemment recueillir la succession de Lysimaque, mais son fils Antiochus, qui lui succéda quelques mois après la victoire, ne tarda pas à voir que la ligue formée par Kios, Byzance, Calcédoine, Héraclée et Tios ne se soumettrait pas,⁶³ non plus que Cyzique. Cette situation a son reflet dans le monnayage.

La mort de Lysimaque, en effet, ne mit pas fin à la frappe de ses monnaies. Un certain nombre de villes imitèrent les émissions du roi défunt (Fig. 2). Les unes



Fig. 2. Carte provisoire des ateliers pseudo-lysimaquéens, après 281.

et s.) n'est plus possible depuis que l'on sait que les monnaies de ces souverains, jadis attribuées à Cyzique, ont été frappées dans d'autres villes. Voir d'ailleurs E. T. Newell, *WSM*, p. 330 et s. – Sur Byzance, témoignage catégorique de Diodore de Sicile (XIX. 77). – Sur Calcédoine: F. Geyer, *Lysimachos* (Pauly-Wissowa, *RE*, s. v., col. 27, ll. 39 et s.), qui fait remarquer avec raison que Byzance n'aurait guère pu rester indépendante en face d'une Calcédoine sujette de Lysimaque, et qui néglige à bon droit le témoignage des monnaies qu'il cite: elles ne remontent qu'à la fin du 3^e siècle. – L'indépendance souveraine de ces grandes villes est différente de l'autonomie ou liberté dont jouissaient certaines villes grecques à l'intérieur des monarchies hellénistiques. Elle se rapproche plutôt de la souveraineté de Rhodes.

⁶³ Memnon, 15; 16; 19. Cf. W. W. Tarn, *Antigonos Gonatas*, p. 162; Ernst Meyer, *Die Grenzen der hellenistischen Staaten in Kleinasien*, p. 135.

avaient été le siège d'ateliers royaux, et n'eurent qu'à poursuivre pour leur compte une activité qu'elles avaient exercée pour le compte du roi:⁶⁴ ce sont notamment Kios, Lysimachie et Aenos. D'autres ne les imitèrent qu'après la mort du roi, et cette nouveauté inattendue marque certainement un propos bien délibéré. Parmi ces dernières, Istros et Odessos restent un peu en marge, car s'il est vrai qu'elles frappèrent l'or au nom de Lysimaque,⁶⁵ leurs tétradrachmes furent au contraire émis au nom d'Alexandre.⁶⁶ Mais Byzance, Calcédoine et Cyzique⁶⁷ – ainsi peut-être, on l'a vu, que Parion – inaugurèrent alors, ou un peu plus tard, d'abondantes séries de tétradrachmes pseudo-lysimaquéens.

Cet attachement aux types de Lysimaque est-il dû à des raisons commerciales ? par exemple aux exigences de la clientèle balkanique de ces villes ? Il ne le semble pas. Les peuples des Balkans n'ont montré, d'après les trouvailles monétaires, aucune préférence pour les lysimaques, et les ont rarement imités, alors qu'ils imitaient couramment les tétradrachmes de Philippe et d'Alexandre.⁶⁸ Du reste les villes du Pont Euxin (Istros, Callatis, Odessos, Mesembria), qui commerçaient activement avec l'intérieur, frappèrent leurs tétradrachmes aux types d'Alexandre, tout comme Sinope⁶⁹ et Héraclée de Bithynie.⁷⁰ Le problème n'est donc pas lié à l'exportation du numéraire vers les Balkans. Il paraît l'être davantage au statut politique des villes d'émission, qui forment sur la carte un bloc bien délimité. Si libéral que l'on veuille se figurer le régime accordé par Séleucus aux cités

⁶⁴ Il est prudent d'observer ici que la chronologie de ces émissions n'est pas encore exactement établie. Il se peut qu'un délai se soit écoulé, en certains cas, entre 281 et leur mise en circulation.

⁶⁵ B. Pick, dans *Ant. Münzen, Dacien etc.*, n^{os} 481 et s. (Istros); 2119 et s. (Odessos). – Ces villes ont aussi des statères d'or pseudo-alexandrins: E. T. Newell, "The Alexandrine Coinage of Sinope," dans *AJN*, LII (1919), p. 126, pl. I, A (Istros); B. Pick, *op. cit.*, 2117a et s. – La chronologie, même relative, de ces émissions, reste à établir.

⁶⁶ Istros: par ex. K. Regling, *Klio*, XXII (1929), p. 295 et s. (date trop basse). – Callatis: par ex. *SNG, Copenhagen, Thrace*, pl. 1, n^o 178. – Odessos: B. Pick, *op. cit.*, n^{os} 2109 et s. – Mesembria: la monographie de S. P. Noe, en préparation, permettra d'établir une chronologie. – D'autres ateliers de la même région attendent encore d'être identifiés.

⁶⁷ Byzance: *SNG, Copenhagen, Thrace*, pt. II, n^o 1135. – Calcédoine: Margaret Thompson, *ANSMN*, VI (1954), p. 15, n^o 50; p. 18, n^o 67. – Cyzique: *ibid.*, n^o 69; D. H. Cox, *Third Century Hoard from Gordion*, p. 9, n^o 64. Ces deux auteurs marquent un doute sur l'attribution à Cyzique. Elle nous paraît bien probable.

⁶⁸ A la *Bibliography of Greek Coin Hoards* de S. P. Noe, ajouter maintenant les listes données par B. Mitrea, *Ephemeris Dacoromana*, X (1945), p. 47 et s. – Autant que je puisse voir, les imitations balkaniques de lysimaques copient toujours les émissions tardives (fin du 3^e s., début du 2^e s. ?) de Byzance et de ses voisines: voir K. Pink, *Münzprägung der Ostkelten*, p. 75 et s.

⁶⁹ E. T. Newell, *The Alexandrine Coinage of Sinope*, dans *AJN*, LII (1919).

⁷⁰ E. H. Bunbury, *NC*, 1883, pl. II, n^o 3.

grecques qui se soumirent à lui, il est peu probable qu'elles eussent choisi de battre monnaie au nom du vaincu de Koroupedion. Et de fait, la carte des émissions pseudo-lysimaquéennes donne probablement la limite de la souveraineté de Séleucus.

Si l'attribution des pseudo-lysimaques à Parion se confirme, il faudra conclure que la ville, dont la soumission aux Séleucides est attestée ultérieurement, ne se rallia pas d'abord au vainqueur. Parion dut traverser entre 280 et 276 des années confuses, d'abord au cours de la guerre d'Antiochus I contre Antigone Gonatas, puis pendant l'invasion des Galates:⁷¹ il n'est pas entièrement impossible qu'elle ait songé alors à se joindre au bloc monétaire sur la frange duquel elle se trouvait, et dont Cyzique, sa voisine, était l'un des membres les plus notables. Mais ce seront là de pures suppositions, tant que l'attribution à Parion des pièces en litige ne sera pas assurée.

Passant aux monnayages non-lysimaquéens, c'est à dire à ceux des territoires dévolus à Séleucus, on se trouve en présence d'émissions variées, qu'il importe essentiellement de ne pas confondre.

Pergame forme un cas spécial, car Séleucus n'y procéda, avant de mourir sept mois après sa victoire, qu'à une émission restreinte, ornée de types particuliers, dont le caractère commémoratif est évident. Ces pièces furent immédiatement suivies d'une rare émission pseudo-alexandrine, et surtout d'une série où le nom de Séleucus accompagne les types d'Alexandre le Grand (PLANCHE XLII, F): ce sont là, probablement, des émissions posthumes, qui témoignent de la loyauté de Philétaire à son suzerain défunt, mais qui ne devaient pas tarder à être remplacées par des émissions au nom de Philétaire lui-même.⁷²

Le cas de Sardes⁷³ est différent. Là aussi l'on trouve deux séries commémoratives, mais elles sont accompagnées et suivies d'émissions séleucides banales, comparables en tout point à celles de Tarse et des autres ateliers orientaux. La suite sardienne se déroule, pratiquement sans interruption,⁷⁴ jusqu'à la fin de la domination séleucide sur l'Asie cistaurique, en 190, et cette continuité, seule en son genre dans cette partie de l'empire, rappelle elle aussi l'activité des grandes officines royales de l'Orient.

⁷¹ Voir n. II.

⁷² E. T. Newell, *The Pergamene Mint under Philetairos*; et *WSM*, pp. 316-318.

⁷³ E. T. Newell, *WSM*, pp. 242-271.

⁷⁴ On ne note qu'un intermède, correspondant aux quelque sept années qui séparent la chute d'Antiochus Hiérax en 229/228, et le retour des Séleucides avec Achaeus en 223/222. Cf. n. 77.

Hors de Sardes, les émissions des villes grecques se composent de tétradrachmes pseudo-alexandrins. Dans la région qui nous occupe (CARTE 3), trois de ces ateliers sont connus à l'heure présente: Alexandrie de Troade,⁷⁵ Lampsaque,⁷⁶ et – si notre attribution est correcte – Parion avec notre deuxième groupe.



Fig. 3. Carte provisoire des ateliers pseudo-alexandrins de la Thrace et de l'Anatolie du Nord, vers le milieu du 3^e siècle.

Nous avons donc, en Asie séleucide, deux sortes de monnaies. A Sardes les types sont royaux, le nom du souverain régnant est habituel; les symboles urbains sont absents, la frappe est continue, la similitude des monnaies avec celle des ateliers orientaux décèle la centralisation impériale. Dans les autres villes, au contraire, les pièces sont aux types traditionnels d'Alexandre le Grand, le nom du souverain régnant est absent, l'usage de symboles urbains est habituel, les émissions sont

⁷⁵ Deux exemplaires seulement de ces émissions me sont connus, inédits, avec des monogrammes différents: 1. Coll. Saroglou, Athènes; moulage à New York (notre PLANCHE XLII, D). 2. Anc. coll. Yakdountchikoff, Moscou; moulage à Berlin. Fabrique encore épaisse, flan relativement exigu.

⁷⁶ A. Baldwin, "Lampsakos", dans *AJN*, LIII (1924), p. 67 et s., qui les place à bon droit dans la première moitié du 3^e siècle. H. Gaebler, dans *Nomisma*, XII (1923), p. 32, les plaçait après le traité d'Apamée en 188, ce qui est impossible.

d'importance limitée. En d'autres termes, les pièces de Sardes témoignent d'une emprise royale immédiate, alors que les monnaies des autres villes n'en montrent pas de trace. C'est que Sardes, l'ancienne capitale, avait été laissée par Alexandre sous ses lois lydiennes,⁷⁷ et dépendait directement de l'autorité royale, alors que les autres villes étaient des cités grecques. Les monnaies montrent donc que la capitale administrative, dans la première moitié du 3^e siècle, était encore sujette, alors que Séleucus avait donné aux villes grecques un statut qui respectait certains attributs de la souveraineté.

On ignore la nature exacte de cette souveraineté, sans doute variable suivant les villes, soit par l'effet d'une charte, soit en vertu d'un traité.⁷⁸ Quelles qu'en fussent au juste les nuances, le roi empiéta bientôt sur le droit monétaire des villes, ce qui fait penser que leur souveraineté était un droit précaire. Dès la fin du règne d'Antiochus I, mort en 261, des émissions royales apparaissent, sinon dans notre région, du moins à Magnésie du Méandre, où elles sont certaines, et probablement à Smyrne, à Phocée, à Cymé, peut-être à Magnésie du Sipyle. Sous Antiochus II (261-246), la coutume gagna la Troade et Lampsaque; et ces villes devinrent enfin, lorsque Parion se joignit à elles sous Antiochus Hiérax, les principaux foyers d'émissions royales – et même les seuls en dehors de Sardes.⁷⁹ Toutes ces villes, qui avaient paru libres, l'étaient-elles encore? Leur monnayage strictement monarchique, maintenant tout pareil à celui de Sardes, permet d'en

⁷⁷ Arrian., *Anab.*, I, 17. 3 et s. Cf. D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*, I, p. 121; II, p. 975; G. Tibiletti, *Athenaeum*, XXXII (1954), pp. 72 s. – Plus tard, la ville est devenue libre, comme le prouvent ses émissions de tétradrachmes, tant à son nom (J. Babelon, *Coll. de Luynes*, n° 2736), qu'à celui d'Alexandre (E. H. Bunbury, *NC*, 1883, pl. I. 4; *Catal. Ars classica*, V, 1439). Ces pièces paraissent contemporaines de notre quatrième groupe, et remonteraient alors à peu près à 225, commémorant sans doute l'acquisition de la liberté au sortir de la domination séleucide. Cf. n. 74.

⁷⁸ Le statut des villes libres sous la royauté a été abondamment discuté. Voir E. Bickerman, *Institutions des Séleucides*, pp. 141 à 156, et les développements du même auteur dans *Hermes*, LXVII (1932), p. 48 et s., et dans la *Rev. phil.*, XIII (1939), p. 345 et s. Le mémoire de C. Préaux sur *Les Villes hellénistiques et leurs institutions* (*Recueil Bodin*, VI, 1954, pp. 69-134) reprend l'ensemble de ces questions, avec discussion souvent détaillée, et donne une abondante bibliographie critique. Nous nous en tiendrions volontiers à la formule de M. Holleaux, *Études d'épigr. et d'hist.*, III, p. 153, n. 1: seraient dites libres, autonomes, "les villes qui se gouvernent elles-mêmes, par opposition à celles qui obéissent aux officiers (stratèges, phrourarques, épistates, harmostes) délégués par le roi suzerain et chargés de les administrer". Cette définition laisse encore le champ libre à bien des variétés, telles que l'astreinte au tribut ou l'immunité, qui pouvaient dépendre d'un traité. – Résumé complet du débat: D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*, II, pp. 825-834, avec prise de position extrême (cf. U. Kahrstedt, *Gnomon*, XXII, 1951, p. 263). – Sur les villes sujettes, par contraste, voir J. et L. Robert, *La Carie*, II, p. 300 et s.

⁷⁹ Voir dans E. T. Newell, *WSM*, les chapitres relatifs à ces diverses villes.

douter. En tout cas rien de tel ne se laisse observer à Cyzique, et l'on mesure par là ce qui sépare le statut de cette grande cité et celui de ses voisines.

Les villes de Troade et de Mysie restèrent dans cette condition jusqu'à la chute d'Antiochus Hiérax, définitive à la bataille de Coloë, en 229/228. Le roi devait avoir alors 27 ou 28 ans, et son effigie ne semble guère plus jeune sur sa dernière émission de Parion (PLANCHE XLI, 35). C'est vers ce temps qu'apparurent, dans un grand nombre de villes d'Asie, de nouvelles pièces pseudo-alexandrines, de style tardif, frappées sur flans particulièrement larges (PLANCHE XLII, 37-39; H-K). A Alexandrie de Troade, à Parion, elles sont liées par leurs symboles aux dernières émissions séleucides. Dans la première de ces villes, Newell a supposé qu'elles avaient été frappées en même temps que les monnaies royales,⁸⁰ mais cela surprend un peu,⁸¹ et, bien qu'il soit difficile de le prouver pour l'instant, nous croirions plus volontiers qu'elles témoignent, dans les deux cas, de la liberté retrouvée sous l'égide d'Attale I. A Alexandrie de Troade, la manifestation fut rendue plus éclatante encore par une émission de statères d'or,⁸² étrangère à la coutume royale dans ces parages.⁸³

⁸⁰ E. T. Newell, *WSM*, p. 336 et s., a tenté de présenter une suite chronologique des émissions d'Antiochus Hiérax à Alexandrie de Troade. Depuis lors cependant, ces monnaies (très communes malgré ce que répètent les catalogues de vente) se sont multipliées, et les nouveaux exemplaires ne confirment pas la chronologie en question. Ils ne permettent pas non plus, autant que je voie, d'en établir une plus acceptable. Il ne reste qu'à attendre un accroissement de nos séries.

⁸¹ Il est sans exemple, dans l'empire séleucide, que le roi ait permis à une ville d'émettre des espèces municipales d'or ou d'argent lourd, concurremment avec les espèces royales. L'exception ici supposée serait, à ce qu'il semble, unique.

⁸² Ces pièces sont au nombre de deux: l'une à Lénigrade (E. T. Newell, *WSM*, pl. LXXIII), l'autre dans l'ancienne collection Yakountchikoff (moulage à Berlin). On notera que le statère de Lénigrade vient du trésor d'Anadol (E. Pridik, *Bull. de la Comm. imp. archéol.*, III, 1902, p. 72, n° 430): il s'ensuit, contrairement à ce que l'on dit en général, que ce trésor ne peut pas être antérieur aux dernières années d'Antiochus Hiérax: il n'a sûrement pas été enfoui avant 225 ou 220, ce qui est d'une importance capitale pour la chronologie, si obscure, des statères d'or d'Alexandre.

⁸³ Les rois Séleucides n'ont frappé en Asie Mineure que très peu de pièces d'or: on en connaît une de Séleucus I, d'un atelier incertain (E. T. Newell, *WSM*, n° 1622); une d'Antiochus II, de Smyrne (*ibid.*, n° 1497); et une d'Achaeus, de Sardes (*ibid.*, n° 1439; cf. G. Kleiner, *JNG*, VI, 1955, p. 143 et s.). Ces pièces, toutes trois à l'effigie et au nom du roi régnant, sont connues chacune par un seul exemplaire, et il en ressort que le statère d'or n'était pas, au 3^e siècle, un instrument habituel de paiement dans ces contrées. Ce sont très probablement des pièces commémoratives, comme l'a déjà vu E. Bickerman, *Institutions des Séleucides*, p. 214, et il en est de même des statères pseudo-alexandrins d'Alexandrie de Troade. Si ces derniers statères ont été frappés par Antiochus Hiérax, on ne comprend pas que ce roi n'y ait pas mis, à l'exemple de ses prédécesseurs, sa propre effigie; et s'ils ont été frappés par la ville, on croira difficilement que le roi ait donné à celle-ci un privilège de souveraineté supérieur à ceux dont il se prévalait lui-même. Tout devient simple au contraire

Cette abondante floraison de monnayages pseudo-alexandrins, dont la classification systématique fait encore défaut, fut la dernière en son genre. Elle est généralement attribuée par les auteurs au 2^e siècle, mais cette chronologie, sans doute fondée sur un jugement stylistique, paraît aujourd'hui fragile. En Asie Mineure, ces émissions s'arrêtent le plus souvent à la bataille de Magnésie en 190.



Fig. 4. Carte provisoire des émissions pseudo-lysimaquéennes tardives, à grand flan, vers 225 et plus tard. Ajouter Rhodes.

si l'on suppose que ces statères ont été frappés par la ville pour célébrer le retour de ses libertés. – Un cas analogue semble s'être produit dans un atelier incertain d'Asie Mineure, sans nul doute une grande ville, dont on possède deux statères et un demi-statère (E. T. Newell, *op. cit.*, nos 1688–1690), tous trois de types alexandrins, et d'un style très tardif, qui rappelle les statères d'Alexandrie de Troade. L'un est au nom de Philippe Arrhidée, les deux autres au nom d'un roi Antiochus. Que l'on veuille identifier celui-ci avec Antiochus Hiérax ou avec Antiochus III, il semble une fois de plus que nous soyons en présence d'une ville qui a frappé au nom du roi, puis s'est mise à frapper des pseudo-philippes lorsqu'elle a recouvré l'autonomie.

A partir de cette date, le monnayage des tétradrachmes tend vers une forme nouvelle, où les pièces portent les types et le nom de la cité qui les émet. Les pseudo-alexandres seront surtout frappés désormais dans quelques villes de la périphérie du monde grec : à Aradus jusqu'en 170, à Odessos jusqu'au temps de Mithridate.

Le monnayage des pseudo-lysimaques, poursuivi au cours du 3^e siècle par Byzance, Calcédoine et Cyzique, prit lui aussi un essor nouveau à la fin de ce siècle (Fig. 4), et passe généralement pour s'être prolongé fort avant dans le 2^e : la chronologie de ces émissions, en réalité, reste à établir.

Monnaies étrangères à Parion, figurées sur la PLANCHE XLII.

- A. Lysimaque, Lampsaque: , croissant (*Sofia*).
- B. Lysimaque, Abydos: aigle (*Milan*).
- C. Ps.-alexandre, Lampsaque: ,  (*Brit. Mus.*).
- D. Ps.-alexandre, Alexandrie de Troade: cheval paissant, foudre,  (*coll. Saroglou*).
- E. Ps.-alexandre, Chios: sphinx assis, ,  (*Paris*).
- F. Séleucus I, Pergame: tête d'Athéna, croissant (*H.S.*, 16 g. 87).
- G. Antiochus Hiérax, Lampsaque: abeille (*H.S.*, 16 g. 70).
- H. Ps.-alexandre, Alexandrie de Troade: , , cheval paissant (*coll. Mich. Chiha*).
- J. Ps.-alexandre, Assos: terme barbu, ithyphallique; griffon étendu,  (*H.S.*, 16 g. 54).
- K. Ps.-alexandre, Assos: griffon étendu, , astre (*H.S.*, 16 g. 65).

DIOCLETIAN'S REFORMED COINAGE IN BRITAIN AND RELATED PROBLEMS

C. H. V. SUTHERLAND

The mint of London is an explicit historical certainty in the late third century and early in the fourth. But, in spite of the attention of many scholars – Voetter, Gerin, Laffranchi and Leeds among them,¹ it still remains uncertain and unsatisfactory in its outline and form for the period immediately after Diocletian's reform, in contrast with the relative clarity of the coinage-output which can be observed for Carausius and Allectus.² Although Diocletian's post-reform mints in general have received considerable enlightenment from the analysis of hoards and from other comparative studies, the mint of London has continued, and still continues, to offer many problems. And the problems of London involve problems elsewhere as well.

Diocletian's reform of the coinage, viewed as a single chapter of economic reconstruction, began *c.* A.D. 286 with the upward revision of the weight of gold coinage, which was followed *c.* A.D. 294 by the discontinuation of radiate antoniniani in favour of new, pure silver pieces on the standard of Nero's denarii. About this latter year there appeared, certainly at the newly latinized mint of Alexandria,

¹ O. Voetter in P. Gerin-O. Voetter, *Die Münzen der römischen Kaiser, Kaiserinnen und Caesaren von Diocletianus bis Romulus*, p. 149; P. Gerin, *NZ*, 1917, pp. 49f.; L. Laffranchi, *NC*, 1917, pp. 233ff.; E. T. Leeds, *A Hoard of Roman Folles ... Found at Fyfield, Berks*.

² *RIC*, V (2) (P. H. Webb), pp. 426ff. Laffranchi, *op. cit.*, p. 234, has noted Voetter's one-time view that all Carausian and Allectan coins were struck at London only – even those with **C** or **CL** mintmark.

and possibly also at others of the reformed mints elsewhere, copper folles bearing the virtually uniform *Genio populi Romani* type, and weighing around 10 gm.³ At London, however, the follis cannot have been introduced in 294, or even in 295. Constantius' defeat of Allectus and triumphal entry into London, celebrated by the greatest of the Arras medallions,⁴ did not take place until 296. Unlike Carausius (who, if he had remained in power as the self-styled and grudgingly recognized colleague of Diocletian and Maximian, avoiding assassination at his lieutenant's hands, might conceivably have introduced the follis on his own behalf⁵) Allectus kept himself apart – as Laffranchi noted⁶ – from the legitimate emperors and thus also from their monetary reform. He did not even coin new silver on the Carausian model; and the new copper follis therefore had to wait for his death before it could be coined in Britain.

The detailed organization of the London mint under Carausius and Allectus (as indeed of its C-signed partner) is unknown. London signed L, ML (most commonly: PLATE XLIII, 1), SML, LM and MSL. Beyond this little or nothing can be said. It is very doubtful if letters in the field, such as A and B or others, could be interpreted as officina-marks,⁷ though the output of London, especially perhaps under Carausius, was such as to suggest that more than one officina might have been needed. Internal detail is no more closely discerned after the end of the Carausio-Allectan episode when folles, clearly marked LON,⁸ were struck at the London mint. The presumption is that this simple mark LON indicates the operation of a single officina. It can be no more than presumption, of course. Simple mint-signatures, unaccompanied by any suggestion of officina-differentiation, occur at mints ultimately much more prolific and therefore perhaps initially more important (e.g. TR at Treveri, T at Ticinum, AQ at Aquileia, etc.), and this

³ For the date of the reform see Sutherland, *JRS*, 1955, pp. 116ff.; H. A. Cahn, *BSFN*, Nov. 1954, pp. 307f. The significance of the 'reformed' types has recently been examined by me in *Essays in Roman Coinage Presented to Harold Mattingly*, pp. 174ff. The internal relationship of the new denominations (most recently discussed by L. C. West, *Studies . . . in Honor of Allan Chester Johnson*, pp. 290ff., and A. H. M. Jones, *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, 1953, pp. 293ff.) has not yet secured clear agreement.

⁴ J. Babelon – A. Duquenoy, *Aréthuse*, 1924, pp. 45ff.

⁵ He did in fact anticipate by a considerable period the appearance of Diocletian's new silver pieces by the silver, of very varied types, which he coined at London and elsewhere: cf. *RIC*, V (2) (P. H. Webb), pp. 464, 480, 508, 517, 524 etc.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, pp. 234f.

⁷ *RIC*, V (2) (P. H. Webb), pp. 611ff.

⁸ Occasional and very rare variants are found, such as LN on a coin at Oxford which Leeds (*op. cit.*, p. 12) erroneously considered orthodox: this piece is undoubtedly imitative.

might suggest that at the earliest stage of the follis-coinage – for all these ‘simple’ marks are indisputably early at each mint where they occur – no officina-differentiation was thought necessary and that a ‘simple’ mark could cover a plurality of officinae, in reversal of earlier precedent, distinction being made by some secret mark now without significance to us. And indeed, if London *had* contained more than one officina under Carausius and Allectus, it could have done so after 296 also. But there is absolutely no evidence, either numismatic or (as I am informed)⁹ epigraphical, to support either hypothesis; and the LON folles are therefore best regarded, for the time being at least, as a simple series.

They are also a rare series, as would befit a small introductory issue from a mint undergoing sharp reconstruction:¹⁰ and so far as I am aware,¹¹ the issues of Constantius himself are of special and extreme rarity. But there are enough coins for detailed study and, precisely because they are the earliest recognizable products of the reformed mint of London – the original shoot (whatever its subsequent development) of London’s post-reform coinage, it is important to study their physical characteristics closely (PLATE XLIII, 4–6).

The obverses show a head terminating in a bare, rather broadly truncated neck. The laurel wreath is knotted behind either (PLATE XLIII, 4) in the wedge-shaped form KA 1 a¹² or more dominantly (for the group is not so rare as to make the phrase improper) in one or other of the mutually related forms KA 1 b–c, in both of which the rounded loop is indented (PLATE XLIII, 5–6). Hanging from the knot are ribbons which fall in the closely kindred forms DA 1 a–b. Obverse legends include some of the longer and more elaborate titulatures which, in this period of Roman coinage, are normally associated with introductory issues, e.g. IMP

⁹ By Mr. R. P. Wright. It should be observed incidentally that the reformed silver coins without mint-mark sometimes attributed (cf. Laffranchi, *op. cit.*, p. 236) to London, where they would probably have claimed – temporarily at least – an officina of their own, are now assigned elsewhere.

¹⁰ The Fyfield hoard of 2106 folles included only 3 LON coins (Leeds, *op. cit.*); the Weybridge hoard of 137 only 2 (NC, 1908, pp. 208 ff.); the Grantham hoard of 186 only 1 (*Grantham Public Museums, 17th Annual Report, 1938–9*, pp. 14 ff.); and the Bromley hoard of 295 only 1 (information from British Museum).

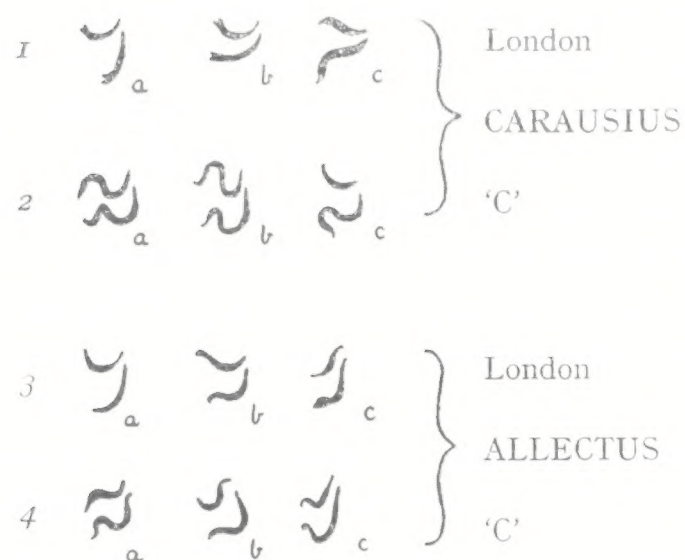
¹¹ After working through the great mass of follis material in London, Oxford, Paris and Vienna.

¹² The variant forms of ribbon-knots and ribbon-drops are set out on pp. 630–31. The drawings are based on the examination of very large numbers of coins and are intended to give an accurate idea of the dominant forms.

It is to be noted that the wedge-shaped knot is precisely parallel on London aurei of Allectus: see PLATE XLIII, 2.

RIBBON DROPS

CARAUSIUS AND ALLECTUS



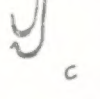
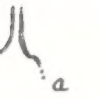
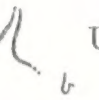
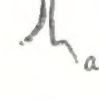
RIBBON-KNOTS

FIRST TETRARCHY



RIBBON-DROPS

FIRST TETRARCHY

DA			DB		
1	 	LON	1	  	LP
2	 	LA-LB	2	  	A-B LP
3		PLA-PLB	3	  	A-B PL
4	 	Unm. I	4		$\hat{\sigma}$ A-B LP
5	  	Unm. II a	5	 	$\hat{\sigma}$ PLC
6	  	Unm. II b	6	  	$\hat{\sigma}$ A-B PLC
7	 	Unm. III			

MAXIMIANVS PI FE AVG, IMP MAXIMIANVS PIVS AVG and (for Galerius) C VAL MAXIMIANVS NOB C. Portraiture, while it shows certain quite general affinities with that of early folles elsewhere at a time when the detailed likenesses of the different emperors were not always well enough known,¹³ is strongly individual. These London heads are remarkable for their flat tops, for the angular treatment of their features, for their long jaw and curving beard-line, and for a finish which is hard, precise and often fine (e.g. the minutely 'granulated' hair). These portrait characteristics, apart from the arrangement of the ribbon-drops (the scheme of which at the London and the 'C' mints is entirely different for both Carausius and Allectus¹⁴), are strongly reminiscent of previous London workmanship, and are

¹³ Cf. J. Maurice, *La numismatique constantinienne*, I, pp. 5 ff. Laffranchi, for whom "numismatics means criticism of style" (*op. cit.*, p. 237), could see essential portrait-similarity in cases in which, to my own eye, all factors flaunt a strong difference: cf. Leeds, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

¹⁴ See diagram, p. 630.

particularly close to the aurei (PLATE XLIII, 2-3) and antoniniani of Allectus. Some of the lettering, too, derives strongly from Carausio-Allectan forms, squat without being cramped;¹⁵ but this type of lettering is found also with the taller, looser and more open forms that are characteristic of Gaulish work in both earlier and later periods – the conjunction of both styles on one coin is to be seen on PLATE XLIII, 5. Reverse legends are either unbroken (GENIOPOPVLIROMANI) or broken V-L. Die-axis is regular at $\uparrow\downarrow$.¹⁶ Weight is not so easy to define as in groups which are less rare, but a broad peak between 11 and 9.5 gm. is suggested by the available figures.¹⁷

These, then, were surely the first folles to come (and not before A.D. 296)¹⁸ from the reorganized mint of London. The duration of an issue now so small and rare was presumably short – possibly no more than a few months, and almost certainly no more than a year. What coinage, if any, followed in Britain, either at London or elsewhere?

After the LON folles it has become customary to place, as products of Britain if not of London, one or more sections of the great mass of folles without a mint-mark. Such coins, taken as a single class, constitute so high a proportion in British hoards as to have made a British origin for them seem increasingly likely to the numismatists of past decades.¹⁹ Whatever its general plausibility, however, the attribution of all (or even of most) unmarked folles to Britain involves serious thought and cannot be accepted without deeper examination. For, taken together, the unmarked folles form a very conspicuously unhomogeneous group: the essential differences among them – they are clearly distinct – were set out by Leeds²⁰ and can be summarized here as follows: –

¹⁵ Laffranchi, *op. cit.*, p. 238, illustrates forms typical under Carausius and Allectus, from which Tetrarchic forms at London clearly derived.

¹⁶ The London coins of Allectus show $\uparrow\downarrow$ sharply dominant over $\uparrow\uparrow$ in the approximate proportion 85%:15%.

¹⁷ See tables of weights, p. 634.

¹⁸ See above, p. 628. Count de Salis, who began the chronological analysis of British folles nearly a century ago (*NC*, 1867, pp. 57ff.), did not commit himself to a date for the LON coins. No such hesitation would seem permissible now.

¹⁹ Statistics of some pertinent British hoards, with some significant continental additions, are given on p. 649. It should be noted that the varying dates of deposit exert a considerable influence on mint-representation. Numerous British hoards have had to be omitted which, if properly recorded, might have been invaluable, e. g. Wiveliscombe (*Vict. County Hist. Somerset*, I, p. 369), Crick (*Vict. County Hist. Derbyshire*, I, p. 256), Evenley (*Vict. County Hist. Northants*, I, p. 217) and Falmouth (*NC*, 1865, p. 318), to name no others. Similarly, very many follis-hoards recorded by A. Blanchet, *Trésors de monnaies romaines en Gaule*, never received detailed analysis and are statistically useless.

²⁰ *Op. cit.*, pp. 22ff.



DIOCLETIAN'S REFORMED COINAGE IN BRITAIN

LONDON, Carausius, 1; Allectus, 2-3; First Tetrarchy, 4-6. ASSOCIATED ISSUES, LA, PLA, 7-11; Unmarked I, 12-15; Unmarked II, 16-18.



DIOCLETIAN'S REFORMED COINAGE IN BRITAIN

Unmarked III, 1-5; Second Tetrarchy, 6-7. LYONS, 8-17. TRIER, 18.

- Unmarked I. High-relief portrait head (virtually always with bare neck-truncation) of a proportion generally approximating to that of the LON issues (PLATE XLIII, 12-15).
- Unmarked II. A stiff, ugly and often clumsy rendering of either (a) a small, tall, cuirassed bust or (b) a larger and more squat cuirassed bust with remarkably elongated head (PLATE XLIII, 16-18).
- Unmarked III. Low-relief portrait head (with cuirassed bust) of noticeably large and spread proportions (PLATE XLIV, 1-5).²¹

Although the recognition of these distinctions must obviously have been made on many earlier occasions, since they are no mere matter of stylistic minutiae, they were not clearly and emphatically delineated until Leeds wrote: consequently the recording of previously found British hoards tends to be correspondingly defective, and insufficient notice has in general been taken of a degree of differentiation which cannot itself easily argue unity of origin. A second serious difficulty is that, while (as we shall see) the internal relationship between Unmarked I and LON folles is fairly close, Unmarked II and III show no connection at all with the LON coins: so far from our postulating the strict successional continuity sometimes claimed for the three Unmarked groups as a whole, it will become clear that we must be ready to dissociate Unmarked I from Unmarked II and III in the fullest sense. Thirdly, the continental distribution of unmarked folles in earlier hoards and site-finds is no less difficult to check than in the case of Britain, many of the larger Gaulish hoards (for example), potentially rich in statistical value, being only cursorily examined: nevertheless unmarked coins are found abroad in proportions sometimes large enough to raise some doubt about the British origin of all of them (see below, p. 636). Fourthly, for what reason should coins be issued without a mint-mark in a period when rigorous re-organization of mints was everywhere else balanced by great particularity of mint-designation on the coinage?²² What circumstances in general might recommend the absence of a mint-mark? If some at least of the unmarked folles are British, was London's minting activity decentralized?²³ Or was London punitively degraded?²⁴ And what about

²¹ It is this style, and not (as Leeds, *op. cit.*, p. 23, apparently stated) that of Unmarked I, which extended into the second Tetrarchy (cf. Leeds, *op. cit.*, with his Pl. VIII, 88, 90, and our PLATE XLIV, 6-7). This extension incidentally invalidates attempts (and they have been made) to secure the absolute succession of Unmarked II to Unmarked III within the first Tetrarchy.

²² See n. 18 above.

²³ Cf. Leeds, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

²⁴ As suggested by R. A. G. Carson in a paper read to the Royal Numismatic Society in 1955.

the great Carausio-Allectan 'C' mint – Camulodunum or otherwise? Was this simply closed down after Constantius' recovery of Britain?

It will be seen that anything like automatic acceptance as British of the unmarked follis-coinage, without differentiation, might be very unsafe. Let us examine the unmarked groups more closely, noting first their internal physical characteristics: these, for the sake of clarifying discussion up to this point, are compared with the characteristics of the LON coins:—

	<i>Bust</i>	<i>Knot</i>	<i>Drop</i>	<i>Legend-break</i>	<i>Die-axis</i>	<i>Weight-peak</i>
LON (PLATE XLIII, 4-6)	Plain laur.	KA 1 a-c	DA 1 a-b	V-L or no break	↑ ↓	11.0-9.5
Unm. I. (PLATE XLIII, 12-15)	Plain laur.	KA 4 a-c	DA 4 a-b	P-V; V-L; L-I; or no break	↑ ↓ or ↑ ↑	10.4-8.8
Unm. II (a) (PLATE XLIII, 16)	Laur. cuir.	KA 5 a-c	DA 5 a-c	V-L (dominant)	↑ ↓	11.0-9.4
Unm. II (b) (PLATE XLIII, 17-18)	Laur. cuir.	KA 6 a-c	DA 6 a-c	V-L	↑ ↓	10.8-9.0
Unm. III (PLATE XLIV, 1-5)	Laur. cuir., or laur. dr. cuir.	KA 7 a-c	DA 7 a-b	V-L	↑ ↓	10.6-9.0

It is obvious at once that a number of criteria set Unmarked II and III apart from Unmarked I and – by implication – from the LON coins. The cuirassed bust is unknown on LON or Unmarked I coins. The “curved parallel” ribbon-drop (dominant on Unmarked II and III) is, similarly, unknown for LON or Unmarked I. For LON and Unmarked I the wedge-knot is found with the kidney-knot: although the wedge (generally in a debased form) is found on Unmarked II and III the kidney-form hardly appears at all. For Unmarked II and III the legend-break V-L is almost one hundred per cent. constant: for LON and Unmarked I the position of the break either varies, or there is no break at all – a significant variation. Die-axis is invariably ↑↓ for Unmarked II and III: for Unmarked I it varies from ↓↑ to ↑↑, incidentally conforming with the overwhelmingly frequent usage of the whole Tetrarchic period²⁵ – a usage which Unmarked II and III are conspicuous

²⁵ This statement is based on close personal examination of thousands of coins of all mints in the period from Diocletian's reform down to c. A.D. 312.

in rejecting. The differences observable in respect of these purely physical characteristics are reinforced by those of style and treatment. In the Unmarked I group we see a plain, self-contained, unadorned portraiture which (though the proportions are tending fractionally to increase) is strictly comparable to the early LON and TR folles. Unmarked II portraiture provides a violent contrast in both style and treatment: Unmarked III no less so. Incidentally it is to be observed that it is the style of Unmarked III alone which continues (PLATE XLIV, 6-7) into the unmarked coinage of the second Tetrarchy – the influence of neither Unmarked I nor Unmarked II can be traced at all – and that, if the earliest PLN issues of London (c. A.D. 306) reflect the portraiture of any unmarked group at all, it is that of late Unmarked III only.

The foregoing distinctions between the unmarked groups do not, however, lead to any automatically achieved solution of the question where they were struck. Unmarked I folles are by no means devoid of Gaulish characteristics: indeed, their letter-forms, though they do from time to time show the smaller and more squat lay-out so strongly associated with previous British usage (cf. PLATE XLIII, 12, obv.), are far more frequently (cf. PLATE XLIII, 13) of the taller and more loose variety associated with Gaul, in previous decades at Lyons and henceforth at both Lyons and Trier. In their portraiture, too, we can see certain similarities (not frequent, but clear when they do occur) with portraiture as it was to develop at Lyons. The large class of Unmarked III folles, on the contrary, which in any case are only rarely (though then strongly: cf. PLATE XLIV, 5, 16) tinged with the portrait characteristics of Lyons, shows with very real consistency the squat, 'British' form of lettering; and the same consideration applies to Unmarked II.

Analysis of the unmarked groups in relation to the LON folles might therefore suggest the following conclusions:–

1. The LON coinage was slight²⁶ and of short duration.
2. Unmarked I, while it has obvious London affinities, possesses characteristics of Gaul, and probably of Lyons, as well: as its weight-range is lighter than that of LON it may well be later than LON.
3. Unmarked II must be regarded as being relatively later than Unmarked I because of the armoured bust: though lettering is dominantly British the issue is effectively detached by many characteristics from both the LON and Unmarked I groups: weights are a little heavier than in Unmarked III, which should therefore be later still.

²⁶ See n. 10 above, and the figures charted on p. 649.

4. Unmarked III, lighter than Unmarked II, not only shows the armoured bust again but projects its own characteristic style into the second Tetrarchy and possibly down to the PLN coinage. Like Unmarked II it can show British lettering, but it is equally clearly detached from LON and Unmarked I.

It is plain that the question of mint-attribution is not settled, whatever suggestions may arise incidentally, by mere internal analysis and comparison. Analysis of the contents of hoards (p. 649) is scarcely more helpful if anything like proof is required. Short of that, however, some suggestions emerge. First, it is abundantly clear how very small the LON issue was: ten follis-hoards, deposited between c. 305 and 320 and containing some 6000 coins (not, of course, all of a period as early as 296), offer only seven examples. Unmarked I, without being so very rare, is nevertheless rare enough to be remarkable: of early hoards, Fyfield can show only 26²⁷ out of 2106, Grantham 3 out of 186, Weybridge 2 out of 137. With Unmarked II and III the case is different. Even though published records of hoards have not always distinguished these groups from each other it is possible to suggest that Unmarked II is more common than Unmarked III; that, taken individually, each of these groups is from seven to eight times as numerous as Unmarked I; and that, taken together, their proportion in British hoards to the issues of Trier is roughly as 1 : 2½, and to the issues of Lyons roughly 1 : 0.8. Compared with the PLN issues of London they are as 1 : 1¾.

Comparison with continental hoard-figures (see below, p. 649) is neither easy nor very instructive. Not only is there the same difficulty of distinguishing Unmarked II and III, but also, while one can quickly isolate the pre-305 issues in such a hoard as that from Montbouy, no such process is certain for other hoards without long labour; moreover, though the Montbouy hoard is helpful in this respect, the summary record so far published does not permit analysis of British issues into any classes at all. Nevertheless certain facts emerge: Montbouy apart (and its full figures must await publication), LON coins do not appear on the continent. Unmarked I, when ultimately – and no doubt inevitably – swelled by Montbouy, bulks relatively much larger on the continent than in Britain in comparison with Unmarked II and III, even when these are similarly swelled (Britain, 47 > < 906; Continent, 34+ > < 85+), and even perhaps in comparison with the grand totals (Britain, 47 out of 6125; Continent 34+ out of 5766). In Britain Trier supplies roughly one third of currency, Lyons not quite one ninth, and remoter mints a twelfth. In the continental hoards here noted Trier claims four fifths of

²⁷ These 26 coins include five of Herculus from the same obverse die.

a total not so late in time as that of the British figures, Lyons less than a tenth, and remoter mints one ninth. Continental site-finds would probably fill in some details of the imperfect picture, together with distribution-figures from museums in which locally found coins may be expected to be present in significant numbers: at Lyons Museum, for example, where (not surprisingly) no LON folles are to be seen, there are no fewer than 20 unmarked coins.²⁸

The foregoing considerations, taken together, do not allow absolute decisions about the attribution of unmarked folles. The LON coinage was quite certainly small and brief, with a British circulation only. It shares certain physical characteristics with Unmarked I which, itself sharing certain others (e.g. some portraiture, and some lettering) with Lyons, was rather less restricted in output and circulated on both sides of the Channel. Unmarked II and III, which are distinguished by characteristics of their own from both LON and Unmarked I and possess British affinities in lettering and portraiture, bulk far larger in Britain (where they were relatively common coins) than on the Continent. It would not, I think, be far wide of the mark if they were firmly attributed to Britain. Their strong stylistic differences argue in favour of dual mintage, or at least for mintage in two distinct stages, Unmarked II being undoubtedly the earlier since its style does not overflow into the second Tetrarchy as does that of Unmarked III. Conceivably it might be held that, with the cessation of signed folles at London, British coin-production was centred (though not signed) at the Carausio-Allectan 'C' mint – most probably Colchester – the earlier products of which show very real portrait-affinities with Unmarked II. Equally, it might be held that Constantius' preparations for war in northern Britain occasioned, either at the same mint or elsewhere, a fresh group of coinage – Unmarked III – in which, though new and greatly improved portrait models were employed and a new tradition in relief was followed, continuity was observed in certain technical details such as die-axis and legend-break.

It must not be forgotten, nevertheless, that in both Unmarked II and Unmarked III there are certain features (e.g. some forms of ribbon-knot and drops, and occasional portraits: cf. PLATE XLIV, 5, and p. 635 above) which suggest connection with the mint of Lyons. Therefore it is wise, as a preliminary to any final pronouncement on Unmarked I, to transfer attention temporarily to Lyons, and to its own not inconsiderable set of problems. Before Diocletian's reform the coins of Lyons had not been, mainly or typically, marked with the letter L, either in

²⁸ I owe these and other figures to M^e. Jean Tricou.

combination with other letters or without them. Under Aurelian and Tacitus,²⁹ it is true, L occurred alone, though London asserted its claim to a simple L under Carausius,³⁰ whose SML is likewise paralleled at Lyons. It is true, again, that LVG occurred under Carinus and Numerian,³¹ but this was a wholly exceptional phenomenon in the history of this old mint which, ever since characteristic mint-signatures began, had been generally and quite clearly recognizable by the Roman numerals I, II, III, IV; the letters A, B, C, D or A, B, Γ, Δ; occasionally, a club and thunderbolt. The letters C and D survived by transference to the reformed silver pieces struck by Diocletian and his partners at Treveri,³² whither part of the Lyons mint was clearly moved for the production of the gold and silver that Lyons no longer coined.³³

In the absence of firm precedent, therefore, recognition of introductory Lyons mint-marks on post-reform folles is no easily automatic process: the marks LA-LB, PLA-PLB, LP, $\frac{A-B}{LP}$ and $\frac{A-B}{PL}$ are all ambiguous in a sense in which PLC,³⁴ beginning c. A.D. 300,³⁵ and its clearly later variants are certainly not. The most sensible point of departure would seem to be the determination of the inaugural mark of the folles of Lyons. On the analogy of many other mints, LON included,³⁶ the answer should be LP – a simple mark, without officina-differentiation, which appears on a scarce group of folles³⁷ of highish weight with IMPC (Diocletianus or Maximianus) PF AVG and (Constantius or Maximianus)

²⁹ *RIC*, V (1) (P. H. Webb), p. 370.

³⁰ *Id.* V (2), p. 611.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 166, 192; for Numerian the Ashmolean specimens show both of the two forms LVC and LVG.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 213. Cf. also H. A. Cahn, *Schweiz. Num. Rundschau*, 1955, pp. 5 ff.

³³ See K. Pink, *NZ*, 1930, pp. 21 ff.; 1931, pp. 27 ff.

³⁴ This mark seems always to be written with a C and not a G. Roman alternation between these consonants is well known, but there seems to be no official evidence for the written form 'Lucdunum' (or 'Lucudunum') as against 'Lugdunum' (or 'Lugudunum'): cf. Pauly-Wissowa, *RE*, XIII, cols. 1718 ff., and also O. Hirschfeld in *CIL*, XIII, pp. 248 ff. Speculation might be made whether the C of PLC stands for 'Copia', the senior name of Lugdunum in its fully formal title 'Colonia Copia Augusta Claudia Lugdunum' and a name continued in quite late usage (cf. *CIL.*, XIII, no. 1742, of late 2nd century A.D.), and whether this was intended to differentiate L(C) from L(ON), were it not for the fact that the formal titlature puts 'Copia' before 'Lugdunum'.

³⁵ See below, p. 646. ³⁶ E. g., TR, T, R, SMN, KV at Treveri, Ticinum, Rome, Nicomedia and Cyzicus.

³⁷ Not included by Voetter either in *NZ*, 1917, p. 26, or in the Gerin catalogue (n. 1 above). Specimens have occurred in the Fyfield, Seltz, Emmersweiler and other hoards. None is to be found in the Lyons Museum, as M^e. Tricou informs me. Incidentally I should now wish to retract my former view (*Essays in Roman Coinage Presented to Harold Mattingly*, pp. 186 f.) that the LP mark at Lugdunum represents a contraction of that mint following an earlier and fuller range of officinae.

NOB CAES (or NOB C) legends. The characteristics of the group (PLATE XLIV, 8-9) may be summarized as follows:-

	<i>Bust</i>	<i>Knot</i>	<i>Drop</i>	<i>Legend-break</i>	<i>Die-axis</i>	<i>Weight-peak</i>
LP	Plain, or small cuir.	KB 1 a-c	DB 1 a-c	V-L or no break	↑ ↓	11.0-9.4

Attribution of this group to Lyons would, it is plain, rest primarily on the analogy of the 'simple' mint-mark with those of the introductory coinages (themselves proportionately as rare) of the neighbouring mints at Trier and London, controlled - incidentally - by the same Tetrarch. But it must rest on portraiture as well: this is unmistakably Lugdunese, showing hard and angular forms, with a staring eye set below a markedly elongated eye-lid and brow. Then again the 'curved parallel' form of the ribbon-drop DB 1 c, wholly uncharacteristic of the LON coins, is a prominently continuing feature, in one form or another, on later Lugdunese coins of the $\frac{\hat{\alpha}}{\text{PLC}}$ and $\frac{\hat{\alpha}}{\text{PLC}} \text{A-B}$ issues (PLATE XLIV, 16-17).

Lettering, so far as can be checked in a rare group, is Lugdunese. Ribbon-knots are conspicuous in lacking the small upper spur which is virtually uniform on LON issues. It is to be noted that, just as the LON folles show alternation between reverse legends unbroken or broken V-L, the LP coins exemplify the same variation, which is to be regarded as one sign of an early issue when conventional usage had not been firmly fixed. Nevertheless it is doubtful if the LP coins, regarded as the introductory issue of Lyons folles, could have been as early as some introductory issues elsewhere. At other mints the folles begin with plain laureate heads and at Trier, for example, the cuirass did not appear until the third follis-issue (marked Γ) was coined c. 297.³⁸ On the LP coins it shared place

³⁸ The early development of the Trier folles may be summarized as follows:

	<i>Bust</i>	<i>Knot</i>	<i>Drop</i>	<i>Legend-break</i>	<i>Die-axis</i>
TR	Plain	As KA 6 c, but no spur	DB 3 b	V-L	↑↑ or ↑↓
$\frac{\text{A-B-C}}{\text{TR}}$	Plain	As KA 6 c, but no spur	DB 3 b	V-L	↑↑ or ↑↓
$\frac{\text{A-B} \mid \Gamma}{\text{TR}}$	Plain, or small cuir.	As KA 6 c, but no spur	DB 3 b (also DB 6 b)	V-L	↑↑ or ↑↓

The chronology of Treveran issues is considered below, pp. 645-46. It should be observed that Treveran portraiture is at all periods quite distinctive, with only the most occasional echo (PLATE XLIV, 18) of the Lugdunese style: the heads are normally rendered in a softer, more compact and more naturalistic manner which is consistently reproduced on gold, silver and copper alike.

from the beginning with the plain laureate heads, and it is difficult to resist the conclusion that Lyons, a far less important and prolific mint than Trier, took its cue from Trier on a coinage which did not fall, accordingly, before that year.

I thus regard the LP folles as the first to issue from Lyons. They were followed, as can scarcely be doubted, by the $\frac{A-B}{LP}$ group (PLATE XLIV, 10-12). The successor to this latter issue is not easily decided: it could be either the $\frac{A-B}{PL}$ group (PLATE XLIV, 13-14) or the $\frac{\hat{A}}{LP} \frac{A-B}{LP}$ group (a small and rare issue). Of the two alternatives, the former is presumably the more probable, for the altar³⁹ in the left field of the reverse, once introduced, would not have been lightly abandoned on any one of a sequence of issues where it seems otherwise quite constant. From this point onwards the development of Lyons folles can be followed with fair certainty:—

	<i>Bust</i>	<i>Knot</i>	<i>Drop</i>	<i>Legend-break</i>	<i>Die-axis</i>	<i>Weight-peak</i>
LP (PLATE XLIV, 8-9)	Plain, or small cuir.	KB 1 a-c	DB 1 a-c	V-L, or no break	↑ ↓	11.0-9.4
$\frac{A-B}{LP}$ (PLATE XLIV, 10-12)	Plain, or small cuir.	KB 2 a-c	DB 2 a-c	P-V or V-L	↑ ↑ or ↑ ↓	10.6-9.0
$\frac{A-B}{PL}$ (PLATE XLIV, 13-14)	Plain, or small cuir.	KB 3 a-c	DB 3 a-c	P-V or V-L	↑ ↑ or ↑ ↓	10.4-8.5
$\frac{\hat{A}}{LP} \frac{A-B}{LP}$	Plain, or armoured ⁴⁰	KB 4 a	DB 4 a	P-V	↑ ↓	?
$\frac{\hat{A}}{PLC}$ (PLATE XLIV, 15)	Plain, or armoured	KB 5 a	DB 5 a-b	P-V	↑ ↓	?
$\frac{\hat{A}}{PLC} \frac{A-B}{PLC}$ (PLATE XLIV, 16-17)	Armoured	KB 6 a	DB 6 a-c	P-V (rarely V-L)	↑ ↑ or ↑ ↓	10.5-8.5

³⁹ On the significance of the altar see *Essays in Roman Coinage Presented to Harold Mattingly*, p. 186, n. 5.

⁴⁰ By 'armoured' is here meant something more than a mere cuirass, i.e. a portrait showing spear or shield or helmet.

The foregoing scheme offers certain clear evidence of sequence. (1) There is, at first, a continued variation between a plain laureate head and a bust with a small cuirass: the development from a cuirass to a more fully armoured bust is then visible. (2) The ribbon-drops develop logically: the peculiar form DB 1 c, originated on the LP folles (and not found on LON or Trier coins), continues throughout in cognate shapes except for the rare $\frac{\hat{\sigma} | A-B}{LP}$ group, where it may perhaps still remain to be found. (3) After the inaugural LP coins we note the steady concentration upon the P-V legend-break, which came thereafter to be very rigidly – indeed, almost exclusively – observed: this legend-break, found on some Unmarked I coins but never on LON, never occurs either on Unmarked II–III or on the comparable issues of Trier.⁴¹ (4) The broad weight-peak, where it can be checked, shows a settled declension after a highish start. (5) Finally, portraiture shows consistent development throughout, with many factors much too strong and frequent to be withstood, e.g. heads that tend to be small; long and thinnish necks; a large and staring eye; hardness of treatment and absence of modelling (as in the uncompromising linear outline of the nose); and stiff, angular forms. It may be noted, incidentally, that by the time the $\frac{\hat{\sigma} | A-B}{PLC}$ mark was current at Lyons⁴² the shortest legend-forms, i.e. IMP (Diocletianus or Maximianus) AVG had been developed and were in common use.

We are left, then, with the task of allocating to their proper or probable mints three groups of folles. Two of them are signed respectively LA–LB and PLA–PLB:⁴³ the third consists of Unmarked I. The characteristics of Unmarked I have already been described above. Those of the LA–LB series must now receive attention (PLATE XLIII, 7–10). Partly, no doubt, because the LA–LB signature has through its initial letter normally suggested Lugdunum, and partly also because the long accepted attribution of unmarked folles to London has tended to build up the belief that London's single-officina LON stage was not followed by any expansion, the LA–LB coins (a scarce group)⁴⁴ have previously been given to Lugdunum,⁴⁵ to which the PLA–PLB group (much rarer) would also have to be

⁴¹ See n. 38 above.

⁴² See below, p. 646 (c. A.D. 301–3).

⁴³ The second of these groups is very rare indeed: the Fyfield hoard contained a single PLA specimen only (PLATE XLIII, 11), Weybridge again only one, and Seltz none: Emmersweiler contained four. None of these specimens is from officina B.

⁴⁴ Six at Weybridge and Seltz; 41 at Emmersweiler; 44 at Fyfield.

⁴⁵ Cf. Voetter, *NZ*, 1917, p. 26.

assigned (PLATE XLIII, 11). But there are good reasons for thinking such an attribution to be difficult and unsatisfactory;⁴⁶ and comparison of their characteristics with those of the LON, LP, and Unmarked I group will show what some of those difficulties are:—

	<i>Bust</i>	<i>Knot</i>	<i>Drop</i>	<i>Legend-break</i>	<i>Die-axis</i>	<i>Weight-peak</i>
LA-LB (PLATE XLIII, 7-10)	Plain laur.	KA 2 a-c	DA 2 a-b	P-V; V-L; mostly no break	↑ ↑ or ↑ ↓	11.0-8.8
Unm. I (PLATE XLIII, 12-15)	Plain laur.	KA 4 a-c	DA 4 a-b	P-V; V-L; L-I; or no break	↑ ↑ or ↑ ↓	10.4-8.8
LON (PLATE XLIII, 4-6)	Plain laur.	KA 1 a-c	DA 1 a-b	V-L, or no break	↑ ↓	11.0-9.5
LP (PLATE XLIV, 8-9)	Plain, or small cuir.	KB 1 a-c	DB 1 a-c	V-L, or no break	↑ ↓	11.0-9.4

It is very difficult indeed, as we have seen,⁴⁷ to deny that, at a period when 'simple' mint-marks were generally in use elsewhere, the Lyons folles began with the 'simple' mark LP. If so, it is not logically possible to place the LA-LB folles after them, for the appearance of a cuirass on the LP group would certainly have been matched by its appearance on a closely subsequent issue; and LA-LB coins do not show a cuirass. Moreover, the arrangement of the reverse legend on LP (V-L, or unbroken) could hardly have been closely followed by a *more* varied arrangement (P-V; V-L; or unbroken) at a time when the passage of time invariably – and quite quickly – regularized such features. The foregoing tabular comparison, indeed, shows that LA-LB and Unmarked I are conspicuous in sharing an unusually widely varied arrangement of reverse legends. And they share more than this. Their die-axes vary – as those of the LP folles do not.⁴⁸ The form of their ribbon-drops does not include the 'curved parallel' which

⁴⁶ I am informed by M^e. Tricou that the Lyons Museum includes only one LA-LB coin, and none at all of the PLA-PLB group.

⁴⁷ Above, p. 638.

⁴⁸ Analysis of the very extensive material in the Ashmolean shows that under Carausius there was variation at London to the extent of 65% ↑↓, 35% ↑↑; and under Allectus 85% ↑↓, 15% ↑↑. (The C-signed mint, however, was very different – for Carausius 95% ↑↓ and 5% ↑↑, for Allectus 100% ↑↓.)

immediately emerges at Lyons; and their ribbon-knots show the upper spur which is lacking on LP coins. And even if the lettering of LA-LB is generally of Lugdunum form, the portraiture is of a nature which (as with the cuirass) cannot possibly be regarded as coming *after* LP.

For very strong reasons, therefore, LA-LB folles must be dissociated from Lyons, and, if they go elsewhere, they must take with them Unmarked I, a group which shows very closely similar characteristics. Where should they go? The answer can only be, to London, where the LON group exerts some influence on the lettering of Unmarked I, exhibits the wedge-shaped ribbon-knot also found on Unmarked I,⁴⁹ and offers a style of portraiture closely akin to that of both LA-LB and also Unmarked I. It will of course be objected that variation of die-axis and of reverse legend arrangement is no more permissible after the relatively settled LON stage than after the relatively settled LP stage. But that objection need not carry much strength. Lettering makes it quite obvious that LA-LB and Unmarked I folles comprise a distinct element of Gaulish workmanship, fused with British characteristics. To regard the LA-LB coins as London coins at all is to postulate both the continuation of the London mint after its preliminary and strongly Allectan phase of portraiture and also, it would seem, its expansion into two officinae. That expansion, surely, was facilitated by drawing on the personnel of Lyons for additions to the staff of the London mint. In such a stage of readjustment variations of normal treatment (whether for die-axis or legend-break) would not be half as surprising as any such variation in a mint like Lyons where no fresh personnel were introduced and no fresh traditions were imposed. It may be observed, incidentally, that the broad weight-peaks of the LON and LP coins are (so far as can be checked) high; that of LA-LB is fractionally lower; and that of Unmarked I lower still. PLA-PLB coins are too rare to furnish figures.⁵⁰

This very rarity of PLA-PLB folles presumably testifies to an extremely short stage of London follis-production intermediate between LA-LB and Unmarked I. On the evidence so far presented it would seem as if the London mint, at the PLA-PLB stage, was abruptly closed down in its existing form, output thereafter taking place – either at London or elsewhere – in the form of Unmarked I folles of strictly comparable character, coined by essentially the same staff and plant. This is not necessarily to say that London's mint was moved elsewhere: the possibility that its products were henceforth produced anonymously⁵¹ cannot

⁴⁹ And seen conspicuously on Allectus' London gold (PLATE XLIII, 2).

⁵⁰ See p. 648 below.

⁵¹ See above, p. 633 and n. 24.

altogether be excluded. Nevertheless Constantius' recovery of Britain might seem to imply the delivery of London as much as its punitive reconquest,⁵² and Leeds's theory⁵³ of the operation in Britain of travelling mints for unmarked folles, while its emphasis probably needs variation,⁵⁴ certainly accords with the knowledge that from this time onwards a mint's volume of coinage often bore some relation to an emperor's proximity and physical activities: the same phenomenon was true, of course, of earlier periods also, as when Antioch, for example, increased its output in connection with Eastern campaigns. The mints now under discussion – London, Lyons and Trier – all lay in the territory controlled by Constantius. Constantius, after gathering his forces in northern Gaul (with Trier as his major mint, and Maximian giving him military coverage from the Rhine nearby), transferred them to Britain. During the period of preparation in Gaul and of campaigning in Britain the Lyons mint was strategically remote from him, and, as we have seen, it relinquished two officinae to assist Trier, which evidently bore the main burden of coinage in all metals for Constantius. There appears to be a case for arguing that in this or another similar process Lyons surrendered also sufficient mint-personnel to affect the style and increase the output of London, and that when, in circumstances unknown to us, the LON signature ceased in its developed LA-LB form, the London mint-organization continued to operate, either in London or elsewhere, still showing the same signs of Lyons influence on Unmarked I coins which supplanted the signed ones.

The Unmarked I group, however, was not a large one, as has already been made clear,⁵⁵ and it must therefore be true that the rare LON group, the scarce LA-LB group, the very rare PLA-PLB group and the uncommon Unmarked I group did not extend over any great period of time. It is legitimate to argue, at any rate, that the comprehensive differences between Unmarked I on the one hand and Unmarked II and III on the other are such as to justify not only the distinction of mintage already claimed for them but also a sharp interval of time – sufficient at least for the personnel of the London mint to have become dispersed and its style (whether original or developed) lost.

The relative chronology of the London, unmarked and Lyons folles, group by group, is probably incapable of exact definition: any attempt to fix it, however,

⁵² He brought light after darkness – 'redditor lucis aeternae'.

⁵³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 26ff., with some reservations about Unmarked I.

⁵⁴ That is, away from the conception of travelling mints towards that of temporarily established mints.

⁵⁵ Above, p. 636.

would involve consideration of the issues of Trier, the order of which is much less uncertain:—⁵⁶

- ?296 TR (Plain bust: GENIO). Almost certainly the first folles of Treveri, their exact date depending on that of the introduction of the follis in general.
Scarce.
- 297 A-B-C |
TR (Plain or cuirassed bust: GENIO). Treveri is expanded to three follis-officinae in connection with the British campaign (for Constantius as *Britannicus maximus* in 296 see *Dizionario Epigrafico*, ii, p. 664), while Maximian stands on the Rhine (*Diz. Ep.*, ii, p. 1904). Triumphal allusions on gold coinage (Pink, *NZ*, 1931, p. 33f.). *Scarce.*
- A-B-C | Γ
TR (Plain or armoured bust: GENIO). The third (= Γ) issue of Treveran folles.
Fairly common.
- 298-9 A-B | *
TR (Plain or armoured bust: FORTVNAE REDVCI, GENIO, MONETA). Consular types for Diocletian⁵⁷ anticipating his *cos vii* (1/1/299) and for Galerius (*cos. iii*, 1/1/300; cf. *Diz. Ep.*, ii, p. 664). Constantius has returned from Britain by 297, and Maximian from Africa in 298; financial reform in 297 (*Diz. Ep.*, ii, p. 1904).
Common.
- 300 | *
A-BTR (Plain or armoured bust: FORTVNAE REDVCI, MONETA). Return of Augusti and Caesars from campaigns (299) against Bastarnae, Marcomanni, Alamanni (*Diz. Ep.*, ii, p. 1905).
Common.
- 301 | *
I-II TR (MONETA). Price-edict. No campaigns.
Rare.
- S | F
TR (GENIO, MONETA). Temporary reduction to one officina.
Very rare.
- 302 S | F
I-II TR (GENIO – normally towered, MONETA). For emphatic variety in types of gold see Pink, *NZ*, 1931, pp. 35 ff.
Scarce.

⁵⁶ Though I am indebted to the kind assistance of M^{lle}. Gabrielle Fabre in discussing the early chronology of Treveri she must not, of course, be held responsible for any arrangements here propounded.

⁵⁷ It must be remembered that in a case such as this, when Diocletian and Maximian were consuls simultaneously but consular types exist for Diocletian alone, the matching types for Maximian may yet be found.

303 to 1/5/305	S F PTR	(GENIO – <i>mostly towered</i>). Final issue of the first Tetrarchy. Contraction to one officina. <i>Fairly common.</i>
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Set against the scheme of Trier that of Lyons is somewhat less informative:–

?297	LP	(Plain or cuirassed bust: GENIO). The first Lyons follis-issue, the cuirass suggesting a date a little later than that of the TR coins. <i>Rare.</i>
298	A–B LP	(Plain or cuirassed bust: GENIO). Expansion to two officinae. Consular type for Maximian (<i>cos. vi</i> , 1/1/299; cf. <i>Diz. Ep.</i> , ii, p. 1905). <i>Scarce to uncommon.</i>
299	A–B PL	(Plain or cuirassed bust: GENIO). <i>Scarce.</i>
300	⌊ A–B LP	(Plain or armoured bust: GENIO). Consular types for Constantius (<i>cos. iii</i> , 1/1/300; cf. <i>Diz. Ep.</i> , ii, p. 664). <i>Rare.</i>
	⌊ 58 PLC	(Plain or armoured bust: GENIO). No issues known for the Caesars. Contraction to one officina. <i>Common.</i> ⁵⁹
301–3	⌊ A–B PLC	(Armoured bust: GENIO). Consular types for Constantius (<i>cos. iv</i> , 1/1/302) and Galerius (<i>cos. iv</i> , 1/1/302; cf. <i>Diz. Ep.</i> , ii, p. 1906). Triumphal military obverse types for Maximian and Constantius (see under Trier scheme for 300). <i>Common.</i>
304–5	⌊ * PLC	(Cuirassed bust: GENIO). Final issue of the first Tetrarchy. Contraction (as at Trier) to one officina. <i>Scarce.</i>

It will be noted that the output of Lyons was thin down to about 300: at Trier, by contrast, this is a period of abundance. After 300 the volume at Lyons rose sharply for a time, only to drop again when the mint was contracted into one officina: at Trier the volume after 300 shrank, though when the mint was, likewise, contracted into one officina its output increased as that of Lyons fell.⁶⁰ Incidentally it is of some interest to see how much less advantage was taken at Lyons than at Trier to exploit the topical element in reverse-types: no variation from the *Genius* type was made at all at Lyons.

⁵⁸ Conceivably this group might be placed after the next.

⁵⁹ Sometimes regarded as a scarce issue, this group has a high representation in the Lyons Museum.

⁶⁰ It should not, I hope, be necessary now to remind the non-numismatist that such estimates of volume are based on the quantitative analysis of *specimens* and not of *types*.

The scheme in Britain might run somewhat as follows:—

297	LON	(Plain bust: GENIO). Almost certainly later than the initial folles of Trier: possibly contemporary with LP. <i>Rare.</i>
298	LA-LB	(Plain bust: GENIO). Expansion of the mint: introduction of Gaulish characteristics. <i>Scarce.</i>
299	PLA -PLB	(Plain bust: GENIO). Abrupt end of British signed coinage. <i>Very rare.</i>
	Unmarked I	(Plain or cuirassed bust: GENIO). Derived from the LA-LB family. <i>Scarce to uncommon.</i> * * * *
?300 +	Unmarked II	(Cuirassed or armoured bust: GENIO). Strongly differentiated (and pre-reform?) style: from different mint (Camulodunum?) <i>Common.</i> * * * *
?303 +	Unmarked III	(Cuirassed or armoured bust: GENIO). Strongly differentiated post-reform style tinged with Lyons characteristics: again from different mint (in the north?): continued in second Tetrarchy. <i>Common.</i>

The suggestion here made is, in short, that the strongly dissociative elements in the three unmarked groups are to be interpreted as evidence of dissociated production. While Unmarked I coins have recognizable affinities with an expanded London-signed group, Unmarked II and III have no such link, and the reason for their production, together with their place of mintage, must be sought elsewhere and independently, though not outside Britain, to which their volume must attribute them.

ADDITIONAL NOTE A.

The statistical effect of transferring to London the two groups LA-LB and PLA-PLB, formerly given to Lyons, is negligible for the pre-305 contents of hoards with solid representation of London, Trier and Lyons. For example, in the Weybridge hoard (see p. 649) Britain gains 7 coins out of a total of 37, leaving Lyons with 15, while Trier claims 75; in the Fyfield hoard Britain gains 45 coins out of a total of 398, leaving Lyons with 296, while Trier claims 935; and in the

Seltz hoard Britain gains 6 coins out of a total of 51, leaving Lyons with 106, while Trier claims just on 200. In any case the volume of Trier is from 25% to 30% larger than that of Britain and Lyons put together.

ADDITIONAL NOTE B.

The following particulars of weight have been gathered from the rich series in the Ashmolean, including the Fyfield hoard:—

LON	10.8 (2), 10.0 (1), 9.4 (1). Total 4
LA-LB	12.2 (1), 11.8 (1), 11.2 (1), 11.0 (2), 10.8 (1), 10.6 (1), 10.4 (1), 9.8 (3), 9.6 (2), 9.4 (2), 9.2 (1), 9.0 (1), 8.8 (2), 8.4 (1). Total 20.
PLA-PLB	8.0 (1). Total 1.
Unmarked I	12.0 (1), 11.4 (1), 11.2 (1), 11.0 (1), 10.6 (2), 10.4 (1), 10.2 (2), 10.0 (3), 9.6 (4), 9.4 (2), 9.2 (1), 9.0 (3), 8.8 (2), 8.6 (1), 8.4 (2), 8.2 (4). Total 31.
Unmarked II	12.8 (1), 12.2 (2), 11.8 (1), 11.6 (1), 11.4 (2), 11.2 (4), 11.0 (5), 10.8 (1), 10.6 (7), 10.4 (5), 10.2 (8), 10.0 (5), 9.8 (5), 9.6 (5), 9.4 (4), 9.2 (2), 9.0 (2), 8.8 (4), 8.6 (2), 8.2 (2). Total 68.
Unmarked III	12.2 (1), 11.6 (1), 11.4 (1), 11.2 (1), 11.0 (2), 10.8 (4), 10.6 (2), 10.4 (5), 10.2 (2), 10.0 (7), 9.8 (4), 9.6 (9), 9.4 (2), 9.2 (8), 9.0 (5), 8.8 (2), 8.6 (1), 8.4 (1), 8.2 (2). Total 60.
LP	11.2 (1), 10.6 (1), 10.4 (1), 9.4 (1), 7.4 (1). Total 5.
A-B LP	10.6 (1), 10.4 (1), 10.2 (3), 10.0 (3), 9.8 (4), 9.6 (2), 9.4 (1), 9.2 (1), 8.8 (1), 8.6 (1), 8.4 (2), 8.0 (2). Total 22.
A-B PL	13.34 (1), 12.0 (1), 11.4 (1), 11.2 (2), 11.0 (2), 10.6 (1), 10.4 (1), 10.2 (1), 10.0 (3), 9.8 (2), 9.6 (1), 9.4 (1), 9.2 (1), 9.0 (4), 8.8 (1), 8.6 (1), 8.4 (1), 8.2 (2), 8.0 (2). Total 29.
⌈ A-B LP	Details lacking.
⌈ PLC	11.4 (1), 9.8 (1). Total 2.
⌈ A-B PLC	12.8 (1), 12.4 (1), 12.2 (2), 11.4 (1), 11.0 (1), 10.8 (2), 10.6 (2), 10.4 (3), 10.2 (1), 9.8 (1), 9.6 (1), 9.4 (2), 9.2 (1), 8.8 (4), 8.6 (2), 8.4 (1). Total 26.

ADDITIONAL NOTE C.

All the coins illustrated on Plates XLIII and XLIV are in the Oxford collection.

BRITISH HOARDS

(analysed by traditional mint-attribution)

Hoard	LON	Unm. I	Unm. II	Unm. III	Unm. II/III*	PLN etc.	Trier	Lyons	Other mints	Total	Reference.
Bromley	1	1	13	49	—	54	103	40	34	?295	B.M. information.
Corbridge	—	—	—	—	4	—	3	—	1	8	<i>Arch. Ael.</i> , Third Series, 1915, p. 248.
Fyfield	3	26§	207	205	—	11	993	330	269	2106	See n. 1.
Grantham	1	3	—	—	164	—	14	4	—	186	See n. 10.
Llangarren	—	8	48	87	—	1382	859	241	136	2823	B.M. information.
Normandy	—	3	—	—	28	28	24	12	16	115	<i>Surrey Archaeological Col- lections</i> , 1916, pp. 49 ff.
Preshaw	—	4	18	38	—	24	111	44	45	290	B.M. information.
Weybridge	2	2	—	—	26	—	75	22	10	137	<i>NC</i> , 1908, pp. 208 ff.
Winterbourne Earls	—	—	—	—	8	3	11	—	1	32	<i>NC</i> , 1949, pp. 246 ff.
Wroxton	—	—	—	—	11	54	45	8	15	133	<i>NC</i> , 1954, pp. 62 ff.
	7	47	286	379	241	1556	2238	701	527	6125	

(CONTINENTAL HOARDS †)

(analysed by traditional mint attribution)

Emmersweiler	—	18	—	—	5	—	1141	52	12	1228	<i>Westdeutsche Zeitschrift</i> , 1887, pp. 131 ff.
Ghlin	—	13	—	—	27	17	88	36	49**	230	<i>L'Antiquité Classique</i> , 1955, pp. 412 ff.
Seltz I	—	3	—	—	41	3	2054	174	195	2468	<i>NNM</i> , No. 79.
Seltz II	—	—	—	—	12	—	671	49	58	790	<i>RN</i> , 1952, pp. 31 ff.
	—	34	—	—	85	20	3954	311	314	4716	

* This column contains the relevant figures of hoards in which Unmarked II and III have not been distinguished.

§ Including five coins of Herculius from the same obv. die.

† The hitherto incomplete figures of the Montbouy hoard (to be published in full in *Gallia*) have been excluded: it appears that

'British' folles total 228, Trier 270, Lyons 185, and others 367 in a total of 1050 coins issued down to A.D. 305.

** Including illegible coins.

THE GRAIN-EAR DRACHMS OF ATHENS¹

MARGARET THOMPSON

On Pl. 34 of *Les Monnaies d'Athènes* Jean N. Svoronos illustrates twenty-one drachms and one hemidrachm of an Athenian New Style issue marked on the reverse with the ethnic Α Θ Ε and an ear of grain placed to left or right of the owl. On some specimens additional letters or letter combinations are found in the left field or below the amphora. All of these fractions Svoronos associates with the tetradrachm coinage of the magistrates Κ and Μ whose chosen symbol was an ear of grain (Svor. Pl. 34, 6-10).

This grain-ear series of drachms, when considered in the framework of the fractional coinage as a whole, is atypical in several respects. Excepting one small issue with ethnic alone and no symbol, which can reasonably be regarded as the first striking of small change during the New Style period (Svor. Pl. 33, 1-3), every other drachm sequence carries the monograms or names of the magistrates responsible for the coinage. One could assume, as Svoronos apparently did, that the grain-ear drachms represent a second early striking predating the appearance of magistrates' names on the fractional currency, were it not for other puzzling factors. Consistently throughout the New Style coinage there is a close stylistic similarity between tetradrachm and drachm obverses within a given issue; the same engravers undoubtedly worked on the dies for both large and small coins.

¹ Much of the material for this study was assembled with the help of a generous grant in aid of travel from the American Philosophical Society (Penrose Fund) which enabled me to visit various European museums and record their Athenian New Style holdings.

This, however, is not the case with the grain-ear pieces. Not only are the obverses of the drachms dissimilar to those of the grain-ear tetradrachms but there is within the drachm group itself a wide stylistic variation. Furthermore, the tetradrachms belong to the early period of the coinage, before either amphora or control letters were placed on the dies; some of the drachms carry control combinations – ΜΗ, ΠΕ and probably ΑΠ – below the amphora, many more have letters in the left field which must also indicate a control of some kind.

It seems clear that the grain-ear drachms cannot be associated as a group with the grain-ear tetradrachms and that, moreover, the fractions represent several strikings rather than the output of one year. This impression is strengthened by the number of coins involved. Almost without exception, the annual issues of the New Style period have left us only a token representation of drachms in marked contrast to the wealth of tetradrachm material: no drachms are known for some

REGULAR DRACHM ISSUES

	<i>Attic Hoard</i>	<i>Other Sources</i>	<i>Obverse Dies</i>	<i>Reverse Dies</i>
ΑΘΕ alone	1	3	2	4
Monograms and trophy	—	1	1	1
Monograms and herm	—	2	1	2
Monograms and thyrsos	1	—	1	1
Monograms and eagle	—	3	2	2
ΔΗΜΗ-ΙΕΡΩ	25	7	7	10
ΓΛΑΥ-ΕΧΕ	11	17	5	12
ΜΙΚΙ-ΘΕΟΦΡΑ	5	11	3	7
ΗΡΑ-ΑΡΙΣΤΟΦ	8	22	3	17
ΜΕΝΕΔ-ΕΠΙΓ	9	22	3	14
ΤΙΜΑΡΧΟ-ΝΙΚΑΓ	2	16	4	9
	62	104	32	79

GRAIN-EAR ISSUES

Without letters	32	12	7	20
Letters in left field	68	28	13	42
Letters below amphora	4	17	3	9
	104	57	23	71

years, only one or two specimens are recorded for many others. Hence the twenty-one drachms of the grain-ear variety that Svoronos assembled is a surprising total but, inasmuch as his publication is not a corpus, even this figure is no true indication of the quantity of coinage involved.

In 1955 the American Numismatic Society acquired a hoard of 178 drachms and nine tetradrachms, said to have been found in Attica. From this hoard it has been possible to evaluate with greater accuracy the extent of the grain-ear minting. The tabulation below includes all drachms known to me for the first thirty-one years of the New Style coinage, covering roughly the period between 196 and 165 B.C.²

The startling fact which emerges from the above compilation is that there are practically as many examples of the grain-ear series as of all other drachm issues struck at Athens over a thirty-one year period. Even apart from the hoard, whose composition may reflect abnormal circumstances, the proportions are impressive: 57 grain-ear to 104 regular drachms. With the combined evidence of surviving specimens and number of obverse and reverse dies, there can be no question but that the grain-ear pieces represent a truly extensive drachm coinage.

This copious and diversified series seems to divide into at least three separate emissions as indicated in the catalogue below. Specimens preceded by an asterisk are illustrated. Die positions are known for the coins of the Attic Hoard, for those in the Athens, Cambridge, Copenhagen and ANS cabinets, and for those in the Benson, Noe and Petsalis collections. They are consistently ↑↑ unless otherwise noted.

² The 196 B.C. dating for the earliest New Style issue is based on the evidence of the Anthedon Hoard (Thompson, "The Beginning of the Athenian New Style Coinage," *ANSMN*, V, 1952, pp. 25-33).

GROUP I

(44 coins: 7 obverse dies, 20 reverse dies)

Obv.: Head of Athena r. in crested Attic helmet. Border of dots.*Rev.*: A Θ E Owl on amphora; grain-ear symbol in right field. All in a wreath of olive.

- | | | |
|----|---|-----------|
| I. | a. *Attic Hd. 4.16; Attic Hd. 4.27 | PLATE XLV |
| → | b. *Attic Hd. 4.23 | PLATE XLV |
| | c. Attic Hd. 4.25 | |
| | d. Attic Hd. 4.19 | |
| 2. | a. *Attic Hd. 4.18 | PLATE XLV |
| | b. Attic Hd. 4.17 | |
| → | c. *Attic Hd. 4.07 (same reverse die as no. 1b) | PLATE XLV |
| 3. | a. *Attic Hd. 4.12; Attic Hd. 4.13 (same reverse die as nos. 1b and 2c) | |
| | b. Attic Hd. 4.11; Attic Hd. 4.12 | PLATE XLV |
| | c. Attic Hd. 3.86 | |
| | d. Attic Hd. 4.19; Attic Hd. 4.23 | |
| | e. *Athens (Salamis Hd.) ³ 3.96 | |
| → | f. *Attic Hd. 4.15; Attic Hd. 4.13; Attic Hd. 4.19; Attic Hd. 4.17; Berlin (Sv. 34,11) 4.20 (same reverse die as no. 2a) | PLATE XLV |
| → | g. *Attic Hd. 4.19 | PLATE XLV |
| 4. | a. *Attic Hd. 4.28; Vienna 3.95 | PLATE XLV |
| → | b. *Baltatzi (Sv. 34,12) 3.75 (same reverse die as nos. 2a and 3f) | PLATE XLV |
| → | c. *Attic Hd. 4.14 (same reverse die as no. 3g) | PLATE XLV |
| | d. Attic Hd. 4.13; Attic Hd. 4.20; Attic Hd. 4.03 | |
| | e. Attic Hd. 4.21; Meletopoulos 3.35 (corroded) | |
| → | f. *Attic Hd. 4.13 | PLATE XLV |
| 5. | a. *Attic Hd. 4.24 | PLATE XLV |
| → | b. *Romanos (Sv. 34,13) 3.44 (same reverse die as no. 4f) | PLATE XLV |
| | c. Attic Hd. 4.06; Attic Hd. 4.17; Athens (Salamis Hd.) 4.13; Naville V, 1923, 2010 4.13 (probably = Ratto 5/13/1912, 760 4.13) | |
| | d. Benson (= Helbing 10/24/1927, 2965) 3.78; The Hague; Gotha 3.42 (pierced) | |

³ This hoard, found on Salamis in 1936, is no. 890 of S. P. Noe's *A Bibliography of Greek Coin Hoards*, NNM, No. 78 (New York, 1937). It contains a large proportion of tetradrachms of late date and is not, therefore, significant for the chronology of these early grain-ear drachms.

6.

*Attic Hd. 4.15 →

PLATE XLV

7.

*Attic Hd. 4.21; Meletopoulos 4.03

PLATE XLV

The first five obverses of this group are firmly linked by shared reverse dies. Obverses 6 and 7, represented by one and two specimens respectively, have no die connections. However, stylistically they seem to belong in Group I; compare, for example, no. 6 with no. 4 and no. 7 with no. 2. The absence of supplementary lettering in the field on the three coins of nos. 6 and 7 would also suggest that they belong in the first series, but this evidence is not conclusive inasmuch as there are isolated examples of reverses without letters in Group II.

As a whole the coins of Group I are characterized by compact thick flans. The obverse heads are in high relief, especially noticeable in nos. 2, 3 and 7. Careful workmanship is evident on the reverses: most of the owls are small and well proportioned; the letters of the ethnic are neat and generally modest in size; the grain symbol, too, is small, almost always a simple rounded ear with long projecting awns.

This group has been assumed to be the earliest grain-ear striking. The hoard specimens show slightly more wear than those of Group II and considerably more than the few pieces of Group III. Furthermore it seems likely that the chronological pattern of the tetradrachms and the regular drachms – no control letters, single letters, letter combinations – is paralleled in the grain-ear issues.

Of the seven obverse dies of Group I, three (nos. 1, 2 and 6) are known only from the material of the Attic Hoard. Within this group there is no definite indication of sequence except for nos. 3 and 4. The reverses of 3f and 3g are coupled with an obverse which has broken down badly in the lower left field; clearly the reverses were used first with Obverse 3 and later with Obverse 4.

GROUP II

(96 coins: 13 obverse dies, 42 reverse dies)

Obv.: Head of Athena r. in crested Attic helmet. Border of dots.*Rev.*: A Θ E Owl on amphora; grain-ear symbol in right field and single letter in left field. All in a wreath of olive.

8. (Σ)

→ Σ in l. field *Cambridge (Grose 5901; Sv. 34,25) 4.28 PLATE XLVI

9. (Ξ, Σ, Γ, A)

a. Ξ in l. field *Attic Hd. 4.23 PLATE XLVI

b. Σ in l. field Attic Hd. 4.13 ↗; Attic Hd. 4.11 (both doublestruck)

→ c. Σ in l. field *Wilkinson 4.01; Copenhagen (*Syll.* 122) 4.09; London (*BMC, Attica*, 292) 4.29 (same reverse die as no. 8) PLATE XLVI

d. Γ in l. field; small Γ below amphora Attic Hd. 4.10

→ e. A in l. field; A of ethnic erased from coin *Attic Hd. 3.29 PLATE XLVI

10. (No letter, Σ, Σ)

a. No letter in field *Attic Hd. 3.81 PLATE XLVI

b. No letter in field Attic Hd. 4.30

c. Σ in l. field Attic Hd. 4.21; Attic Hd. 4.31; Noe 3.61; Copenhagen (*Syll.* 121) 3.87 (pierced); Glymenopoulos (Sv. 34,17) 4.10; ANS 4.00

d. Σ in l. field *Attic Hd. 4.04 ↗ PLATE XLVI

11. (H, Δ)

a. H in l. field *Attic Hd. 4.25; Attic Hd. 4.27; London (*BMC, Attica*, 295) broken; Athens (Sv. 34,19) 3.56; Ratto (Rogers) 6/24/1929, 345 3.93

b. H in l. field Attic Hd. 4.22; Attic Hd. 4.16 PLATE XLVI

c. Δ in l. field *Attic Hd. 4.27 PLATE XLVI

12. (A, Δ, Σ, Γ, H, Ξ)

→ a. A in l. field *Attic Hd. 4.11 (same reverse die as no. 9e) PLATE XLVI

b. Δ in l. field Attic Hd. 4.07; Attic Hd. 4.31 ↗; Attic Hd. 4.31

c. Δ in l. field Attic Hd. 4.12

d. Δ in l. field *Attic Hd. 4.06; Attic Hd. 4.40; Attic Hd. 4.12; London; Athens (Sv. 34,16) 3.90 PLATE XLVI

→ e. Σ in l. field *Attic Hd. 4.24 (same reverse die as no. 10d) PLATE XLVI

f. Γ in l. field Attic Hd. 4.08; Attic Hd. 4.08; Athens (Sv. 34,15) 3.68

g. Γ in l. field Athens (Salamis Hd.) 4.16

h. Δ in l. field *Attic Hd. 4.15 (same reverse die as no. 11c) PLATE XLVI

i. H in l. field Attic Hd. 4.27

j. Ξ in l. field Attic Hd. 4.16; Attic Hd. 4.19; Gotha 3.60; Berlin (Sv. 34,22) 4.16; Athens (Sv. 34,24) 3.90



GRAIN-EAR DRACHMS OF ATHENS



GRAIN-EAR DRACHMS OF ATHENS



GRAIN-EAR DRACHMS OF ATHENS

- k. Ξ in l. field Attic Hd. 4.26; Attic Hd. 4.24
 l. Ξ in l. field *Attic Hd. 3.60; Attic Hd. 4.20; Attic Hd. 4.18 PLATE XLVI
13. (Δ)
 Δ in l. field *Attic Hd. 4.18 PLATE XLVI
14. (No letter, Z or Σ , Γ , Σ , Ξ)
 a. No letter in field *Attic Hd. 4.14 PLATE XLVI
 b. No letter in field Attic Hd. 4.20
 c. Z in l. field Attic Hd. 4.23
 d. Σ in l. field *Attic Hd. 4.02 $\nearrow$ PLATE XLVI
 e. Γ in l. field Attic Hd. 4.33
 f. Σ in l. field *Attic Hd. 4.34; Attic Hd. 4.35; Attic Hd. 3.92; Attic Hd. 4.17;
 Attic Hd. 408; London 3.44 (= Ratto, Rogers, 6/24/1929, 346)
 PLATE XLVI
 g. Ξ in l. field *Attic Hd. 4.18; Attic Hd. 4.14 PLATE XLVI
15. (H)
 a. H in l. field Athens (Salamis Hd.) 4.02
 b. H in l. field Feuardent (Sv. 34,18) 4.18
 c. H in l. field *Attic Hd. 4.15; Attic Hd. 4.24 PLATE XLVI
16. (Γ)
 Γ in l. field *Attic Hd. 4.17; Munich 2.96; *Attic Hd. 3.97 (doublestruck
 and grain-ear erased from coin) PLATE XLVI
17. (H)
 H in l. field *Attic Hd. 4.19; Attic Hd. 3.68; Attic Hd. 4.13 PLATE XLVI
18. (Ξ , A, H)
 a. Ξ in l. field *Attic Hd. 4.32 PLATE XLVI
 b. A in l. field Attic Hd. 4.27; Attic Hd. 4.11; Attic Hd. 4.23; Berlin (Sv. 34,14)
 3.96 PLATE XLVI
 c. H in l. field Attic Hd. 4.14; Attic Hd. 4.14; Attic Hd. 4.13
 d. H in l. field *Attic Hd. 4.11; London (*BMC, Attica*, 291) 4.05; Copenhagen
 (*Syll.* 120; Sv. 34,20) 4.04 PLATE XLVII
19. (A)
 A in l. field *Attic Hd. 4.08; Attic Hd. 4.09 PLATE XLVII
20. (Σ or $\mathcal{N}$, Ξ)
 a. Σ in l. field *Attic Hd. 4.04; ANS 3.40 PLATE XLVII
 b. $\mathcal{N}$ in l. field Attic Hd. 4.26; Feuardent (Sv. 34,21) 3.55
 c. Ξ in l. field Attic Hd. 4.08; Roussopoulos (Sv. 34,23) 4.12 (= Hirsch XIII,
 5/15/1905, 2030)

Five of the thirteen obverses of Group II are linked by shared reverse dies. It seems reasonably certain that the other eight obverses form part of the same group. In style Obverses 13 and 14 are similar to nos. 9 and 12; nos. 15 and 16 bear some resemblance to no. 11; nos. 17–20 are in the tradition of nos. 8 and 10 but of cruder workmanship. Generally the flans are thinner and more spread than those of Group I. The Athena heads are in lower relief and are executed in sharper technique. A tendency toward bifurcation frequently appears in the treatment of the grain-ear. The letters A, Γ, Δ, Z, H, Ξ and Σ recur on reverse dies throughout the group, the only exceptions being reverses 10a–b and 14a–b which have no lettering in the field.

Die breaks help to establish the chronology of the obverse dies and also the order of the letters as they appear on successive reverses. No. 9a with Ξ shows no trace of breaks except for a slight imperfection near the circle of dots behind the head. In 9b with Σ this flaw has developed. No. 9c (Σ) reveals additional breaks downward from the chin, the lower bowl of the helmet and the neckline. These are all visible on 9d (Γ), while on 9e (A), whose reverse is transferred to Obverse 12, the breakdown in the field behind the helmet is pronounced and a new break appears below the hair.

No. 11a (H) does not show the bad break extending downward from the throat which is clear in 11b (H) and 11c (Δ). The order within no. 14 is probably correct. A die break at the top between the helmet crest and the border of dots is not visible in a and b (no letter), is faint in c (Z), d (Σ) and e (Γ), becomes more evident in f (Σ) and g (Ξ), the last having an additional break between the helmet edge and the lobe of the ear.

Within no. 18, a (Ξ) and b (A) have only faintest traces of a small break between the ends of the crest. This is clearer in c (H) and d (H), the latter showing a new break at the top running from the border of dots across the front of the crest to the visor.

Obverse 12 employed twelve different reverses before it was finally discarded. The first three (A and Δ) are coupled with an obverse which has small breaks at the top between the helmet crest and the border of dots, below the front of the neckguard and below the neckline. In 12d (Δ) the break below the neck is larger and a new flaw runs diagonally downward from the tip of the nose. The order of e (Σ), f (Γ) and g (Γ) is not certain. The breaks, especially above the helmet crest, are more pronounced and a new imperfection has developed from the back of the hair diagonally upward to the inner helmet crest. No. 12h (Δ) shows an additional

deep flaw below the line of the neck. On 12i (H) a faint break diagonally downward from the bridge of the nose appears for the first time. This becomes more prominent in j, k and l (all with Ξ). The last reverse is coupled with a badly disintegrated obverse die, obviously its final stage.

No arrangement on the basis of die breaks can be established for no. 10, but the evidence for the transfer of one of its reverses to Obverse 12 is provided by a small break paralleling the \ of the A in the ethnic, visible in 12e but not in 10d.

On the testimony of shared reverses and die breaks the relationship of nos. 8 through 12 would seem to be as follows:

No. 8	Σ	
	$\vdots$	
No. 9	$\Xi, \Sigma, \Sigma, \Gamma, A$	
	$\vdots$	
	No. 10	$-, -, \Sigma, \Sigma$
	$\vdots$	$\vdots$
	$\vdots$	No. 11
	$\vdots$	H, H, Δ
	$\vdots$	$\vdots$
No. 12	$A, \Delta, \Delta, \Delta, \Sigma, \Gamma, \Gamma, \Delta, H, \Xi, \Xi, \Xi$	

Obverses 8 and 9 were likely in use at the same time, the latter inheriting a reverse when the former was discarded. When Obverse 9 was also retired, its final reverse was given to Obverse 12. Possibly about then or a little later Obverses 10 and 11 were put into operation, both having a shorter life than no. 12 which took over their last reverse dies. There is no way of knowing how the other obverse dies fit into the general picture. What is absolutely clear, however, is the fact that the letters do not appear in alphabetical sequence, and it is almost unquestionably true that several different markings were in use at the same time. Further, it is noteworthy that with the five entries whose rough chronological order is indicated by obverse die breaks, the succession of reverse letters is in no two cases identical.

Of the obverses in Group II, one (no. 8) does not occur in the Attic Hoard, being known from a single coin in the McClean Collection at Cambridge. On the other hand nos. 13, 17 and 19 are represented only in the Attic Hoard.

GROUP III

(21 coins: 3 obverse dies, 9 reverse dies)

Obv.: Head of Athena r. in crested Attic helmet. Border of dots.

Rev.: A Θ E Owl on amphora; grain-ear symbol in right or left field and letter or letter combination below amphora. All in a wreath of olive.

21.

Grain-ear l. field; M below amphora *Attic Hd. 4.19

PLATE XLVII

22.

a. Grain-ear r. field; letters below amphora illegible *ANS 4.10 κ PLATE XLVIIb. Grain-ear r. field; MH below amphora Athens (Sv. 34,26) 3.75 κ ; Meletopoulos 4.03; Rosenberg 72, 7/11/1932, 429 (= Cahn 71, 10/14/1931, 339) 4.20c. Grain-ear r. field; Π Ε below amphora London (*BMC, Attica*, 294) 3.62d. Grain-ear r. field; Π Ε below amphora ANS 3.36 (corroded) κ ; Copenhagen (*Syll.* 123) 3.72 $\nearrow$

e. Grain-ear r. field; uncertain lettering below amphora London; Naville I (Pozzi), 4/4/1921, 1596 3.97; Baltatzi (Sv. 34,28) 4.12

23.

a. Grain-ear r. field; M H below amphora *London (*BMC, Attica*, 293) 4.03; Paris; Noe 3.76; Attic Hd. 4.18 κ ; Attic Hd. 4.24; Attic Hd. 4.27; Athens (Sv. 34,27) 3.43; Athens (Sv. 34,29) 3.85 (letters below amphora not visible on last) PLATE XLVII

b. Grain-ear l. field; Α Π below amphora Athens (Sv. 34,31) 3.75

c. Grain-ear l. field; uncertain lettering below amphora Berlin (Sv. 34,30) 3.83

*Hemidrachm**Obv.*: Similar to that of the drachm.*Rev.*: Similar to that of the drachm but the owl stands on a club.

24.

Grain-ear r. field; no lettering in the field or below amphora *Berlin (Sv. 34,32) 1.73 PLATE XLVII

This third group of drachms is distinguished from its predecessors by the use of letters, usually in combination, below the amphora. The Athena heads are smaller and more compact than those of Groups I and II; their style is distinctly different. The grain-ear symbol is sometimes placed in the left field and is almost always sharply bifurcated. Obverse 21 is known from one coin of the Attic Hoard; Obverse 22 does not appear among the hoard drachms.

Only one hemidrachm with a grain-ear symbol is recorded. From the dark and blurred illustration on Svoronos' plate it is impossible to be certain of details, but the style seems to me very similar to that of Obverse 23. I believe that this small fraction is contemporary with the drachms of Group III.

There is a close connection between Group III of the grain-ear series and the drachms of ΤΙΜΑΡΧΟΥ – ΝΙΚΑΓΟ, and at this point it would seem pertinent to catalogue the known fractional coins of those magistrates.

DRACHMS

(18 coins: 4 obverse dies, 9 reverse dies)

Obv.: Head of Athena r. in crested Attic helmet. Border of dots.*Rev.*: A Θ E Owl on amphora; in left field an anchor upright, sometimes with star below the stock to the right. Abbreviated names of three magistrates across the field and a letter on the amphora.⁴ All in a wreath of olive.

I.

- a. ΔΩΡΟ with A London (Sv. 50,12 erroneously attributed to Munich = Egger XXXIX, 1/15/1912, 287 = Hirsch XXIX, Lambros, 11/9/1910, 467) 4.25
- b. ΑΜΦΙ with Γ Munich (Sv. 50,11 erroneously attributed to Romanos) 4.09; Romanos; Gotha 3.70. The Γ is very faint on the Munich piece and invisible on the other two coins.
- c. ΣΩΣΙ with [Δ] Copenhagen (*Syll.* 249) 3.97 ↑
- d. ΜΕΝ with Ε London 3.55; Athens (Sv. 50,14) 3.85 ↑. The Ε is probable on the British Museum drachm; nothing can be read on the Athens coin.

- e. ΑΡΧΕ with [H]*Copenhagen (*Syll.* 247) 3.86 ↑

PLATE XLVII

II.

- ΑΡΧΕ with H *Attic Hd. 4.24 ↘; London 3.75

PLATE XLVII

III.

- a. ΑΡΧΕ with H *Paris (Sv. 50,13) 4.14; Athens 3.75 ↑; Attic Hd. 4.26 ↑; London (*BMC, Attica*, 501) 4.08 (same reverse die as no. Ie)

PLATE XLVII

- b. ΑΡΧΕ with H *ANS 3.86 ↘ (same reverse die as no. II)

PLATE XLVII

- c. ΜΕΝΑ with Θ Petsalis 3.70 ↘

- d. ΚΛΕ with [I] Athens (Sv. 50,15) 4.00 ↘

IV.

- ΦΑΝΟ with Λ ANS (= Ratto, Rogers, 6/24/1929, 446 = Naville V, 6/16/1923, 2019) edge chipped ↘

⁴ Only the names of the third magistrates are given in the listing. The amphora letters are certain even when the marking is not now legible. Each third magistrate of the Timarchus-Nikagoras issue served for only one month; on the tetradrachms there is invariably a change in name with the change in amphora letter. The only uncertainty involves the magistrate ΜΕΝ. As noted in connection with I d, the marking on the London coin is somewhat dubious and no letter is visible on the Athens specimen from the same reverse die. The tetradrachms have ΜΕΝΑΝ with Ε and ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΣ with Θ. A difference in abbreviation on the drachms ΜΕΝ on I d and ΜΕΝΑ on III c) probably indicates the same distinction as ΜΕΝΑΝ and ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΣ on the tetradrachms. Furthermore the fact that a reverse with ΑΡΧΕ was transferred from Obverse I to Obverse III makes it likely that H was the last month during which the first obverse was in use.

HEMIDRACHMS

(3 coins: 1 obverse die, 3 reverse dies)

Obv.: Similar to that of the drachm.*Rev.*: Similar to that of the drachm but the owl stands on a club and there are no month letters.

V.

- a. ΔΩΡ Athens (Sv. 50,17) 1.87 ↑
- b. ΣΩΣΙ Naville VII (Bement), 6/23/1924, 1131 2.01 PLATE XLVII
- c. Anchor omitted APX Athens (Sv. 50,16) 1.88 ↑

As illustrated on PLATE XLVII, Obverse 22 of the grain-ear sequence is almost certainly the same die as Obverse II of Timarchus and Nikagoras. This is less apparent from the reproductions than from the coins. The Timarchus drachm shows evidence of doublestriking which has confused the outlines and the die itself may have been recut. Both obverses, however, are identical in individual details and both have the same flaws between crest and dots, below the neckline and down from the tip of the crest toward the visor. Obverse 23 is indubitably the same as Obverse III. It is possible that the hemidrachms (nos. 24 and V) also share an obverse die but this could only be proved if the Berlin coin or a good cast of it were available.

With certainty then one can consider nos. 22 and 23 of Group III as contemporary with the regular drachm issues of TIMAPXOY–NIKAΓO. Obverse 21 was not, insofar as we now know, used for Timarchus fractions and in fact its style is alien to that of the other obverses in the group but somewhat similar to one die of the drachm coinage of ΓΛΑΥ–EXE (PLATE XLVII, J),⁵ struck four years before that of Timarchus and Nikagoras. This would seem to have been the earliest of the three dies of Group III; it was apparently discarded before the other two were employed for regular drachm emissions. Its die-cutter may have worked under ΓΛΑΥ–EXE and not during the intervening years, or he may have been a new engraver taking one of the earlier drachms as a model for his first die.

Several interesting facts emerge from a study of the issues of Group III and the Timarchus drachms with which they must be associated. During the first part of the magistracy of Timarchus and Nikagoras two types of drachms were almost certainly being struck concurrently: those with grain-ear symbol and those with various third magistrates and the month letters Α, Γ, Δ, and probably Ε. Shortly before or during the tenure of APXE in month Η, Obverses 22 and 23 ceased to

⁵ The specimen illustrated is from the Attic Hoard 4.25 ↑.

be used for grain-ear drachms and were transferred to the operations of the regular coinage. This is, I think, clearly established by Obverse 22. Only one of the ten specimens known of that die with grain-ear reverse shows the decided break which is visible on both coins from the period when the die has the APXE reverse (II) – an imperfection extending out from the Pegasus between the helmet crest and the visor. Obverse 22 did not last long after its transfer; its APXE reverse was subsequently handed on to Obverse 23, which also inherited an APXE reverse from Obverse I of the regular Timarchus series. This second grain-ear obverse, however, continued in operation through the next two months with MENA (Θ) and KAE (Ι).

Noteworthy, too, is the circumstance that different control systems were in use, one for the grain-ear drachms and another for the regular coinage of Timarchus and Nikagoras. The fractions of the latter have no letters below the amphora, but the tetradrachms are marked, always with M E or Σ Φ. Neither letter combination appears on the grain-ear strikings, which bear the controls M H, Π E and A Π. It seems likely that the M on the reverse of no. 21 represents an early phase of the M H control. Of the three combinations found on the grain-ear drachms, A Π is the only one which occurs on coins of this immediate period. It appears in a few instances on the tetradrachms of ΜΕΝΕΔ – ΕΠΙΓΕΝΟ, the magistrates who held office the year before ΤΙΜΑΡΧΟΥ – ΝΙΚΑΓΟ. M H is fairly common some years earlier, but Π E is not introduced on the regular coinage until nearly fifteen years later. Whatever the function of these controls, it is evident from their use here that care was being taken to differentiate the grain-ear drachms from the regular coins of Timarchus and Nikagoras.

The issue of these mint magistrates is the thirty-first in the New Style series.⁶ Reckoning from 196/5 B.C. and assuming that there is no break in the annual sequence, we arrive at a dating of c. 166/5 B.C. for Group III of the grain-ear coinage.

Groups I and II cannot be as precisely dated but they can, I believe, be assigned with reasonable certainty to the decade between 180 and 170 B.C. This dating demands at the moment a measure of faith on the part of the reader since it rests primarily on the sequence which has been worked out for the tetradrachms with monograms and abbreviated names. Until that evidence is presented in its entirety in the publication of the New Style coinage as a whole, the case for the

⁶ It was preceded by seventeen issues with monograms, by eleven with abbreviated names of two magistrates, and by the third magistrate issues of ΗΡΑ – ΑΡΙΣΤΟΦ and ΜΕΝΕΔ – ΕΠΙΓΕΝΟ.

assignment of the grain-ear drachms of Groups I and II to the years 180–170 B.C. is necessarily incomplete. There is, however, some substantiation to be derived from the material now under consideration. The hoard coins of Group III and the regular drachms associated with them are better preserved and hence later in time than those of the other two grain-ear groups.⁷ Furthermore, the elaborate system of control marks on the grain-ear pieces would seem to indicate a more advanced stage of striking. Groups I and II would then belong before 166 B.C. The second of these groups, with letters in the field, should logically come after 185 B.C. since the earliest New Style tetradrachms (including the four issues of the Anthedon Hoard, buried *c.* 192 B.C., and seven subsequent issues) have no lettering on the amphora or in the field. The drachms of Group I, which are not lettered, show only slightly more wear than those of Group II and, moreover, there are certain stylistic characteristics – notably a distinctive treatment of the decoration on the helmets of Obverses 3, 4, 6, 15 and 16 – which unite the two groups. Clearly they cannot be far apart in time. The evidence here available would indicate that Groups I and II must be dated between 190 and 170 at the outside; the narrowing down of this period to 180–170 B.C. depends on the chronology of the tetradrachms.

Although their relative order is not necessarily final, the ten tetradrachm issues which I believe belong to the 180–170 B.C. period are:

ΑΔΕΙ – ΗΛΙΟ with trident	ΔΗΜΗ – ΙΕΡΩ with helmet
ΑΜΜΩ – ΔΙΟ with cornucopiae	ΔΙΟΦΑ – ΔΙΟΔΟ with Apollo
ΧΑΡΙ – ΗΡΑ with cock	✠ – ✠ with aplustre
☐ – ΑΥΣΙΑ with forepart of horse	☐ – ☐ with eagle
✠ – ✠ with thyrsos	ΚΤΗΣΙ – ΕΥΜΑ with Nike

These are immediately followed by the emissions of ΓΛΑΥ – ΕΧΕ, ΜΙΚΙ – ΘΕΟΦΡΑ, ΗΡΑ – ΑΡΙΣΤΟΦ, ΜΕΝΕΔ – ΕΠΙΓΕΝΟ and ΤΙΜΑΡΧΟΥ – ΝΙΚΑΓΟ, carrying the sequence down to 166/5 B.C. Drachm strikings are known for only three of the issues of 180–170 B.C.: those with eagle, helmet and thyrsos symbols.

Turning now to the Attic Hoard and considering for the moment only the regular issues, one is struck by the imbalance of its composition. In the tabulation on page 652 all drachms from the hoard are included with the exception of twelve pieces dating after the magistracy of Timarchus and bringing the burial date of

⁷ On the plates all drachms of Groups I and II are from the hoard with the exception of nos. 4b, 5b, 8 and 9c. Of the third group and associated pieces, nos. 21, J and II are hoard drachms.

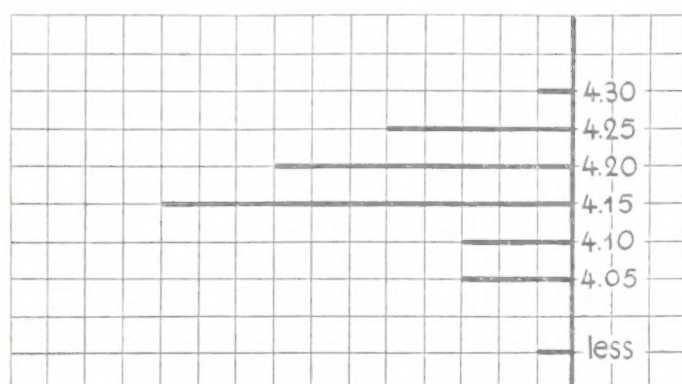
the deposit down to about 155 B.C. The find then covers roughly the first forty years of the New Style coinage. Its contents, however, are not scattered with any degree of regularity over this period, nor are they concentrated as would be normal in the years preceding the interment of the hoard. All nine of the tetradrachms from the deposit⁸ and thirty-seven of the seventy-four regular drachms belong to the period between 180 and 169 B.C. The issue of $\Delta\text{HMH} - \text{IEP}\Omega$ is represented by twenty-five specimens in the hoard as against only seven from all other sources. The thyrsos drachm from the hoard is apparently unique. With the issue of $\Gamma\Lambda\text{AY} - \text{EXE}$ (c. 170/69 B.C.), there is still a substantial proportion of hoard coins, eleven as against seventeen from outside the find, but beginning with $\text{MIKI} - \Theta\text{EO}\Phi\text{PA}$, the balance shifts and there are comparatively few hoard specimens as against the examples known from other sources.

Perhaps the fact that over half of the regular issues from the hoard can be dated to 180–170 B.C. is in itself suggestive that many of the grain-ear drachms, which provide such a large proportion of the hoard total, belong there too. There is, however, more concrete evidence than this. The condition of the hoard coins varies considerably as one would expect for a find covering a forty year period. The one early issue with $\text{A}\Theta\text{E}$ and no symbol is definitely worn; the helmet and thyrsos drachms and all of the tetradrachms are in somewhat worn to good condition. All drachms of the $\Gamma\Lambda\text{AY} - \text{EXE}$ and later strikings are noticeably better preserved, many being in fine and some in mint condition. Group III of the grain-ear sequence is comparable in preservation with the regular drachms of the period between 170 and 165 B.C.; Groups I and II on the other hand show the same degree of wear as the $\Delta\text{HMH} - \text{IEP}\Omega$ drachms and the one thyrsos coin.

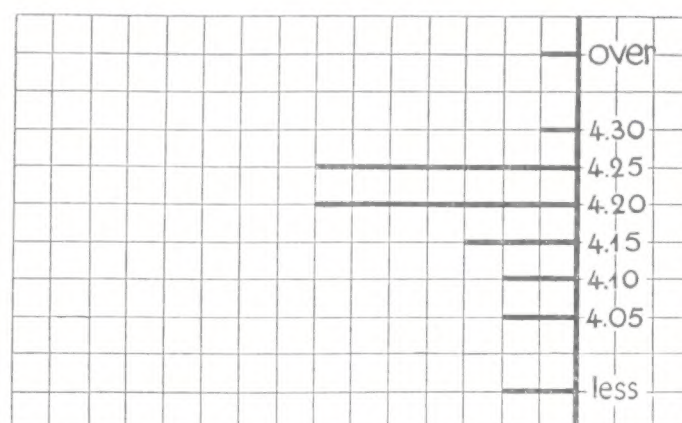
Frequency tables of weights for the Attic Hoard specimens provide some confirmation of the contemporaneity of Groups I–II and the $\Delta\text{HMH} - \text{IEP}\Omega$ issue although the number of coins on which the tables are based is rather less than one could wish. All three lots seem to have been struck to the same high standard and their respective losses in weight, as represented by the averages of all coins between 4.03 and 4.35 grams, are strikingly uniform.⁹

⁸ The issues included are $\text{A}\Delta\text{EI} - \text{H}\Lambda\text{IO}$ (1), monograms and aplustre (2), $\Delta\text{HMH} - \text{IEP}\Omega$ (1), $\Delta\text{IO}\Phi\text{A} - \Delta\text{IO}\Delta\text{O}$ (2), $\text{KTH}\Sigma\text{I} - \text{EYMA}$ (1), monograms and thyrsos (2).

⁹ Die positions to the extent that they are recorded are somewhat helpful. All drachms of Group I, except the aberrant no. 6, have the $\uparrow\uparrow$ relationship. Group II shows an occasional tendency to $\uparrow\nearrow$; Group III is often $\uparrow\searrow$. In comparing these relationships with those of the regular coinage, it is

Group I (32 coins)

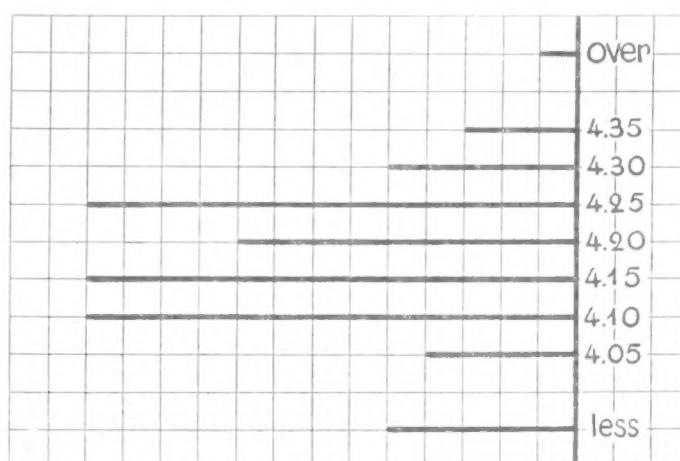
Average weight (31 coins) 4.17 grams

 $\Delta\text{HMH} - \text{IEP}\Omega$ (25 coins)

Average weight (22 coins) 4.19 grams

Group II (66 coins)

The two specimens with erasures not included.



Average weight (60 coins) 4.18 grams

There are several other factors indicating that the grain-ear drachms of Groups I and II are to be associated with the regular coinage of 180–170 B.C. Three of the obverse dies of Group I and two of Group II (nos. 3, 4, 6, 15, 16 as mentioned before) show a treatment of the decoration on the helmet which is highly unusual. Normally this ornament starts at the lower edge of the neckguard and extends upward, spreading out in varying patterns. On the five dies in question the design

significant that for the tetradrachms and drachms of $\text{MIKI} - \Theta\text{EO}\Phi\text{PA}$ through $\text{TIMAPXOY} - \text{NIKA}\Gamma\text{O}$, known variations from the vertical axis are always $\nearrow$. The earlier tetradrachms are generally $\uparrow\uparrow$ but they sometimes deviate $\nearrow$ or $\nwarrow$. However, of the twenty-five hoard drachms of $\Delta\text{HMH} - \text{IEP}\Omega$, the nine which vary from the normal position are consistently $\nearrow$.

is brought in horizontally from the back of the helmet and then extended downward and upward. The same distinctive style is found on tetradrachm dies for a limited period, first appearing *c.* 178 B.C. and ending with the issue of ΓΛΑΥ-ΕΧΕ *c.* 170/69 B.C. Furthermore, the Σ form of the letter *zeta* which is cut on some of the reverses of Group II is limited in time. On the tetradrachms it first occurs on coins of ΑΔΕΙ-ΗΛΙΟ and it appears sporadically on succeeding issues, but with the tetradrachms of ΓΛΑΥ-ΕΧΕ and later magistrates the rendering is always Ι.

Any attempt to link Groups I and II with particular issues of 180-170 B.C. is extremely difficult. This period is the only one of the entire New Style coinage which shows little homogeneity of style within the individual issues. A number of different engravers apparently worked on the dies and for the most part their technical ability was poor. Some of the results, notably in the emission of ΔΙΟΦΑ-ΔΙΟΔΟ, are surprisingly crude and clumsy. This makes the arrangement of the tetradrachm sequence a troublesome undertaking, and the problem with regard to the grain-ear drachms is further complicated by the fact that during this period there are so few regular drachms for purposes of comparison. Only seven obverse dies for the helmet issue, one for the thyrsos, and two for the eagle are known.¹⁰ This limited body of material provides no example of the same obverse die used both for a regular drachm and for a grain-ear piece; indeed it seems quite likely that the drachms of Groups I and II were put out in years when there was no regular drachm coinage.

Group I seems to me to have a certain stylistic affiliation with the ΔΗΜΗ-ΙΕΡΩ drachms, generally in the high relief of the obverse heads and more specifically in the similarity of individual dies (cf. for example, Die 1 with C and D). Its seventh obverse when enlarged to slightly less than double diameter bears comparison with a die of the aplustre series (PLATE XLVII, K – Oxford 16.63 ↑); there are tetradrachm dies of the thyrsos and horse issues which it also resembles. Group II in its broader flans and lower relief is allied to the one thyrsos drachm, although the style of the latter is perhaps as close to Obverses 4 and 6 of Group I as it is to nos. 15 and 16 of Group II. In enlargement Obverse 15 is somewhat

¹⁰ Eight of these dies are illustrated on PLATE XLV: A. Stephens Coll. 4.22 ↑; B. Attic Hd. 4.20 ↑; C. Attic Hd. 4.27 ↗; D. Attic Hd. 4.18 ↑; E. Athens 4.02 ↑; F. Attic Hd. 4.14 ↗; G. Attic Hd. 4.27 ↑; H. Attic Hd. 4.05 ↗.

A second obverse is known for the eagle issue but the unique Berlin specimen as illustrated by Svoronos (Pl. 36, 12) is so dark and indistinct as to be practically illegible. The seventh obverse die of ΔΗΜΗ-ΙΕΡΩ is very similar to no. H.

similar to no. L on PLATE XLVII, a tetradrachm once in the Kambanis Collection but a relationship with the ΚΤΗΣΙ-ΕΥΜΑ striking is equally tenable on the whole. There is nothing in the regular coinage which provides a noteworthy parallel to the heavy obverses of nos. 19 and 20, but the crude workmanship of some of the dies of ΔΙΟΦΑ-ΔΙΟΔΟ, such as that illustrated on PLATE XLVII, M (a Gotha coin, 15.85), suggests the same careless tradition. For the time being, a general dating of 180-175 B.C. for Group I and 175-170 B.C. for Group II is as close a chronology as one would be justified in outlining.

Three fundamental facts emerge from a study of the grain-ear series. On three separate occasions between 180 and 165 B.C. the mint of Athens issued drachms which were notably different from the usual Athenian fractions. These drachms in at least one instance were intended to serve some special purpose, otherwise there would have been no reason for the striking of both regular and irregular issues under Timarchus and Nikagoras. Finally, the anomalous fractions were produced in quantity. The first two grain-ear groups with the drachms of ΔΗΜΗ-ΙΕΡΩ seem to have provided almost all of the city's small change for the decade between 180 and 170 B.C.

In seeking an explanation of this phenomenon, one must, I think, assume that both the recurrence of the grain-ear symbol and the omission of magistrates' names had a definite significance. The coinage was something apart from the routine responsibility of the annual mint magistrates and was connected in some fashion with grain. Conceivably it represented supplementary currency struck during or in anticipation of the Greater Eleusinia which brought throngs of visitors to the city and hence must have created a need for large amounts of small change. There are manifest weaknesses in this theory. It is difficult to see why the need for festival money should have been limited to three occasions and why the Eleusinia rather than any of the other great Athenian celebrations should have been singled out for special monetary commemoration. Another possibility, and one which seems to me far more plausible, is that the grain-ear drachms of Athens are to be associated with gifts and distributions of grain.¹¹

¹¹ It was Professor William P. Wallace who encouraged me to consider seriously a connection between the drachms and distributions of grain but he cannot be held responsible for elaborations on this theory. To him and to Professor Homer A. Thompson I am indebted for helpful historical references. I am also grateful to Professor Benjamin D. Meritt for calling my attention to the Agora inscription relating to Arrhidaios and to George Stamires for generously permitting me to read his publication of it in manuscript. A tentative association of the coinage with a gift of

During the period with which we are immediately concerned Athens enjoyed close friendly relations with the leading Hellenistic kingdoms.¹² Their rulers visited the city and participated in her great festivals. Attalus and Ariarathes were given Athenian citizenship *c.* 178 B.C. About that time Eumenes and his three brothers were victors in four Panathenaic contests. Antiochus IV stayed in Athens for some time before he established his claim to the Seleucid throne and his affection for the city is well attested. Philometor won a victory in the games of 166 B.C.

Athens benefitted materially from these royal contacts. An Agora inscription honoring one Arrhidaios, recently published by George Stamires,¹³ and related decrees testify to the friendly ties between Athens and the Pergamene and Seleucid courts *c.* 168/7 B.C. Polybius (XXVIII.19 – Loeb) speaks of an embassy from Athens headed by Demaratus which had come to Egypt about a gift and which was at Alexandria when Antiochus IV invaded Egypt. For this general period there are records of benefactions from Ariarathes V and his queen Nysa, Pharnaces of Pontus, Antiochus IV and Ptolemy Philometor among others. In most cases we do not know what form their gifts took, but it would be rather surprising if grain were not included. Rostovtzeff¹⁴ speaks of the successful foreign policy of the early Ptolemies as resting largely on subsidies in money and grain granted to their supporters, and it would seem likely that other grain-exporting states relied upon similar practices to strengthen their positions in the Mediterranean world. The Seleucids and Attalids made lavish gifts of grain to various Greek cities. It is only reasonable to suppose that they showed like favor to Athens, whose situation as an importer of grain would make such donations particularly welcome.

At an earlier period there had been royal gifts: Lysimachus in 299/8 gave the city 10,000 *medimni*, ten years later Audoleon and Spartocus sent 7500 and 15,000 *medimni* respectively.¹⁵ During the critical year of 203/2 B.C. a private citizen, Cephisodorus, helped Athens with gifts of grain and money.¹⁶ Livy

grain was made by Beulé in his publication of the New Style series: *Les Monnaies d'Athènes* (Paris, 1858), pp. 165-168. Like Svoronos, he considered both tetradrachms and drachms with grain-ear device as belonging to a single annual issue, and in his commentary he suggested that the symbol might commemorate the grain donated to Athens by Demetrius Poliorcetes *c.* 307 or 295 B.C.

¹² References to the connections between Athens and individual rulers are to be found throughout W. S. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens* (London, 1911); M. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World* (Oxford, 1941); and John Day, *An Economic History of Athens under Roman Domination* (New York, 1942).

¹³ *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, pp. 47-51.

¹⁴ *Op. cit.*, I, p. 381.

¹⁵ *IG*, II², 657, 654 and 653.

¹⁶ Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.*, II, p. 629.

(XXXVI.20) relates that in 191 B.C. Atilius, the commander of the Roman fleet, distributed a great quantity of grain among the Athenians.

We are ill informed as to how the state handled such gifts of grain. From Polybius (XXXI.31 – Loeb) we know that the grain received by Rhodes c. 160 B.C. from Eumenes II was sold and the interest from the proceeds used to pay the salaries of teachers and tutors. There is no necessity, however, to assume that a similar policy was followed by Athens. There, in earlier and later times, distributions to the populace did occur. Jacoby,¹⁷ in discussing the distribution of 445/4 B.C. and the later gift of Lysimachus in 299/8, states that the natural assumption is that every Athenian had a claim to such distributions. Day¹⁸ speaks of the tradition at Athens of substantial contributions from magistrates as extending from the Hellenistic into the Roman period and cites the inscription where an officeholder records that the archonship had cost him the distribution of one *medimnus* of grain and fifteen drachms to each citizen.

Returning to the grain-ear drachms, let us suppose that they are in fact evidence of three distributions of gift grain to the Athenian people – one in 166 B.C. and two in the years between 180 and 170 B.C. One can imagine that the state, in receipt of grain which was to be made available to the public, would have found it advantageous to handle the distribution through the regular grain merchants rather than by setting up special distributing centers of its own. The grain could be sold to dealers and the proceeds used for drachms which would then be distributed against the rolls of those eligible to participate in the distribution, each recipient entitled to exchange his drachm or drachms for a certain quantity of grain. From the point of view of the state, this procedure freed it from the cumbersome business of actually distributing the grain, put needed small change into circulation, and enabled the government to realize a quick and certain profit on the transaction since it is probable that only a part of the value of the gift was passed on to the citizens in drachms. The individual Athenian would benefit by being able to claim his grain from his neighborhood merchant with a minimum of inconvenience; possibly he was permitted some choice as to the type of grain he received or even allowed to use his money for other commodities if he so desired.

An undertaking of this sort would require a great deal of coinage, even if only one drachm were given to each citizen and the per capita allotment may have

¹⁷ F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, IIIb (Leiden, 1954), no. 328 (Philochoros), pp. 466f.

¹⁸ *Op. cit.*, pp. 239f.

been more than that. The expenses of the issue would logically be a charge against the proceeds of the sale of grain rather than an added financial responsibility of the annual mint magistrates. This would explain the omission of names from the grain-ear drachms and would also account for the fact that the control markings which appear on Groups II and III differ from those used on the regular coinage.¹⁹ The symbol selected for the special drachms is an obvious choice.²⁰

There is nothing which provides any clue to donors of grain between the years 180 and 170 B.C. but a case can be made out for Antiochus Epiphanes as the benefactor of 166 B.C. In that year the mint magistrates, Timarchus and Nikagoras, chose for their regular issue the symbol of an anchor, to which a star below the stock was often added. The anchor device is otherwise unknown at Athens, but it is a common symbol on the early Seleucid coinage and is generally believed to have a Seleucid connotation. The star in conjunction with the anchor would seem to point even more clearly to Antiochus IV whose pretensions to divinity were symbolized on his tetradrachm coinage by a star above his head or at the end of his diadem.²¹ It was at this very time that Epiphanes was holding his famous *pompe* at Daphne. Embassies had gone to the Greek towns announcing the games and there was considerable interest in the spectacle throughout the Hellenistic world. It seems possible at least that Antiochus chose this occasion for a donation of grain to his beloved Athens and that the third issue of grain-ear drachms reflects his gift. Gratitude, or political expediency, could have prompted Timarchus and Nikagoras to adopt, in flattering tribute to the royal donor, an Antiochid device as their monetary symbol.

¹⁹ With regard to these control markings, it might be pointed out that the careful differentiation of Groups I, II and III of the grain-ear drachms would be a safeguard against the use of earlier coins for subsequent distributions. The few reverses of Group II which have no lettering in the field may have been cut before the need for such precaution was realized or the omission may be due simply to carelessness on the part of the engraver.

²⁰ Mr. Wallace suggests that its significance may be comparable to that of the symbols on the earlier gold coins of Athens, namely an indication of the source of the bullion. The analogy, although not exact, is reasonably close.

Perhaps the drachm of Group II (no. 16) from which the grain-ear has been removed offers some confirmation of the distribution theory. If too many pieces had been struck, the surplus could still be put into circulation for normal financial transactions but invalidated for exchange against grain by the deletion of the symbol. It is, however, quite possible that the defacement was not an official act. Certainly the elimination of the A in the ethnic of no. 9e seems a pointless procedure unless the intent was to remove the control letter A.

²¹ Representations of Antiochus with one or more stars are to be found in Babelon, *Rois de Syrie*, Pl. XII, 3-4 and 8.

A NUMISMATIC STUDY OF A KING WITHOUT A COINAGE

BENGT THORDEMAN

The patron saint of Sweden, King Erik IX, lived about the middle of the twelfth century. No coins are known from his time, and we do not know much more about him than is told in his legend. Concerning the historical authenticity of this legend, the views expressed by different scholars have varied widely. We do not need, for the question here under consideration, to reach any decision on this intricate problem, which broadly is whether the legend is merely a mechanical recapitulation of ingredients from earlier prototypes or whether, along with such ingredients, it also comprises facts relative to the history of the royal saint. Be that as it may. For us it is enough to know that King Erik was beheaded, probably in 1160, after falling into the hands of a Danish pretender to the Swedish throne. The King was attacked while hearing Mass at the site of the present Uppsala, then a small place called Östra Aros. Already at his death miracles are said to have happened. The earliest record we have of King Erik's saintly status comes from a calendar written about 1198 for a church in the Uppsala archdiocese. In this the anniversary of the King's death, the 18th of May, is indicated as a church festival. During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries his worship became increasingly widespread in Sweden, but it was not until the 1430's, during the national movement which then for a time checked nascent Danish supremacy in the country, that King Erik came to assume unchallenged the position of Sweden's patron saint and "rex perpetuus", which he subsequently occupied until the

Reformation. His relics – including his severed cervical vertebrae – and his funeral crown are still preserved in a large silver reliquary behind the high altar in Uppsala Cathedral, which is also dedicated to his memory. The shrine and its contents were thoroughly examined in 1946 under the guidance of the writer of this article and with the collaboration of many experts in different spheres.¹

During the last century of the Middle Ages Erik's status as Sweden's foremost tutelary patron and symbol of his country's liberty and independence was manifested in many different ways. In his name the king took the oath, his effigy appeared on the Great Seal of the Realm (Fig. 1), the banner from his shrine preceded the army into battle, church after church honoured him by painting or sculpture and his cult began to penetrate even beyond the confines of the land, to Denmark, Norway and the other side of the Baltic Sea. After the Reformation his importance diminished and in the Sweden of today his memory is kept alive almost entirely by the fact that Stockholm displays in its arms a crowned beardless head which from of old has been called Erik the Holy (PLATE XLVIII, 1). In this way his name became associated with several features of the modern capital: St. Erik's Church, St. Erik's Street, St. Erik's Hospital, St. Erik's Trade Fair, St. Erik's Brewery, and so on.

The association of this King Erik with Stockholm, however, is historically very curious. During his lifetime the king could have had nothing to do with Stockholm, for the simple reason that Stockholm did not then exist. In the middle of the twelfth century the site of the present city consisted of a few small, sparsely inhabited islets at the outlet of Lake Mälär. Only at the end of that century did the strategic importance of the site for the defence of the rich countryside around Lake Mälär begin to be realized, and it was not until some time during the thirteenth century that a town-like settlement arose under the protection of a royal castle.² Nor does one find that the cult of the saint in the Middle

¹ The results of the examination have been published in *Erik den helige. Historia, kult, relikier*, 1954, edited by B. Thordeman. The contributors are: K. B. Westman on the history of the saint, N. Ahnlund and T. Schmid on his cult and liturgy, B. Thordeman on his iconography and funeral crown, B. E. Ingelmark and A. Bygdén on the skeletal remains, A. Geijer and C. A. Nordman on the textiles, and O. Källström and A. Bygdén on the reliquary shrine and its predecessors. To this work, which is supplied with German summaries, the reader is referred once and for all. The exposition which here follows is mainly a section from my contribution to this book.

² N. Ahnlund, *Stockholms historia före Gustav Vasa* (1953), p. 120. According to Hans Hansson, *Stockholms stadsmurar* (1956), p. 35, there was neither settlement nor fortification of the Stockholm site before the middle of the 13th century.

Ages played a greater part in Stockholm than was to be expected under the circumstances, having regard to St. Erik's importance in general. This matter deserves a special investigation of its own.



Fig. 1. Great Seal of the Swedish Realm, about 1440.
The silver matrix in the Museum of National Antiquities, Stockholm.

The crowned beardless head *en face*, which is called St. Erik in the Stockholm coat-of-arms, was a common decorative motif in the Middle Ages. It is often found on jewellery, particularly that from the fourteenth century (PLATE XLVIII, 2), but is especially frequent, of course, on coins, and one may well assume that it is from the coins that it spread to the goldsmith's art. It is also from the numismatic material that one anticipates an explanation of the enigmatic portrait of St. Erik in the Stockholm arms.

The earliest coins that we can be certain were struck in Sweden were issued under the kings Olov Skötkonung and Anund Jakob in the eleventh century.³

³ A survey of the Swedish monetary system in the Middle Ages will be found in B. Thordeman, "Sveriges medeltidsmynt", *Nordisk Kultur*, XXIX (1936).

They exhibit purely Anglo-Saxon types with profile portraits derived ultimately from classical numismatic art, and they were mainly struck by mint-masters recruited from England. Then for the next hundred years or so all coinage in Sweden was suspended – at least we know no Swedish coins from that period – until minting was again resumed towards the end of the twelfth century under St. Erik's son Knut I, who died in 1196. It is at this juncture that the crowned full-face head of Byzantine origin appears in various forms, both on coins which – evidently on an English model – were struck at Lödöse, a now vanished town near Gothenburg (PLATE XLVIII, 3), and on those from Östra Aros,⁴ the present Uppsala (PLATE XLVIII, 4–5). Among the latter we find half-length portraits as well as busts and heads. One of these (PLATE XLVIII, 4), on which the king is shown holding a fleur-de-lis sceptre in one hand and a tower-like object – a ciborium (?) – in the other, was long ago assumed by the present writer to represent Erik the Holy, King Knut's father.⁵ A legend, the letters IVA, has not yet been deciphered and provides no clue to a solution of the question at issue.⁶ I advanced in support of my hypothesis that the sceptre and the tower-like ciborium later appear as Erik's attributes in ecclesiastical art, and that Erik was certainly enthusiastically proclaimed to be a saint by his son, in which case it seems quite natural for him to have used the coins for propagandist purposes. A bishop's staff or a bishop's head on some of the types belonging to this group indicates that the archbishop at least had a certain share in the coins manufactured at Östra Aros, which of course makes it more likely that they might have borne the effigy of the royal saint. It should also be noted that under King Knut's contemporary, Knut VI of Denmark, coins were struck by the archbishop of Lund displaying the portrait of St. Laurentius, the titular saint of Lund Cathedral.⁷ It is not entirely improbable that this coinage may have suggested the idea of issuing coins from Östra Aros bearing the image of the newly created saint of the recently established archiepiscopal See.

Nevertheless, several serious objections may be raised to this hypothesis. When a king's effigy appears on a coin one may assume that this effigy, in accordance

⁴ This group of coins, previously held to have been minted at Västra Aros (Västerås), has been assigned on good grounds to Östra Aros (Uppsala) by N. L. Rasmusson, *AROS-brakteater* (Ångermanland, 1939), 1940–41.

⁵ B. Thordeman, "Två fynd av Knut Erikssons Västerås-brakteater", *Fornvännen*, 1931.

⁶ N. L. Rasmusson in *Arkeologiska forskningar och fynd tillägnade konung Gustaf VI Adolf*, 1952, p. 291, suggests that it may be a corruption of Civitas Arosiensis.

⁷ P. Hauberg, *Danmarks Myntvæsen 1146–1241* (1906), p. 359.

with usual principle, is that of the king in whose name the coin has been struck, by which I do not mean that it is intended as a portrait in the modern sense; it is a symbolic portrait, and by the royal image the mintage was recognized as a monopoly, a royal prerogative. That this was so also in the case of most of King Knut's coins is evident from the coins themselves: on some of these, from Lödöse as well as from Östra Aros, Knut's name encircles the royal effigy. In such circumstances it seems rather unlikely that a particular royal effigy, not specially indicated by a nimbus or in any other way, should represent a royal saint. Further, the fact that saints were rarely represented at all at that time must also be taken into consideration. And finally, we must remember that there is an interval of not less than a hundred years until the next certain representation of Erik the Holy. The ciborium – if that is what it is – on the coin-type in question does not occur as his attribute until the beginning of the fourteenth century; no chronological connection thus exists between this representation and genuine cult-images of Erik, and at that time one cannot yet speak of any distinctive attribute for the saint. It must therefore be admitted that the hypothesis cannot claim to be more than a very uncertain conjecture. I now think that the king's effigy on this coin is more likely to represent Knut, and that the holy vessel in his hand may possibly be his father's reliquary.

After King Knut's time the crowned full-face head often appears on Swedish coins. It occurs on bracteates struck for Kings Erik X (1208–16) (PLATE XLVIII, 6), Knut II (1229–34) (PLATE XLVIII, 7) and Erik XI († 1250) (PLATE XLVIII, 8), all bearing the respective king's name or initials, also on bracteates without legends from the mid-thirteenth century (PLATE XLVIII, 9), and finally on similar objects struck during the period from c. 1360 to almost 1520 (PLATE XLVIII, 10), these latter including a type with a bearded face as well. The beardless king's head *en face* is also found on two-sided coins struck for the Kings Albrekt (1364–89) (PLATE XLVIII, 11) and Erik XIII (1396–1439) (PLATE XLVIII, 12) and for the Protector of the Realm Sten Sture the Elder (1470–1503) (PLATE XLVIII, 13). Throughout the whole of this latter period of one and a half centuries the design of the effigy is very stereotyped and, judging from appearances, was based on an English model. Intrinsically there is no reason to regard this king's effigy on the Swedish coins as different in any way from that displayed on contemporary coins outside Sweden, that is to say as a symbolic portrait of the regal moneyer.

There is, however, a factor to be taken into consideration in this connection. On

the coins (PLATE XLVIII, 13) of the Protector of the Realm Sten Sture the Elder the crowned head is encircled by the legend SCS ERICVS REX. At a first glance this might well seem to indicate that the crowned head on the coins in general represented Erik the Holy. A closer examination shows, however, that that cannot have been so. St. Erik's name appears regularly on the medieval coins during periods when the country had no lawful king and was governed by a protector. The first time this happened was during the period between King Erik XIII's dethronement in 1434 and King Kristoffer's accession in 1440 (PLATE XLVIII, 14). I have already mentioned that this period showed a very marked revival of the St. Erik cult. When Erik's name was now put on the State Seal and on the coins this indicates that he was quite consciously regarded as a particularly effective symbol for the opposition movement because the saint's name was the same as the deposed king's. On these coins the legend enclosed the letter E, the saint's initial, as was the case with the same initial appearing on some of the deposed King Erik XIII's coin-types (PLATE XLVIII, 15). The next time Erik the Holy's name occurs on the coins is on the mintages to which I have just referred from the Protector Sten Sture the Elder's national interregnum in 1470–1503. It is then, as I have already said, sometimes placed around the crowned head (PLATE XLVIII, 13) but sometimes also around the Swedish coat-of-arms (PLATE XLVIII, 16) or around a crown (PLATE XLVIII, 17) or around the letter S on certain coins struck at Stockholm (PLATE XLVIII, 18). On the coins struck in Finland during this period it is interesting to find that Erik's name has been replaced by St. Henrik's, the name of the Finnish patron saint.⁸ During the Protector Svante Sture's interregnum in 1504–12 Erik's name is again put on the coins, this time around a crown (PLATE XLVIII, 19). It is perfectly clear from this that the king's effigy on Sten Sture the Elder's coins is no more than the conventional symbolic portrait of the king of Sweden, in this case Erik the Holy as Sweden's tutelar saint and "*rex perpetuus*."

The position is different in the case of the effigies that are framed by the saint's name on later coins. A unique coin, known only from a single specimen found during excavations in the area of the Palace at Stockholm, bears the legend

⁸ St. Henrik, who according to his legend was bishop of Uppsala and of English origin, is said to have accompanied Erik the Holy on a crusade to Finland, where he suffered the death of a martyr. It is interesting that Finland, which until 1809 formed part of the Swedish kingdom, enjoyed in the 15th century such an independent position that Henrik's and not Erik's name was stamped on the coins during an interregnum.

SCS ERICVS REX enclosing the half-length portrait of a king with fleur-de-lis sceptre and orb (PLATE XLVIII, 20). The dies have been explained by the writer as a pattern for the minting of gold specie according to the 1497 Mint Regulations, but originating from the time after King Hans' dethronement in 1501. In that case this is probably no conventional royal effigy, but the engraver certainly set himself the task of producing a picture of Erik the Holy himself. The Protector Sten Sture the Younger also had large decorative coins struck in 1512 or shortly afterwards bearing the legend S. ERICVS REX SWECIE enclosing a standing, crowned, beardless knight with sword and orb (PLATE XLVIII, 21). That we here have before us something which is meant to be a picture of the saint is obvious from the fact that the king's head is surmounted by a nimbus.

Also on most of King Gustav I's *öre* coins we find as long as these were struck – up to the year 1533 – Erik the Holy's name encircling the figure of a king clad in armour and carrying the sword and the orb (PLATE XLVIII, 22), usually bearded, but on coins manufactured at Västerås in 1528–30, beardless. These royal effigies are not furnished with a nimbus and display a good many similarities to the features of King Gustav. Gustav I's *fyrks* from the 1523–27 period also bear Erik the Holy's name, though not around an effigy but, as on some of Sten Sture the Elder's issues, around the three crowns arms (PLATE XLVIII, 23) or around one crown. It is a surprising fact that the saint's name still appears long after the Reformation on King Erik XIV's *öre* coins of 1564 (PLATE XLVIII, 24) and on King Johan III's *örtugs* of 1589 and 1590 (PLATE XLVIII, 25). On the first of these the long-bearded king shows an unmistakable resemblance to the saint's recent namesake, while on Johan III's coins the legend encloses the letter E in medieval form, clearly a direct copy of the above-mentioned coin from the 1430's, an interesting example of an intentional medieval pastiche, very natural in view of this Renaissance sovereign's wellknown antiquarian interests.

This review of Erik the Holy's portrait and name as regards the numismatic material will probably have made it clear that the saint's name on the coins by no means implies that the portrait thus framed was always meant to represent the saint. The beardless, full-face king's head was certainly not intended to be a portrait of St. Erik but a conventional portrait of Sweden's king, which in one exceptional case, during the Protector Sten Sture the Elder's interregnum, was replaced by Sweden's patron saint as being the spiritual king of the kingless country (PLATE XLVIII, 13).

If against this background we now consider the Stockholm arms, we find to begin with that the coat-of-arms with the king's head *en face* is not the city's oldest. Stockholm's oldest seal displays a form of city arms that was used by many cities both in and outside Sweden: a city wall with towers and battlements. A seal for Stockholm with the full-face crowned head (PLATE XLVIII, 1) does not appear until 1376. There are no records from the Middle Ages or even implications to show that this device represented Erik the Holy. The first time this identification occurs is in the learned Johannes Messenius' Stockholm Chronicle from the early seventeenth century. There we are told that the Regent Birger Jarl in the midthirteenth century made Stockholm the capital and that "as device he gave the city the face of St. Erik, he who was Sweden's patron saint; he wore long hair and a golden crown."

Where Messenius obtained this information is not known. It is at all events incorrect to the extent that it cannot have been Birger Jarl who gave the city the crowned head as device, because the city's seal prior to 1376 bore another charge. This must also make his other statement, that the head represented St. Erik, the subject of doubt. There is, in fact, nothing in contemporary written or figurative sources to support the view that such was the case. If the new seal device had not appeared until the 1430's, the time of the revival of the St. Erik cult, the position would have been different. At the time here in question the crowned head of the seal ought certainly to be regarded merely as a conventional king's head similar to that appearing concurrently in various places on coins and in the goldsmith's art. Perhaps it may be taken as a sign that Stockholm had really acquired at this time a definite position as capital of the country and seat of the reigning monarch. There are grounds for assuming that the king himself took the initiative in this alteration of the city arms, for it may be noted that at this time the national coat-of-arms also became stabilized in its still existing form, that of the three crowns, the significance of which has been and is the subject of much controversy.⁹ I myself would draw attention to the fact that the three crowns, although differently disposed, already occurred on coins struck during the latter part of King Magnus II's reign (1319-64). It seems probable to me that his successor, King Albrekt (1364-89), took this coin-type and gave it a heraldic form as the Swedish national coat-of-arms, just as the same king from his own coin-types chose the crowned full-face head and made it the device of his capital's arms.

⁹ See the latest contributions: H. Seitz, *Sveriges tre kronor i sitt europeiska sammanhang* (Rig, 1950), and A. Berghman, *Sveriges tre kronor och Stockholms stadsväpen* (Rig, 1956).



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A KING WITHOUT A COINAGE

1. The Great Seal of the City of Stockholm, 1376. — 2. Swedish Silver Clasp. Fourteenth Century. — 3-25. Swedish Coins. Twelfth-Sixteenth Century.

We have now concluded our study of the numismatic and heraldic background of the so-called St. Erik's head, which in any case cannot originally have been St. Erik's head. The question that still remains to be answered is how this appellation can ever have arisen. Here we have only Johannes Messenius' declaration to go upon. This eminent authority on Swedish history was presumably well able, by means of a learned chain of argument, to come to the conclusion that the crowned head represented the royal saint. But it is nevertheless hardly probable that such an assumption, set out moreover in a chronicle that was not published until more than two centuries later, could have created out of nothing a tradition alive to this very day. What is much more likely is that he himself relied on a living popular tradition. It may have arisen because the crowned head on Sten Sture the Elder's coins, which was framed by Erik the Holy's name (PLATE XLVIII, 13), had for that very reason been interpreted as the portrait of the royal saint, and because this interpretation had been gradually applied to this iconographical type in general. The occurrence during the sixteenth century of coins bearing the effigy of the saint (PLATE XLVIII, 20-22 and 25) lends support to the assumption that such a tradition existed. It is also possible that a precious "St. Erik's crown", kept in Stockholm Cathedral until 1529, may have had something to do with the belief that the crown on the Small Seal of the city was St. Erik's.¹⁰ It is against the background of the whole evolution of the St. Erik cult and iconography during the final phase of the Middle Ages that one must naturally consider the significance of the seal device. If this attempt to explain how St. Erik's name came to be attached to the king's portrait in the Stockholm seal and arms be correct, though it cannot be proved, it would mean that we have here a quite remarkable example of how the temporary combination of motif and legend on a coin-type established a long-enduring tradition. This tradition has apparently already existed for five hundred years and will certainly continue to exist in the future – for the crowned head in the Stockholm arms is and will remain St. Erik by traditional right, however much scholars may argue that this designation rests initially on an incorrect iconographical interpretation.

¹⁰ Ahnlund, *op. cit.*, n. 1, pp. 145f. This author, who is our most eminent authority on Stockholm's history, is very much inclined to believe that St. Erik's name was already originally associated with the device on the seal. It should be remembered, however, that the "St. Erik's crown" in Stockholm Cathedral can very well have been no more than an extraordinarily precious crown from a sculptural cult-image. That the fact that St. Bridget in one of her Revelations from the fourteenth century speaks of the crowned St. Erik, has any bearing on the question here discussed (cf. Ahnlund *op. cit.*, n. 1, p. 137, and n. 2, p. 143), is a view with which I cannot agree. As we know, all pictures of St. Erik were crowned.

L'ATELIER MONÉTAIRE D'ANVERS DES TEMPS MÉROVINGIENS AU XII^e SIÈCLE

VICTOR TOURNEUR

C'est à Anvers qu'a probablement été frappée la plus ancienne monnaie des principautés belges. En 1853, on découvrit aux environs du fort de Bath, un triens mérovingien dont voici la description :

ANDERPVS. Buste impérial portant la couronne radiée, à droite. Sur l'épaule droite, le dessus d'un bouclier.

R/CHRODIGISILV. Croix potencée posée sur deux degrés réunis et soutenus par des traits verticaux. Poids: 1 gr. 25. Seul exemplaire connu.¹ (PLANCHE XLIX, I).

Le buste impérial est copié d'une monnaie de Victorin ou de Tetricus père.² On remarquera l'erreur commise par le graveur qui a placé un bouclier au côté droit, alors que celui-là est toujours porté à gauche.³ Il me paraît que cette pièce remonte au VII^e siècle, cent ans environ après l'époque de Justinien I 527-565. Elle constitue un indice de la persistance dans la circulation des monnaies des empereurs des Gaules longtemps après leur émission.

¹ Publié d'abord par P. Cuypers, "Une monnaie mérovingienne frappée à Anvers," *RBN*, 1853, p. 353. Aujourd'hui au Cabinet de France. M. Prou, *Catalogue ... des monnaies mérovingiennes de la Bibliothèque nationale* (Paris, 1892), p. 261, n° 1196 et pl. XX, n° 5.

² Cf. J. De Witte, *Recherches sur les empereurs qui ont régné dans les Gaules* (Paris, 1868), pl. XXV-XLIII.

³ L'explication de la position du bouclier est très simple: le graveur a reproduit directement dans le coin sans en inverser l'image, une pièce dans le genre de celle de J. de Witte, *op. cit.*, pl. XXIX, 84 où la tête de l'empereur est tournée vers la gauche, et le bouclier repose sur l'épaule gauche. A la frappe, l'effigie apparaît orientée vers la droite, et le bouclier couvre l'épaule droite.

Nous ne savons rien d'Anvers à cette époque, sinon que les Francs naviguaient sur l'Escaut, car Grégoire de Tours fait mention d'un voyage de leur roi Clovis (481-511) sur ce fleuve.⁴

A cette époque, Anvers était encore païenne. Ce fut Saint-Amand qui l'évangélisa : vers la fin de sa vie (+ vers 674). Celui-ci fonda dans le castrum d'Anvers une église en l'honneur des saints apôtres Pierre et Paul. En 694, cette église appartenait à un franc nommé Rohing, et à la femme de celui-ci, Bebelina, qui cédèrent le temple à Saint-Willibrord, qui, à son tour, en 726, le transmit à l'abbaye d'Echternach.⁵

C'est vraisemblablement à la fin du VII^e siècle que notre triens fut frappé à Anvers par un monétaire de l'activité duquel on ne connaît pas d'autre produit.

Nous ne possédons aucune monnaie d'Anvers portant le nom d'un roi carolingien. Cependant, il est certain que Louis-le-Débonnaire y a fait battre des monnaies au temple. Ces pièces souvent ne portaient pas de nom d'atelier. Mais, par la suite, l'atelier d'Anvers a émis un très grand nombre de monnaies qui dérivent du denier au temple de Louis-le-Débonnaire.

En 1877, près de La Haye, fut découvert un trésor de 60 deniers dont 48 étaient au temple et à la légende *christiana religio*,⁶ sans indication d'atelier.

Il est probable que parmi ceux-ci dont nous donnons quelques reproductions, il en est qui sont sortis de l'atelier d'Anvers. (PLANCHE XLIX, 2-4).

En tout cas, ce type s'y immobilisa pour plusieurs siècles. On remarquera que sur les pièces de Louis-le-Débonnaire, le temple est supporté par deux épais degrés. Ceux-ci se plièrent par le milieu vers le bas, si bien, que les deniers qui en dérivent présentent deux frontons, l'un, au-dessus, provenant de l'ancien toit, l'autre au-dessous dérivant des degrés. Les colonnes furent remplacées par une inscription, tantôt MONETA, tantôt CIVITAS, et le nom d'Anvers ANTVERPIS fut ajouté le long du fronton. (PLANCHE XLIX, 5-9).

Le nom de l'empereur, primitivement HLVDVICVS IMP devint LODOVICVS IMP ou IMP CRATIA.

D'autres portent HENRICVS REX.

⁴ Grégoire de Tours, *Historia Francorum* II, XL. Aug. Longnon, *Géographie de la Gaule au VI^e siècle* (Paris, 1878), p. 156.

⁵ R. P. J. de Moreau, *Histoire de l'Eglise en Belgique au début du XII^e siècle* (Bruxelles, s.d. (1940)), pp. 86-88.

⁶ E. Gariel, *Les monnaies royales de France sous la race carolingienne* (Strasbourg, 1883), I, pp. 72-75 et pl. VI, n^{os} 7-10.

A. Morel Fatio⁷ a supposé que les premières avaient été émises par Louis IV de Germanie, dit aussi Louis-l'Enfant. Mais Dannenberg⁸ a fait remarquer que c'était chose impossible vu que ce prince n'a pas été empereur.

C'est pourquoi il est probable qu'il s'agit du type de Louis-le-Débonnaire immobilisé.

Anvers était située tout à l'extrémité ouest de l'Empire. Pendant longtemps les empereurs ne s'en sont pas occupés; la monnayage a continué immuable dans la cité. Il en existe quantité de fabrications grossières et indistinctes tant du point de vue de la gravure que de la frappe qui semble s'être prolongée jusqu'à la fin du XIIe siècle.

Les deniers qui portent HENRICVS⁹ ont été attribués par R. Chalon à l'empereur Henri II (1002-1024). Dannenberg les croit de Henri I (919-936). Nous connaissons le poids d'un exemplaire de cette pièce, il est de 1 gr. 63,¹⁰ ce qui étaye cette attribution. Le type d'Henri I s'est aussi immobilisé, et paraît avoir été frappé concurremment avec celui de Louis jusqu'à la fin du XIIe siècle. Il s'en trouvait un exemplaire au moins dans la trouvaille d'Erweteghem (XII siècle).¹¹

Description:

1. A gauche, le long du fronton AN; à droite TVR

Entre les deux frontons, ONETA.

R/OVICVS IMP. Dans un cercle de grènetis, croix pattée, cantonnée de quatre globules.

Poids inconnu. Il existe une obole de 0 gr. 52.¹²

Autre exemplaire. Le long d'un fronton AN, le long du fronton inférieur TV. Au centre bande à caractères indistincts R/+LODO, entre deux cercles de grènetis. Au centre, croix pattée, cantonnée de quatre globules.

Poids inconnu. (PLANCHE XLIX, 5-6).

⁷ A. Morel Fatio, "Deniers de Louis IV de Germanie", *RBN*, 1865, pp. 140-144. C. Picqué, "Un nouveau denier anversoïse de Louis de Germanie", *RBN*, 1874, pp. 320-323. Picqué a lu le denier connu en le tenant à l'envers.

⁸ H. Dannenberg, *Die deutschen Münzen der sächsischen und fränkischen Kaiserzeit*, II (Berlin, 1894), p. 558.

⁹ R. Chalon, "Un denier de Henri l'Oiseleur frappé à Anvers," *RBN*, 1853, pp. 4-6. C. A. Serrure la croyait d'Henri II, *Notice sur le Cabinet monétaire de S.A. le prince de Ligne*, 2e éd. (Gand, 1880), p. 88. C'est aussi l'opinion de R. Serrure, *Dictionnaire géographique de l'histoire monétaire belge* (Bruxelles, 1880), p. 11. Mais Dannenberg, *op. cit.*, I, p. 100, s'est prononcé avec raison, croyons-nous, pour Henri I.

¹⁰ R. Chalon, *RBN*, 1853, p. 126.

¹¹ R. Serrure, "Trouvaille de deniers du XIIe siècle," *RBN*, 1880, pp. 239-240.

¹² *RBN*, 1865, fig. p. 140.

2. Le long du fronton à gauche, AN; de même à droite, TV, de même à droite à gauche PIS. Entre les deux frontons, entre deux barres horizontales et parallèles, CIVITA.

R/+HE...VS REX. Dans un cercle de grènetis croix pattée cantonnée de quatre globules.

Poids d'un exemplaire, 1 gr. 69¹³ Il existe une obole de ce type du poids de 0,54. (PLANCHE XLIX, 8). Les variétés de ces deux types sont très considérables, grossièrement gravées, mal frappées, leurs inscriptions sont généralement illisibles. Elles ont été frappées sur des flans plus petits que la surface des coins. Elles se reconnaissent aisément au type des deux frontons. Il semble que les deux types aient coexisté.

L'exemplaire qui paraît être le plus récent provient de la trouvaille de Piep faite en 1863. Parmi des pièces de toute provenance datant de la seconde moitié du XI^e siècle se trouvait un denier d'Anvers d'un type fortement varié.

3. Les deux frontons sont remplacés par un double cercle muni en haut et en bas de la croix qui surmontait les frontons. A droite, on lit TVR PA et les deux cercles sont coupés en leur milieu par deux barres dans lesquelles on lit VITAS.

Au revers, L. DO ICI IMP GRAT L. Dans le champ, croix pattée cantonnée par le mot CRVX. Poids inconnu.¹⁴ (PLANCHE XLIX, 9).

Or, l'habitude de désigner par leur nom les objets figurés dans le champ, se rencontre en Brabant à la fin du XII^e siècle et au XIII^e: LEO¹⁵ au-dessus d'un lion; à Liège, au milieu du XII^e et au XIII^e SIGNVM SALVTIS¹⁶ autour de la croix du perron; A(quila) Aigle marquée VICTRIX;¹⁷ PERV VOC (or),¹⁸ au-dessus du perron; CLAVIS¹⁹ au-dessus d'une clef; ECVSVA NALIS²⁰ au-dessus d'un cheval; MVTV²¹ au-dessus d'un mouton.

Il est à conjecturer que la pièce appartient donc à la fin du XII^e siècle.

¹³ RBN, 1853, p. 126 et pl. I, figs. 12 et 11.

¹⁴ *Berliner Blätter für Münz-, Siegel- und Wappenkunde*, VI, 1871-1873, p. 284 et pl. LXXI, 2; Dannenberg, *op. cit.*, II, pl. LXV, 140b.

¹⁵ En Brabant: A. de Witte, *Histoire monétaire des ducs de Brabant*, I (Anvers, 1894), pl. II, 17 et 18, sous Henri I, 1190-1253.

¹⁶ A Liège: J. de Chestret de Haneffe, *Numismatique de la principauté de Liège* (Bruxelles, 1890), vol. V, 92, sous Henri de Leyen, 1145-1165.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pl. VI, 103.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pl. VI, 119, sous Rodolphe de Zaeringen, 1167-1191.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pl. VII, 129.

²⁰ et ²¹ *Ibid.*, pl. VII, 131 et 132, sous Albert de Rhétel, 1191-1194.

Les exemplaires frappés tant au nom de Louis qu'à celui de Henri sont si mauvais tant comme gravure que comme frappe, qu'il est souvent impossible de déterminer sous quel souverain il faut les ranger. Leur poids oscille autour d'un gramme et descend jusqu'à 0 gr. 70.

En voici quelques descriptions:

1. Le long d'un fronton, 2IS...N. Entre les deux frontons II.. Au revers .II. 3
2. Le long d'un fronton, N. Entre les deux frontons A2II.. Revers illisible.
3. Le long d'un fronton, V. Entre les deux frontons, VITI3.R./AD. Le reste illisible.
4. Le long d'un fronton N...M. Entre les deux frontons, IIA2. R/ gravure et frappe frossières.
5. Le long d'un fronton NT...A. Entre les deux frontons, VIT. R/ indéchiffrable.
6. Le long d'un fronton TΛ. Entre les frontons IIS2. R/ illisible.
7. Le long d'un fronton, N...TV. Entre les frontons, CITV. R/ inscription illisible.

La circulation de la monnaie d'Anvers au XI^e siècle en dehors du territoire du marquisat est attestée par le fait qu'en 1071 à Melsele²² (Pays de Waes), on payait en deniers anversois.

La monnaie d'Anvers était donc impériale.

Pour assurer la défense de l'Empire à l'ouest, l'empereur Henri II avait créé le marquisat d'Anvers, peu avant 1008, au profit de Gothelon, frère du duc Godefroid de Basse-Lotharingie; l'empereur ne concéda pas la monnaie à ce vassal.

En 1044, Henri III remit le marquisat au duc Godefroid-le-Barbu, puis le céda l'année suivante au fils du comte de Flandre Baudouin V. Baudouin s'étant allié au duc rebelle, Anvers fut donnée à Frédéric, duc de Basse-Lotharingie. Ensuite, le marquisat passa à Godefroid-le-Bossu (1064-1076), à Godefroid de Bouillon, puis à Henri de Limbourg (1101-1106), et enfin aux comtes de Louvain en 1106. Depuis le XII^e siècle il se trouva réuni au Brabant.²³ Pendant la période où Anvers est ballottée entre les ducs de Basse Lotharingie, les ducs de Limbourg et probablement les comtes de Louvain, les monnaies décrites ci-dessus ont continué d'être fabriquées.

A partir du règne en Brabant de Godefroid III (1142-1190) et surtout de Henri I (1190-1235),²⁴ les ducs développèrent la prospérité du Brabant et affirmèrent leur

²² A. van Lokeren, *Chartes et documents de l'abbaye St. Pierre... à Gand, I* (Gand, 1868), p. 101, n^{os} 148 et 149. Payements à faire à l'untel de la Vierge à Melsele: *singulis annis, Anturpensem denarium*.

²³ L. Vanderkindere, *La Formation territoriale des principautés belges au Moyen âge*, T. II (Bruxelles, 1902), pp. 125-127.

²⁴ Voir G. Smets, *Henri I, duc de Brabant, 1190-1235* (Bruxelles, 1908).

autorité. La lutte entre Othon IV et Philippe de Souabe pour la possession de l'Empire consolida la puissance des féodaux. On connaît très peu de chose de l'histoire d'Anvers pendant ces deux règnes. Les deux ducs de Brabant n'y furent pas en possession des droits régaliens, mais la monnaie impériale continua de travailler. Les monnaies d'Anvers de cette époque nous ont été révélées en 1849. En réparant la digue de la Nèthe près de Duffel, des ouvriers découvrirent un trésor de monnaies inconnues jusqu'alors que C. Piot²⁵ publia sans pouvoir d'abord leur donner attribution, mais en plaçant très exactement la frappe à la fin du XIIe siècle. Plus tard, comme ces monnaies portaient en majeure partie l'inscription MAM, quelques une MDMO MAM, ou MDMAM, ou MAMOMOM, ou MDMAMOM, il proposa de les attribuer à Namur.²⁶

R. Serrure, en 1879, les crut frappées à Malines.²⁷

Nous pensons qu'elles sortent de l'atelier d'Anvers où, quand l'emprise impériale s'est trouvée affaiblie à la fin du XIIe siècle, elles ont succédé aux dégénérescences des monnaies de Louis-le-Débonnaire.

Dans le cours du XIIe siècle, Anvers avait été dotée d'une enceinte qui englobait 40 hectares.²⁸

Le premier sceau d'Anvers remonte à la dernière décade du XIIe siècle.²⁹ Un deuxième sceau apparaît vers 1239.³⁰

Son contre-sceau porte une aigle à deux têtes éployée avec l'inscription SECRETVM SCAVINORVM ANTWERPENSIVM, tandis que sur le droit se lit SIGILLVM MONARCHIE ANTWERPENSIS.³¹ (PLANCHE XLIX, 10).

Or, dans la trouvaille de Duffel se trouvait un denier à l'aigle éployée à deux têtes, avec la légende MAM qui peut dès lors se lire: M(onarchie) A(ntwerpensis) M(oneta), et nous sommes porté à croire que les inscriptions des autres deniers de la trouvaille de Duffel doivent s'interpréter de la même manière.

²⁵ C. Piot, "Deux mots sur deux dépôts de monnaies découverts l'un à Duffel, l'autre à Willebroek", *RBN*, V (1849), pp. 94-97. En réalité il n'y avait eu qu'un seul dépôt, celui de Duffel.

²⁶ C. Piot, "Monnaies inédites et énigmatiques du comté de Namur", *Annales de la Sté archéologique de Namur*, X (Namur, 1868-1869), pp. 174-178.

²⁷ R. Serrure, *Dictionnaire géographique de l'histoire monétaire belge*, p. 232.

²⁸ F. Prims, *Geschiedenis van Antwerpen*, II (Brussel, 1929), p. 10.

²⁹ L'exemplaire le plus ancien connu date de 1194. Voy. la seconde partie du T. II de *l'Histoire d'Anvers* de Prims, qui est consacrée aux sceaux d'Anvers.

³⁰ Ce sceau a été publié par L. P. M. Philippen, *Sigillographische zeldzaamheden van het Archief der Commissie van openbaren onderstand van Antwerpen* (Antwerpen, 1935), pp. 5 et 6. Il a été reproduit aussi par F. Prims.

³¹ *Monarchia* signifie région, pays, province. Ici il désigne le marquisat d'Anvers.

L'ATELIER MONÉTAIRE D'ANVERS VII^e-XII^e SIÈCLE

Voici la description des pièces dans l'ordre où C. Piot les a fait lithographier.³²

1. Aigle éployée à deux têtes. Au-dessus un petit cercle; sous chaque cou, un globule. R/ +MAM. Croix pattée cantonnée au moyen de deux palmes et de deux V.

Les deux V sont probablement une manière de remplacer A et Ω qui souvent décorent la croix. (PLANCHE XLIX,11).

D'autres exemplaires, assure C. Piot, portaient MDMOMAM. Nous proposons: M(oneta) D(omini) Mo(narchie) et M(onarchie) A(ntwerpensis) M(oneta). Poids 0 gr. 86.

2. MAM MOM. Dans un cercle, aigle à droite les plumes hérissées, la tête tournée en arrière, le bec ouvert. R/ +MAM +MAM. Dans un cercle, croix pattée cantonnée de quatre globules.

Poids: 0,80 faible. Autre exemplaire 0,60. (PLANCHE XLIX,12).

D'autres exemplaires portent MDMOMAM. M(oneta) D(omini) Mo(narchie) M(oneta) A(ntwerpensis) M(onarchie)

3. +M. Dans un cercle linéaire, aigle à gauche, les plumes hérissée tournant la tête à gauche.

R/+MDM M. Croix pattée cantonnée de quatre globules, plus un globule à chaque extrémité de la croix. (PLANCHE XLIX,13).

4. Deux tours réunies par une voûte. A l'arrière plan le dessus d'un donjon crénelé. Sous le portique, à mi-corps, un personnage dont on ne pourrait dire s'il est un ecclésiastique coiffé de la mitre ou un guerrier casqué et revêtu du haubert.

R/MAM. Entre deux cercles de grènetis croix pattée cantonnée de globules. PLANCHE XLIX,14.

5. +MDM +MAM. Dans un cercle de grènetis buste nu-tête d'un guerrier tenant l'épée devant lui.

M(oneta) D(omini) M(onarchie), M(oneta) A(ntwerpensis) M(onarchie).

Poids: 0.90 faible. (PLANCHE XLIX,15).

6. Bâtiment formé de trois tours surmontées de croix. Au centre un portrait dans lequel se trouve une croix de procession accostée de deux globules.

R/+MOM + Dans un cercle linéaire, croix pattée cantonnée de quatre croisettes. (PLANCHE XLIX,16).

³² Ce sont ces lithographies que nous avons reproduites sur la planche parce qu'elles sont absolument fidèles, et qu'il est difficile d'obtenir par la photographie un document utile pour l'étude, étant donné l'état dans lequel se présentent les pièces. Nous avons donné les poids quand nous avons pu retrouver dans les séries du Cabinet des Médailles de la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, à Bruxelles, des exemplaires provenant avec certitude de la trouvaille de Duffel.

7. +MDM + M... Dans un cercle de grènetis, une sorte de damier orné d'une boule au quatre angles.

R. Anépigraphique. Dans un carré de grènetis, croix pattée cantonnée de quatre globules. A l'extérieur du carré série d'ornements en V.

Poids: 0,80. (PLANCHE XLIX, 17).

Par leurs légendes, ces pièces forment un groupe bien défini. Par leur poids qui apparaît légèrement diminué, elles s'insèrent entre les dégénérescences du denier au temple, et les deniers aux trois tours créés vers 1231. Le denier à l'aigle à deux têtes et son inscription montrent qu'il est marqué par les échevins d'Anvers. Or, on sait que les échevins surveillaient la frappe dans les villes où l'on trouve des ateliers monétaires. Il fallait l'autorisation des échevins pour écouler dans le public les espèces sorties des monnaies.

L'identité des légendes permet de donner également à Anvers les autres deniers de la trouvaille de Duffel.

Ces espèces sont certainement contemporaines de Henri I. Le denier à l'aigle n° 1 est probablement le dernier frappé à la fin de la vie du duc. Nous ne savons pas quand le sceau dont nous possédons une empreinte de 1239 a été gravé; c'est probablement vers la fin du premier quart du XIII^e siècle, après 1194 en tout cas.

Est certainement plus ancien – il peut remonter au début de règne d'Henri I – le denier au seigneur (n° 5) tenant l'épée. Il rappelle les premières monnaies de Brabant,³³ attribuées à Henri I. C'est ce dernier qui était alors le seigneur de la monarchie anversoise.

Les deux deniers à l'aigle (nos 2 et 3) appartiennent aussi probablement à la fin du XII^e siècle ou au premier quart du XIII^e.

Peut-être faut-il voir dans ces aigles celui de l'Apocalypse qui crie *Veni et vide*.³⁴ Ce serait une allusion à la situation religieuse à Anvers qui avait été fortement perturbée par l'hérésie de Tanchelm.³⁵ Le denier au damier reste une énigme. Quant à celui aux trois tours, il annonce le type qui fut frappé à Anvers à partir de 1231³⁶ en exécution d'une charte donnée par Henri de Souabe à Worms. Celle-ci accordait aux villes de l'Empire possédant une monnaie propre le droit d'exiger que toutes les transactions se réglassent en deniers locaux. Il ordonna que les ateliers monétaires fissent marquer leurs produits d'une figuration caractéristique afin de permettre de les distinguer aisément les uns des autres.

Tout à la fin de sa vie Henri I signa encore cette ordonnance en qualité de témoin.

³³ A. de Witte, *Histoire monétaire du Brabant*, I (Anvers, 1894), pl. I, 10 et 11. ³⁴ *Apocalypse*, VI, 7.

³⁵ P. Fredericq, *Geschiedenis der inquisitie in de Nederlanden* (Gent, 1892), pp. 10 et 11.

³⁶ A. de Witte, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

A UNIQUE MEDAL OF THE SELJUK ṬUGHHRILBEG

JOHN WALKER

Bay Behzad Butak of Istanbul has very kindly allowed me to publish a new, and hitherto unknown, gold medal in his collection of the Great Seljuk ruler Ṭughrilbeg (A.D. 1038–1063). This remarkable piece (Fig. 1) has a diameter of 47 millimetres and weighs 23.74 grammes. It is a most interesting addition to our relatively scanty remains of the medallionic iconography of Islam.

The obverse shows the facing figure of the 'Abbāsīd Caliph of Baghdad al-Ḳā'im (A.D. 1031–1075) seated with legs crossed on a couch. In his right hand he holds a (wine) cup, while his left hand rests on his hip (or leg). The details, which are not absolutely clear, can be deduced from a comparison with the Ankara medallion illustrated in Figure 2. The Caliph is flanked right and left by an attendant. His head-dress has folds falling down on either shoulder. Between him and both attendants there would appear to be a symbol, no longer quite ascertainable, perhaps a star and/or a crescent. The outer Arabic marginal legend in Kufic script is contained between two circles, as follows, beginning top right, anti-clockwise:

لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم القائم بامر الله امير المؤمنين

"*There is no god except Allah, Muhammad is the Apostle of Allah. May Allah bless him and give him peace. (The Caliph) al-Ḳā'im bi-amrillāh, Commander of the Faithful.*" The figure depicted on the obverse is, therefore, obviously intended to represent the Caliph.

The reverse bears the facing figure of the Seljuk ruler, Tughrilbeg, seated cross-legged in the same attitude as the Caliph, but without attendants. It is not clear whether he likewise is holding a cup in his hand. On his head he wears a characteristic Turkoman felt head-dress. In the field, left and right of Tughrilbeg's head, are two symbols and the Arabic exclamation **بخ** repeated, i.e. "Bravo!" Right and left of the seated figure running vertically upwards are the Arabic words giving the date, which really belongs at the end of the marginal legend given below. This marginal legend beginning to right in Kufic script is contained like that on the obverse, between two circles, thus:

السلطان المعظم شاهانشاه ركن الدنيا والدين طغرلبك ضرب بمدينة السلام

"*The mighty Sultan, Shah of Shahs, The Support of the World and the Religion, Tughrilbeg, minted at Madīnat-al-Salām* (i.e. Baghdad). The legend in the field continues: سنة خمس وخمسين وأربع مائة
in the year 455 (= A.D. 1063).

Coins of Tughrilbeg are, of course, known,¹ but this is the first medal of this ruler to survive. It is interesting to note that the symbols in the reverse field  can be paralleled on his coins, namely,  which have been taken as representations of Tughrilbeg's bow and arrow. The same symbols also occur on coins of his two immediate successors, Alp Arslān and Malik Shāh, his nephew and grand-nephew, respectively. Perhaps they were some family armorial badge, or *tamgha*.²

Tughrilbeg was the first Sultan of the Great Seljuk dynasty. He was also the first Muslim ruler to put his title Sultan on his coins. In A.H. 447 (1055) he managed to enter Baghdad under pretence of acknowledging the 'Abbāsid Caliph al-Ḳā'im as his overlord and the orthodox (*Sunni*) leader of Islam. Tughrilbeg himself was a *Sunni*. The Caliph, surrounded on all sides by opposing and warlike factions, was only too pleased to sanction the visit of this powerful ally to his capital, and actually acknowledged him as Sultan in the public prayers. It was not long before Tughrilbeg took the opportunity of ousting his rival, the last Buwaihid prince, al-Malik al-Raḥīm, and of taking control of the city.

¹ Stanley Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum*, III, pp. 27-30; IX, p. 276; Ahmed Tevhid, *مسكوكات قديمة اسلامية قتلوغى*, IV, Constantinople, 1321 (1903), pp. 58-61; George C. Miles, *The Numismatic History of Rayy* (New York, 1938), pp. 194, 196-203.

² See H. Nützel, *Embleme und Wappen auf muhammedanischen Münzen in Festschrift zur Feier des fünfzigjährigen Bestehens der Numismatischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin*, 1893, p. 135.

During Tughrilbeg's absence in Persia on account of the revolt of his brother, al-Basāsīrī, a former military governor of Baghdad, in 450 (1058) led his Syrian levies into the metropolis and proclaimed as Caliph, in place of al-Ḳā'im, the Fāṭimid (schismatic) ruler of Egypt. However, in the following year Tughrilbeg drove out the usurper and reinstated the 'Abbāsīd Caliph. He even contrived, eventually, in 454 (1062) to secure the hand of the Caliph's daughter, but in 455 (1063) he died, aged 70, before the wedding celebrations had been completed. It is natural to suppose that the medal may have been struck for the purpose of commemorating the Great Seljuk's matrimonial alliance with the 'Abbāsīd royal house.

Tughrilbeg's titles as given on the medal can be paralleled on his coins, e.g. al-Sulṭān al-Mu'azzam Shāhānshāh occurs as early as 438 on his dinars of the mint of al-Raiy³ and 439 on his dinars of Naisābūr.⁴ We are told that al-Ḳā'im in 443 (1051) bestowed on him the laḳab of *al-Sulṭān Rukn al-Dawla*, but there is no certain numismatic vestige of the use of this designation. The nearest approach to this is the appearance of *Rukn al-Dīn* on coins of his minted at al-Ahwāz in 448, Iṣbahān in 448, al-Baṣra in 449, Naisābūr in 442 and 448, and at al-Raiy in 447,⁵ unless the questionable occurrence of *Rukn al-Dawla* on a dinar of al-Raiy dated 452⁶ be correct. Here on his medal the much fuller *laḳab* of *Rukn al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn* is found.

The obverse, especially, of Tughrilbeg's medal bears a striking resemblance to another unique, or at any rate rare,⁷ Islamic gold medal, also struck at Baghdad, but dated almost a century earlier, namely 365 (976) (Figure 2). This depicts the 'Abbāsīd Caliph al-Ṭā'i' (974–991) seated, with two attendants, after the fashion of his successor al-Ḳā'im on the present medal. The first precise publication of the medal of 365 was by Osman Ferit (Sağlam) in 1934.⁸ He was, apparently, unaware that the same, or a similar, medal had been mentioned and illustrated

³ Miles, *op. cit.*, no. 226, p. 198.

⁴ Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, III, no. 54, p. 28.

⁵ Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 29–30, and IX, p. 276; Ahmed Tevhid, *op. cit.*, p. 59; Miles, *op. cit.*, pp. 199f.

⁶ Miles, *op. cit.*, no. 233, p. 202.

⁷ A specimen found by Madame Godard in the Gulistan Palace, Teheran, was reported to the present writer in 1938 as being similar.

⁸ *Eşsiz bir Madalya in Türk Tarih, Arkeologya ve Etnografya Dergisi*, II, pp. 250–3. The offprint with French résumé is dated Istanbul, 1935, pp. 1–8. The medal is in the Ethnographical Museum, Ankara, of which the author of the article was then Director.



Fig. 1



Fig. 2

by Sir Thomas Arnold in his *Painting in Islam*,⁹ though Arnold had, unfortunately, attributed the medal to the Caliph al-Muṭī', the immediate predecessor of al-Ṭā'i'.¹⁰ The medal bears the name of al-Ṭā'i' and of the Amīr 'Izz al-Dawla, the

⁹ P. 126, Pl. LIX, a, from casts in the Department of Coins and Medals, British Museum. The reproductions are enlarged.

¹⁰ The same piece has again been reproduced with, however, the correct reading of the Arabic legends by the late Mehdi Bahrami in his article in *Archeologica Orientalia in Memoriam Ernst Herzfeld*, 1952, pp. 18f., Pl. I, fig. 3, a, b, although he, it would appear, did not know of the article by Sağlam.

Buwaihid ruler, whose daughter had been married to the Caliph in 365. It is natural to conclude that the medal had been issued to commemorate the royal wedding.

The details of the obverse of the 365 medal are much more discernible than those of the medal of Ṭughrilbeg, and they help considerably to clarify the type. The similarities in design and in the Kufic script are no doubt accountable for by the fact that they are both from the same mint, though ninety years separate them. However, there is one striking difference between the two; while 'Izz al-Dawla is mentioned by name on the same side as the Caliph, Ṭughrilbeg not only has the whole reverse to himself and his titles, but is clearly portrayed as well, unlike 'Izz al-Dawla.

The Ankara specimen has a diameter of 36 millimetres, and weighs 18.3 grammes. Neither medal seems by its weight, or its form, to have been intended as part of the national coinage, and it is reasonable to imagine that they were presentation pieces that were specially struck to commemorate the royal alliances.



The above had been completed in September 1956 when an off-print of an article in Turkish (*Abbasiler Devrine Aid Madalyalar*)¹¹ was sent to me by the author Bay Ibrahim Artuk. In this he anticipated my publication of the above medal of Ṭughrilbeg. As his reproduction, however, is far from satisfactory and his treatment of the medal varies in several details from the above, I have considered it worth while to leave my account as it stands and to add a few comments on his article.

Artuk regards the side with the portrait of Ṭughrilbeg as the obverse, and that with the Caliph as the reverse. This is surely incorrect since the legend on the latter contains the beginning of the Islamic *kalima*, or creed, as well as the name of Ṭughrilbeg's overlord the 'Abbāsid Caliph.

According to Artuk the Istanbul medal is 24 carat gold, has a diameter of 49 millimetres and weight of 23.8 grammes. These measurements are different from those given above. The latter were given me by the owner of the medal. The diameter, 47 millimetres, agrees with the photograph, here reproduced, which was sent me by Bay Butak. In Artuk's illustration the medal has been reduced.

¹¹ *Tarih Dergisi*, VIII (Istanbul, 1956), nos. 11-12, pp. 151-158.

COINS AND INDIAN HISTORY

R. B. WHITEHEAD

This outline is a revised version of the author's paper "The Place of Coins in Indian History", *Journal of the Panjab Historical Society*, 1913; it is not written for the specialist.

The earliest prose origins of history are the inscriptions. The epigraphical records of India which have come down to us do not, as far as they are known at present, pretend to the antiquity of the Greek inscriptions of the Hellenic world; much less to that of the records of Egypt and Assyria. But they are no less important, since we are dependent on them for most of our knowledge of the ancient history of the country. The primary reason for this is that the ancient Indians were not writers of historical books. We have the great epics, the Mahābhārata, and the Rāmāyana, and historical romances, but while these are full of interest, and certainly contain important matter, they give us no dates, and so no means, without extraneous help, of applying the information that is deducible from them. In some of the Purānas there are chapters which purport to present the succession of the Indian kings from the commencement of the present age, the Kāliyuga, in 3102 B.C., but there is no connected historical narrative, and it is difficult to arrange these reigns in any reasonable order so as to bring us into touch with known times. The fact is that in these works the historical matter is introduced incidentally, and is not handled with any particular care or fullness. The ancient Hindus, in short, have not bequeathed to us anything that can compare with the historical writings of their Greek and Roman contemporaries. It is in these circumstances, in the absence of any indigenous historical writings

of a plain, straightforward, and authentic nature, that the inscriptions of India are of such great value. They are supplemented by the numismatic remains.

Coins, viewed from a general standpoint, although they confirm history, rarely correct it, and never to a great extent. The earliest belong to a time and to nations as to which we are not otherwise wholly ignorant, and they do not afford us that precise information which would add important details to the meagre sketch of contemporary history. We gain from them scarcely any direct historical information, except that certain cities or princes issued money. When in later times the devices and inscriptions of the coins give more detailed information, history is far fuller and clearer, so that the numismatic evidence is rarely more than corroborative. The case of the Bactrian and Indian coins, which have supplied the outlines of a portion of history which was otherwise almost wholly lost, is a remarkable exception to this rule.

The Greek notices of India, commencing with the accounts of the Asiatic campaign of Alexander the Great, mention Sandrokottos (Chandragupta), the grandfather of Asoka, and by furnishing details which fix his initial date approximately at 321 B.C., give us the first means of making a start towards arranging the chronology of India on accurate lines. It was known that after the death of Alexander, Bactria became an independent principality under Greek sovereigns whose names could be gleaned from the fragmentary notices of classical authors. It had been ascertained from the same writers, and from Chinese authorities, that the Greek rule was overthrown by Scythian chiefs, whose sway extended to the mouths of the Indus; and from the Muhammadan historians we had learned that the Arab invaders of Sind encountered Hindu princes, who had therefore supplanted in those countries both the Greek kings and their nomad conquerors. These few leading facts were unaccompanied by details, and scantily occupied the long interval that separated the Muhammadan from the Macedonian invasion. Within the last century this deficiency has been remedied, and successful research has not only corroborated all that was before imperfectly known, but has peopled this empty region with persons and circumstances of historical truth and importance. The few personages whose names we knew, have been linked together by the discovery of many hitherto unnamed or unknown members of successive or synchronous dynasties, which now pass before our eyes in connected order. The means by which these additions to our knowledge of the past have been effected, are the numerous coins which have been found within the period above specified in Central Asia, Afghanistan, and the Panjab; it is now proposed to offer a summary review of their discovery.

These remarks scarcely apply to a class which unfortunately bears no historical data, but deserves mention as being the earliest Indian money. They are small, flat pieces of silver which occur abundantly in every province of India; in shape they are sometimes round, but are more often four-sided. (PLATE L, 1) They bear no inscription, and were neither struck nor cast, but were cut out of a thin sheet of metal, trimmed to approximately the same weight, and then stamped with small devices evidently made by punches, whence they are called punch-marked coins. As a rule one side is covered with these marks, which are symbols of various kinds, the meaning of which is uncertain, though many are easily recognizable. I may mention the human figure, the elephant, the rhinoceros, humped bull, and representations of the sun, a bow and arrow, a tree inside a railing, and such ancient devices as the *swastika*, and the taurus mark. The other side usually exhibits one punch mark only. As regards the dates of these coins, Quintus Curtius in his *Vita Alexandri* records that when Alexander reached Taxila, which was in the year 326 B.C., the chief of the country presented to him eighty talents of *signatum argentum* or coined money. A Buddhist legend states that a merchant named Anatha-pindada purchased the Jetavana or garden of Jeta at Sravasti, and the price was a layer of gold pieces sufficient to cover the surface of the garden. Now we have no very ancient gold coins of India, and it seems probable that gold was not struck in early times, being current as dust or in small ingots. But Sir Alexander Cunningham found two sculptures representing the purchase, at Bharhut and Mahabodhi, both dating back to about 150 B.C. In each of these, men are shown as covering the ground with small four-sided objects which give good reason for supposing that the coins represented were the punch-marked coins known to us. General Cunningham considers that they were certainly current in the time of Buddha, say in the fifth or sixth century B.C., and he would even put them back as far as 1000 B.C. It is, however, certain that in the Buddhist Sutras of the second century B.C., they are called *purāṇa* or old. The idea of immemorial antiquity has been abandoned, and in the modern view the earliest punch-marked coins may be placed in the fifth and sixth centuries B.C., while the very abundant issues with one mark on the reverse are the official currency of the Mauryan empire from the third century; this money may have been locally used in the North-west as late as the first and second centuries A.D.

I now come to the coins of the Greek invaders of India.

During the course of the eighteenth century the existence of Eukratides and Euthydemus, Bactrian monarchs mentioned by Greek writers, was confirmed by

the discovery of their tetradrachms. In 1822, a new king, Antimachos Theos, was added to the list, and a tetradrachm of Demetrios was discovered in the following year. At the same period the discovery of coins of Apollodotos and Menander marked an epoch in Indo-Greek numismatics, though the existence of these kings was otherwise known from classical testimony; it caused a considerable sensation on account of the interest of the coins, their extreme rarity, and their historical importance. They were bilingual, and on their reverse side bore legends in a language inscriptions in which existed on the pillars of Asoka, but had never been deciphered. Their attribute of rarity was soon to be changed, and the opening up of the Panjab and Afghanistan to European research was quickly followed by the discovery of considerable numbers of these Indo-Bactrian coins. Two officers of Maharajah Ranjit Singh, Generals Ventura and Court, took a prominent part in this work, but it was the American explorer Masson who was responsible for the remarkable discoveries in Afghanistan, the first account of which was published in the year 1834. He called himself an American but it has recently become known that he was actually a Londoner named James Lewis, see *NC*, 1943, p. 96; he had to change his nationality and name because he was a deserter from the army. He had resided for some time in Afghanistan, and was engaged in examining its ancient monuments, its topes and tumuli. In the course of these investigations some coins were obtained, but Mr. Masson's chief discoveries were made at a place named Beghram, an ancient site of great extent about thirty miles north-east of the modern city of Kabul. In addition to new coins of Greek princes already known, he found those of several whose names are not mentioned in history, as Antialkidas, Lysias, Agathokles, Archebios, Pantaleon, and Hermaios. He also found the coins of kings whose names, although assuming a Greek form, indisputably denote Indo-Scythic, Parthian, and barbaric princes – Azes, Azilises, Gondophares, Kadphises, and Kanishka, or Kanerkes as the name was first read. I shall have something further to say on the discovery of the coins of Gondophares.

It has already been remarked that Indo-Bactrian coins bear inscriptions in two scripts, one of which is Greek, and the other was unknown. It was not even known at first whether the characters should be read from left to right, or from right to left, but this preliminary difficulty was overcome, and the first transliterations were made independently by James Prinsep, and by Lassen, at about the same time. The script was called Bactrian Pali, but is now known as Kharoshthi; the language is North-west Prakrit. The *Ariana Antiqua* by Professor Wilson contains a contemporaneous account of these discoveries, and was pub-

lished under the authority of the East India Company in the year 1841. Since then many inscriptions written in the Kharoshthi character have been found, which are valuable sources of history, but it must not be forgotten that the key to their decipherment was furnished by the study of coins. The numismatic side of the work was continued by Sir Alexander Cunningham, and its results are contained in his *Coins of Alexander's Successors in the East*. The same ground is covered by von Sallet's *Die Nachfolger Alexanders des Großen in Bactrien und Indien*. Cunningham described the coins of some thirty Bactrian and Indo-Bactrian kings and queens bearing purely Greek names: not more than half a dozen of these are known apart from the numismatic testimony to their having lived and ruled.

The Indo-Bactrians were not direct successors of Alexander the Great. The Macedonian conqueror did not leave behind him any permanent settlement in India, but a Greek kingdom was firmly established in Syria under Seleukos and his successors, and it was from a province of this new kingdom that the second Greek invasion of India came, a century after Alexander's death. We learn from the brief statements of the historians Trogus, Justin, and Strabo, that Diodotos, the satrap of Bactriana, took advantage of the disturbances which followed the death of Antiochos Theos, to make himself independent. The date of his revolt was about 246 B.C. It is also known from history that Diodotos was succeeded by his son of the same name, who was supplanted by Euthydemos; and that Demetrios, the son of Euthydemos, was deposed by Eukratides, who was himself murdered and succeeded by his own son, of name unknown. It was Euthydemos who extended the Bactrian power into the Kabul valley, and so to India proper, and the Greek conquest continued during the early career of his son Demetrios. Even the inscriptions do not help with the history of the Indo-Bactrian princes, till the discovery at Besnagar in the Gwalior State, which relates that the pillar on which it is inscribed, was erected by Heliodoros, son of Dion, of Taxila, who came from the great king Antalkidas, the monarch whose name is familiar from his coins in the form Antialkidas, see *Cambridge History of India*, vol. I, p. 558. The name of Menander occurs on the Bajaur relic casket, see *NC*, 1944, p. 102. Both epigraphs are Indian, not Greek.

The coins of Diodotos and Euthydemos are purely Greek money of the Attic scale. To this system the Greek kings of Bactriana steadily adhered; but the Greek kings of India, from the very first, departed from the Attic system in the mass of their copper money, as shown by certain coins of Pantaleon and Agatho-

kles, which are of the same square shape, fabric and weight as some of the previously existing indigenous copper coins of Taxila. The copper money of Pantaleon's successors is as a rule square or rectangular, but it is an exception for the silver money to be square. I may mention the square drachms of Apollodotos and Philoxenos; no other square silver currency of the Indo-Bactrians is known. The bilingual silver money is on a reduced weight standard; the earliest hybrid currency consists of silver and square copper coins of Demetrios, possibly a Demetrios II. Eukratides struck coins of the purely Greek type, also of the bilingual varieties, in silver and copper, while both kinds are found in silver only of Heliokles and Antialkidas (PLATE L, 6). It was true to state that the succeeding kings coined only bilingual money till the great Qunduz hoard, first published by Dr. A. D. H. Bivar in Spink's *Numismatic Circular*, May 1954, revealed that half a dozen kings later than Antialkidas, including Hermaios, struck tetradrachms of Attic weight bearing Greek legends alone. Amyntas Nikator is represented by five splendid double decadrachms, worthy companions to the twenty stater gold piece of Eukratides. Gold coins till the time of Eukratides are extant though very scarce, but of the subsequent rulers there are just a few gold staters attributed to Menander.

We have nothing to guide us to the history of the successors of Eukratides except their coins. It is conjectured that his empire split up, that various sons succeeded to different governorships, and that the Indian province became separate from Bactria proper. Cunningham held that only one hundred and twenty years elapsed from the revolt of Diodotos to the Indo-Scythian conquest of Kabul, and we have to fit the reigns of some thirty-seven Greek kings and satraps into this short space of time. It follows that more than one of these rulers must have been reigning at the same time, and it is possible that the later ones occupied positions in the mountains of Swat and the modern Hazara, analogous with those of modern hill rajahs. Two of the Greek kings appear to have been of importance, Apollodotos and Menander. They are both mentioned by name in ancient history, but only in brief passages, and this view is supported by the abundance of the coins of these two rulers, and the great extent of country over which they are found.

The progressive degradation of the Greek design enables us roughly to classify these coins, and this conjectural succession of reigns can be checked by similarity of type and fabric. From a tetradrachm of Eukratides we know that his father and mother were called Heliokles and Laodike. Then coins are known presenting conjugate busts of Strato and Agathokleia, and of Hermaios and Kalliope. One

group of princes is distinguished by devotion to Herakles, who is found on the coins of Euthydemos and his son Demetrios, among the Bactrian kings, and on those of Lysias, Theophilos, and Zoilos amongst the Indian kings. The worship of Athene is characteristic of another group, and the figure of the goddess is found on the coins of Strato, Menander, Epander, Dionysios, and Apollodotes. Other rulers are partial to the use of the Indian types of the elephant and the humped bull, both of which are found together on coins of Heliokles and Apollodotes. The fact that we have drachms of Apollodotes bearing the elephant and humped bull, and that again other drachms are known of the Athene type with a bust of the king, exhibiting the same name with the title Philopater, has led to the creation of two kings – Apollodotos I, and his supposed son Apollodotos II. If such a differentiation were carried to its logical conclusion we could have three Eukratides, two Menanders, and doubles of some of the other kings could be created as well as Zoilos.

Since Cunningham wrote on Alexander's successors in the East, the coins of two new kings – Peukolaos, and Polyxenos – have been found; a silver coin of Polyxenos is in the Lahore Museum. No new name has come to light during the last sixty years.

In the matter of monograms we have progressed from the attitude of Cunningham who treated them as those of mint towns (this was the opinion of his age) to that of Dr. Tarn who sees no reason to suppose that they ever denote mints; the truth probably lies somewhere between the two views. Special mention may be made of the monogram of the important Kapisa copper coin of Eukratides, a piece discussed at some length by myself in *NC*, 1947 and 1950. An article on Indo-Bactrian coins by Mrs. Baldwin Brett appeared in *ANSMN*, 1948, in which she suggests that the monogram aforesaid may be a true mint mark resolved as MA, standing possibly for '(of) Alexandria, the Capital.' Mrs. Brett has reproduced the monogram from Cunningham's Plate IV, *NC*, 1869, but this hand drawn version is far from accurate. The actual monogram, as demonstrated by an enlarged photo of an excellent specimen in the British Museum, is identical with that of the silver Hermaios coin, *Panjab Museum Catalogue*, Pl. IX, 649, till now found on the money of no other king, and entirely belonging in form and cursive style to Hermaios' period, thus providing a formal verification that Hermaios himself struck at Kapisa (PLATE L, 8, 9). Other inferences may be drawn such as a comparatively early dating for Hermaios, or a date so late for Eukratidas that the coin, if not posthumous, may be an issue of a second or third Eukratides.

The abundant coinage of Hermaios testifies to an extensive realm and a long reign. There is the striking silver issue of Hermaios and Queen Kalliope, while abundant copper money bears two names, that of Hermaios in the Greek legend, and of Kujula Kadphises, chief of the Kushans, on the Kharoshthi side. It is not denied that Kujula Kadphises, Kadphises I, was the Kushan leader who conquered the former realm of Hermaios, but the old belief that these coins were a joint issue has been abandoned, for it is recognised that a considerable interval of time separated the two kings¹. Dr. Tarn remarks that nothing else has taken its place, but suggests that the pieces concerned may be pedigree coins. Subsequently the name of Hermaios disappears from these coins, its place being taken by that of Kujula Kadphises in the Greek legend without any further alteration of the type. We not only find the name of the conqueror, but that of his tribe is given to us, the Kushans. These nomad hordes from the steppes of Central Asia who have successively appeared as conquerors in the border provinces of Persia and India, are the following, in the order of their arrival: the Sakas; the Pahlavas (Indo-Parthians); the Kushans, or Great Yue-Chi of the Chinese; the Later Kushans, or Little Yue-Chi; and the Ephthalites or White Huns. Their story covers the first six centuries of the Christian era. The ultimate impelling force of these successive waves of invasion from Central Asia was the gradual desiccation of the interior steppes and plateaux. The fall of the Greek princes of India is one incident in the history of that well nigh irresistible migration of entire nations in arms, which after troubling India, overran Europe, and under the leadership of Attila all but overthrew European civilization. India was again visited by this scourge in the times of Chingiz Khan, and of Taimur; the Mongol invasion of Babur was followed by the establishment of the Mongol or Mughal empire of Hindustan.

There is no direct historical evidence that the Sakas ever occupied the Panjab, but the three great kings, Maues (Moa), Azes, and Azilises, whose coins are found on both sides of the Indus, are accepted as Saka Scythians; their very extensive silver and copper coinage includes one solitary specimen in gold. The coins prove that Azes must have employed in his administration Indian administrators such as the general Aspa Varma, son of Indra Varma. This soldier also served under the greatest of Azes' successors, Gondophares, who may be regarded as the founder of a separate Pahlava or Indo-Parthian dynasty in succession to that of Maues, Azes, and Azilises; Abdagases was his nephew, and other members of

¹ See Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India* (Cambridge, 1938), p. 338, and below.

the line were Orthagnes and Pakores. The coins of Gondophares and Abdagases are united by a symbol which may be called the Gondopharian symbol. The currency of the former ruler is found in great abundance and over a wide stretch of country. His name occurs in a very interesting Christian tradition connected with the Apostle Thomas. *The Acts of Thomas* contain certain statements which discoveries made in recent years have enabled us to test in the light of actual history. The narrative tells us that the Apostle Thomas, much against his will and inclination, had to undertake the work of preaching the Gospel to the Indians; and that to induce him to obey the mandate he had received, our Lord appeared to him in person, and sold him to Habban, a minister of King Gondophares of the Indians, who had been sent to Syria in search of a competent builder, able to undertake the construction of a palace for his sovereign. Thomas in his company left by sea for India, which was reached after a rapid passage. Both proceeded to the Court, where Thomas was presented to the king, and undertook the erection of the building (see A. E. Medlycott, *India and the Apostle Thomas*). It is stated that Thomas made many converts, and ultimately met a martyr's death. The name of King Gondophares occurs in various texts and versions of these Apocryphal *Acts of Thomas* as Gudnaphar, Gundaforus, and Gundoforus. It is a remarkable fact that after the lapse of so many centuries the actual existence of this king has been proved by the discovery of his coins in India. The first specimen was found by Masson in Afghanistan about the year 1834, and since then many have come to light (PLATE L, 10). Their find spots show that this ruler must have held Kabul, Qandahar, Sistan, and the Panjab. His reign probably lasted thirty or forty years till the middle of the first century A.D. The name of Gondophares, or Gudaphara as it is written in the Kharoshthi characters, occurs in an inscription on the well-known Takht-i-Bahi stone, now in the Lahore Museum. There are also the satraps Zeionises, son of Manigul, and Kharahostes, son of Arta. Then we have an anonymous ruler who is known on his coins only by his titles of the King of Kings, the Great Saviour. His currency is found in copper only, and is common all over the Panjab, as well as in Qandahar, and in the Kabul valley; there are several types, but only two known coins so far give a hint of any name. All of them bear a three-pronged symbol, which was apparently the peculiar device of this prince, but like Kushan money, there is a total absence of monograms. Certain pieces have the single Kharoshthi character *Vi* or *Ti*, in the field: Cunningham conjectured that this might possibly be the initial of the king's name.

The state of things in the Panjab on the eve of the break-up of the Greek power may be paralleled with that which obtained in the same country at the fall of the Mughal Empire when minor chiefs made themselves independent, or nearly so, all over the country: Musulman chiefs in Multan and Mamdot, Sikh chiefs in Gujranwala, Kapurthala, Patiala, Nabha, and Kaithal, and an Englishman, George Thomas, in Hansi.

After Kujula Kadphises, the work of conquest was continued by the second Kadphises, styled Vima Kadphises on his coins, who certainly reigned in the North-west Panjab, as proved by the find spots. Of Kujula Kadphises and Vima Kadphises the only remains are their coins, and the brief notices of the Chinese annalists, but of their successors Kanishka, Huvishka, and Vasu Deva, we possess many inscriptions, several of which are dated, the dates ranging from the year 7 to the year 98 of some era. An inscription discovered at Mathura confirms the existence of a king Vasishka between Kanishka and Huvishka, but his coins have not been found. The period covered by the reign of these three monarchs and of Vasu Deva probably exceeds a century and a half, and the Kushan sway at its height must have extended from Bengal to Kabul. It was in connection with the Buddhist faith that the memory of Kanishka was preserved by tradition. The figure of Buddha appears on one known gold coin, and on a few of his copper pieces. The coins of Kanishka, Huvishka and Vasu Deva bearing many deities are extremely common in copper, and are often found in gold, but the existence of a silver currency is problematical.

We have now reached the end of the period covered by the *British Museum Catalogue of the Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India*. Two recent outstanding works are Sir William Tarn's *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, and Sir John Marshall's *Taxila*, vols. I–III, Cambridge University Press, 1951. There is a discussion of the first in *NC*, 1940, pp. 89f; in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1941, pp. 61f. and in the *Royal Central Asian Journal*, April, 1953, pp. 181f.² Dr. Tarn writes that the coins of course are all-important, and that one cannot overpraise the work done on them by generations of numismatists; it seems to him one of the wonders of scholarship. This is a generous tribute from a distinguished Greek historian to the giants of the past. His brilliant work reconstructs in their highest terms the achievements of the Greeks in India, a result largely due to extensive generalisation based on slender premises.

² A comprehensive work has just appeared from the Oxford University Press: A. K. Narain, *The Indo-Greeks*, (Oxford, 1957).

Herein lies the difference between the historian and the numismatist; we plodding numismatists patiently sap and mine, while he can soar aloft on the wings of historical imagination.

After Vasu Deva we have no recorded names, but there are numerous gold coins of similar types to those of Vasu Deva, of increasingly degraded style which can only be referred to the Kushan kings who followed him. The earlier specimens may date from A.D. 200 to 400, and the later ones from A.D. 400 to 600 or 700. The kingdom of the Little Yue-Chi, or Lesser Kushans, was established by Kidara, who conquered Gandhara, or the region of Peshawar, at some period in the latter half of the fourth century A.D. The name of Kidara is found upon a great number of coins in gold and copper, which are attributed to this king and his successors.

But by this time another race, the White Huns, was knocking at the gates of India. The Ephthalites, or White Huns, make their first appearance in history early in the fifth century, and the earliest western notice of this people mentions them as one of the barbarous races of Scythia. From their occupation of the countries on the Oxus and the Indus, the White Huns soon came into conflict with the Persians on the west and the Indians on the east, and our knowledge of their history is chiefly due to their wars with their neighbours. By the end of the fifth century they had established themselves at Peshawar, and from this time the supreme power fell into the hands of the Ephthalites. On its way towards India the White Hun horde came into conflict with, and defeated the Sassanian kings of Persia. Its chief in India was Toramana, who was succeeded in his Indian dominions about A.D. 510 by his son Mihiragula or Mihirkul. The White Huns issued no coinage with types of their own, being content with barbarous imitations of the money of the countries which they overran. Their silver coins are based on those of the fire-worshipping Sassanians, and are large, thin pieces with a formidable bust on one side, and the conventional fire altar with its guardians on the reverse (PLATE L, 14). They are distinguished by a peculiar mark, which Cunningham named the Ephthalite symbol. The Ephthalites were finally defeated by a coalition of Sassanians and Turks about the year A.D. 546. 'Thus,' says Gibbon, 'ended the empire of the Ephthalites, or White Huns, a polite and warlike people, who had vanquished the Persian monarch, and carried their victorious arms along the banks, and perhaps to the mouth, of the Indus.'

I have so far followed the numismatic history of these foreign dynasties, and must now go back and deal briefly with the purely Indian currencies. Following

the punch-marked series, we have different sets of coins which are for the most part found in or near definite places. Thus in the Panjab there are the coins of Taxila, and those bearing the names of various tribes such as the Odumbaras, Kunindas, and Yaudheyas (PLATE L, 2, 3). The Odumbaras inhabited the country round Nurpur in the Kangra district, and their coins are often found at Pathankot, one of the most ancient places in the Panjab. The Kunindas, probably ancestors of the present Kanets, lived between Ambala and Saharanpur, and their coins give us the name of Rajah Amoghabhuti, a contemporary of the Sakas (PLATE L, 4). Coins of the Yaudheyas are common at Delhi (PLATE L, 5). In the Uttar Pradesh (United Provinces) we have coins found in Bandelkhand ascribed to Kosambhi, the coins of Panchala, of Mathura, of Ajodhya, and in Rajputana are the coins of Eran and Ujain, and in Southern India those of the Andhras. Some of these places and peoples are mentioned by the Greek historians, and in ancient Indian books, but their dates are still controversial and need not be referred to further than to state that the coins probably cover the period from about 300 B.C., in the case of the early Taxila coins, to about A.D. 300 in that of the Yandheya money.

In the Gangetic plain there arose in the fourth century A.D. the famous Gupta empire, whose gold coins were first modelled on the Kushan staters, but soon display a true national style of great artistic merit; these are fully described in Dr. A. S. Altekar's admirable work: "The Gold Coins in the Bayana Hoard", *The Numismatic Society of India*, 1954. The most powerful monarch of the Gupta line, Chandragupta II, may have been the origin of the Vikramaditya, or Bikram of Indian tradition (PLATE L, 13).

After the extinction of the White Hun power in the middle of the sixth century, it seems likely that the Lesser Kushans again possessed the Panjab for about three hundred years as we find more and more debased types of coinage which are illegible, but are still to be recognized as descended from those of the Great Kushans, and of the Sassanians. I may instance the ubiquitous Gadhiya *paisa*. In the ninth century A.D., however, we again get coins bearing distinct names, the well-known silver 'bull and horseman' currency of the dynasty called the Hindu kings of Ohind. The coins show a sitting bull on one side, and on the other a fully caparisoned warrior mounted on his charger; the name of the king is in Nagari characters over the bull. The coinage of Samanta Deva is common in the Panjab (PLATE L, 12). This type continued till the conquest by the Ghaznivis early in the eleventh century. There are also the coins of the Maharajahs of Kashmir, very

debased imitations of the old Kushan coins, and these occupy the period from the sixth to the fourteenth century.

For Uttar Pradesh (United Provinces) and Central India from the seventh to the ninth century, we have debased imitations of Sassanian coins with no inscriptions, some of copper and some of silver; but there is one type with a representation of the boar or Varaha incarnation of Vishnu, and the title Srimad Adi Varaha, which we know was borne by Bhoja Deva, king of Kanauj, in A.D. 850-900 (PLATE L, 7). From the tenth century we have silver and copper coins of the bull and horseman type which were struck by the Rajputs of Delhi, Ajmer, and Kanauj, and from a century later the gold and copper coins of the Chedis in Central India. The Chandels of Mahoba in the Hamirpur district of Uttar Pradesh, also used the same type from about A.D. 1060 till nearly A.D. 1250. In Western and Southern India are the mediaeval coins of the kingdoms of Vijayanagar and Mysore (PLATE L, 11).

We have now reached the commencement of Muhammadan rule in India, and with it the end of a period in which coins have actually created so much history. The name of Mahmud of Ghazni is well known throughout the Panjab, as is that of his father Sabuktigin. The latter was the first Musulman invader of the Panjab from the North-west. Mahmud, however, ravaged Northern India from Kanauj to Gujerat, and made some twelve raids into the unhappy country. He sacked Lahore in the year A.D. 1021, and, calling it Mahmudpur after his own name, struck coin there. But the first ruler of the Ghazni dynasty to make a permanent home in India was Muizzu-d-din Muhammad bin Sam, otherwise known as Muhammad Ghori. Prithvi Rajah, the last member of the mediaeval Rajput dynasties of Delhi and Ajmer, fell before him. Muhammad bin Sam was the founder of the first Muslim Delhi dynasty in A.D. 1193, and was succeeded by a long line of Sultans belonging to five more distinct dynasties, in whose hands Delhi remained in spite of many vicissitudes. Their dominion was all but extinguished by Taimur, who invaded India in the year A.D. 1398, but was rehabilitated under the vigorous rule of Bahlol Lodi. Ibrahim Lodi, the last and most unworthy of this new line, lost his kingdom to a fresh invader, the Mughal Babur, on the field of Panipat in A.D. 1526. There was a brief recrudescence of the Sultanate when the able Suri chief, Sher Shah, defeated Humayun, and drove him out of India; but his successors could not maintain their position, and Humayun was able to return and regain his power. Finally the Mughal dominion was consolidated and extended during the long reign of Humayun's son Akbar, a contemporary of Queen Eliza-

beth, and reached its height in the times of Akbar's successors, Jahangir and Shah Jahan. The decline commenced in the reign of Shah Jahan's son Aurangzeb, and terminated in the deposition and exile of Bahadur Shah II in A.D. 1858.

The coins of the Delhi Sultans are found in gold, silver, copper, and billon (a mixture of silver and copper), of many types (PLATE L, 15). By the middle of the fourteenth century independent Muhammadan kings were striking money in Kashmir, in Bengal, and in the Dakhan, and fifty years later we have similar dynasties in Gujerat, Malwa, and Jaunpur. With the rise of the Mughal power, these independent kingdoms were gradually absorbed into the new empire.

Akbar, the Great Mughal, had a fine currency in all three metals struck at a large number of mints. His new religion, the Din Ilahi or Divine Faith, was promulgated in 1582 A.D., the 26th year of his reign, and the solar Ilahi Era was founded in the 29th year; Akbar had assumed spiritual as well as temporal authority over his subjects. The Ilahi money exhibits the new and somewhat ambiguous creed *Allahu Akbar jalla jalaluhu*, 'God is most great, let His glory be glorified,' derived from the emperor's name Jalalu-d-din Akbar (PLATE L, 16). His successor Jahangir abandoned both Religion and Era, but continued the use of the solar year and months.

The best Mughal money is that of Jahangir, some of whose coins are of great artistic merit. His are the well-known zodiacal mohurs and rupees, and he showed a fine disregard for the Quranic tradition by having mohurs struck which bore his portrait, and on some of these he is actually shown in the act of drinking out of a wine cup (PLATE L, 17, 18). With the accession of the orthodox Aurangzeb, a standard type of coin was adopted which endured somewhat monotonously till the end of the Mughal dynasty. Both the last invaders of India from the North-west, Nadir Shah, and Ahmad Shah Durrani, struck money of this type at Delhi, or Shahjahanabad, as the modern city was always called on the coins after the time of Shah Jahan. The Ratan Narain Collection in the Museum of the American Numismatic Society contains many notable coins of the Delhi Sultans and the Mughal Emperors; outstanding pieces are described by Mr. H. Nelson Wright in the work mentioned later, and by myself in *NC*, 1923, 1926 and 1930; see also my paper "Three Coin Collections," *Numismatic Supplement*, no. XLVII, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1938.

Muhammadan coins are invariably dated, and as a rule bear the name of the place where they were struck. The rise and decline of the Mughal Empire is faithfully reflected in the coins, whose mints not only show us the places over

which each emperor ruled, but also the period during which the Mughal dominion endured in each locality. So in spite of the fact that as a rule they give us nothing but inscriptions, Muhammadan coins are most useful to history, and in many ways their testimony is indispensable to the historical student. In the *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Dehli*³, Edward Thomas writes, "The history of Muhammadan nations is especially open to illustration and rectification from numismatic sources. Deficient as all mintages imitating the early Kufic models of the Khalifs may be in artistic effect or variety of device, they compensate for these imperfections, on the other part, in devoting their entire surfaces to legends which, among other occasionally significant indications, recorded at length the style and titles of the monarch, the date of coinage, and the name of the mint; thus affording direct evidence to three distinct facts – the existence of the sovereign as such, the epoch at which he reigned, and the country over which he was king. The value of this species of illustration, as applied to the mediaeval Indian annals now under review, is greatly enhanced by the exaggerated importance attached by the Muslims themselves to that department of the conventional regal functions involved in the right to coin. Among these peoples the recitation of the public prayer in the name of the aspirant to the throne, associated with the issue of money bearing his superscription, was unhesitatingly received as the overt act of accession."

The Agenda of the Annual Meeting of the Numismatic Society of India for 1915 draws attention to the desirability of the study and elucidation of those passages of indigenous chronicles which relate to numismatics in general; the Secretary suggested that this task might best be accomplished by a team of scholars. The Resolution soon bore abundant fruit owing to the single handed efforts of the great Parsee scholar Professor Shahpurshah Hormasji Hodivala; one cannot over-praise his erudition and judgement, his immense and unremitting industry, and his command of the English language. His first essays appeared in *Numismatic Supplement*, no. XXVII, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1916, and were quickly followed in succeeding *Supplements* by a series of important and interesting papers dealing in the widest sense with the monetary system of the Mughal Emperors. This work culminated in "Historical Studies in Mughal Numismatics", *The Numismatic Society of India*, Calcutta, 1923. An appreciation of this work by Dr. John Allan in *NC*, 1926, contains these words: 'In him (S. H. Hodivala), the historian and numismatist are combined in a unique fashion,

³ London, 1871.

and the result is a volume which, to those who do not know Professor Hodivala's energy, might seem to be the work of a syndicate. It is indispensable alike to the student of economics and to the historian of India in the Mughal period.'

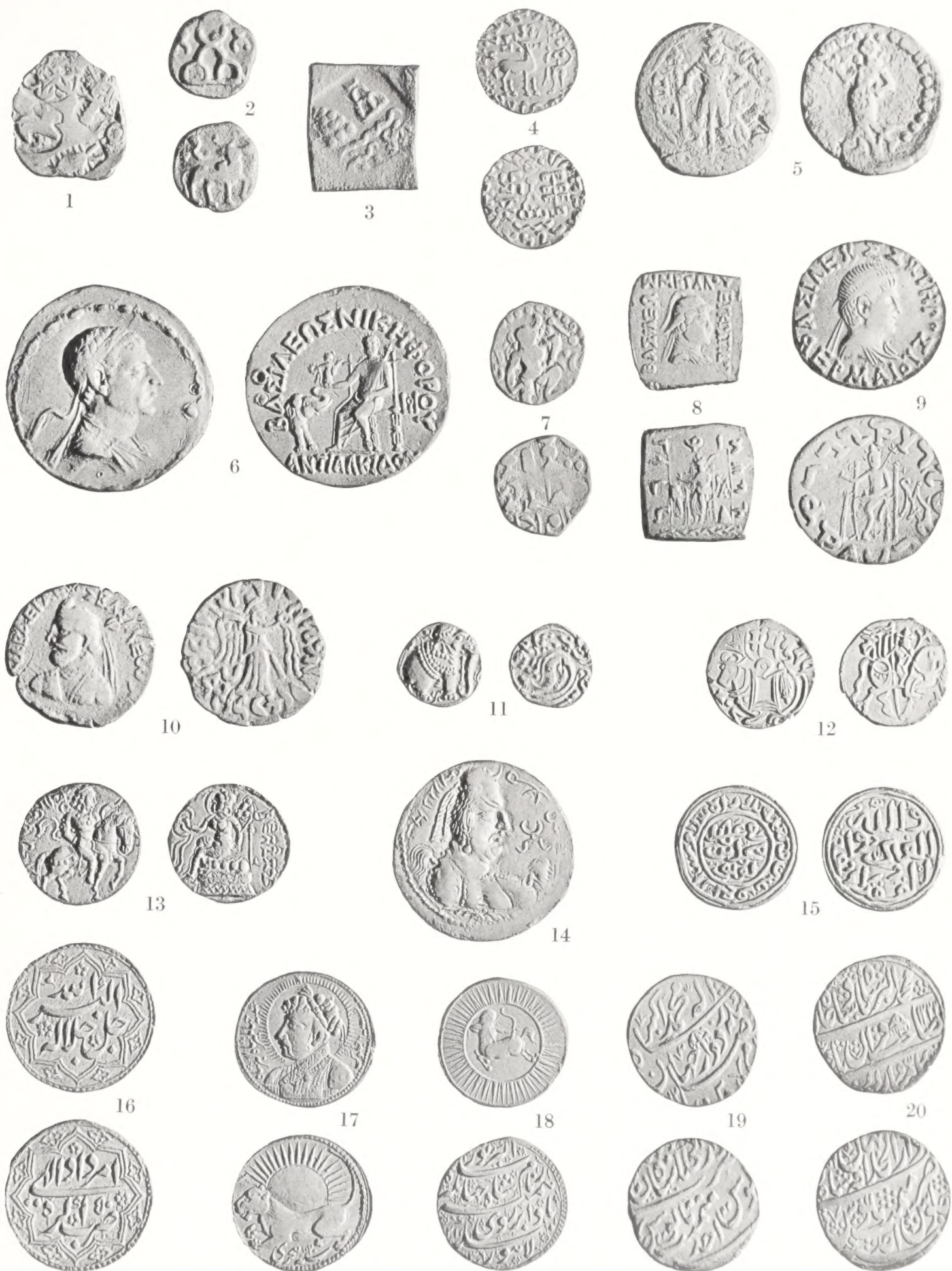
It was the rule for claimants and pretenders to the throne to assume royal honours by striking coin, and in some cases this is the sole evidence left to us. The name of Shamsu-d-din Mahmud, pretender during the Delhi Sultanate period, is only known from three or four coins, see Mr. H. Nelson Wright's *The Coinage and Metrology of the Sultans of Delhi* (Delhi, 1936), p. 109.

I conclude with a striking example of the recovery of history by the discovery of a coin. We are concerned with a lurid episode in the decay of the Mughal Empire. It was the year 1202-03 A.H., 1788 A.D.; Shah Alam II had been on the throne for nearly thirty years but was merely a figure-head under the control of the latest upstart power. Delhi was seized by the 'unspeakable Rohilla', Ghulam Qadir Khan, Shah Alam was deposed and blinded, and a young prince made king named Bedar Bakht; Ghulam Qadir's occupation of the capital lasted ten weeks and was a large-scale dacoity of a prolonged and horrid nature. By the end of 1788 he was taken prisoner and put to death, and Shah Alam was restored. Coins are known of Bedar Bakht, but I had found a copper coin which made me conjecture whether Ghulam Qadir, the execrable king-maker, raised another prince to the Mughal throne after the puppet Bedar Bakht, who might or might not be identical with the Akbar Shah who succeeded his father Shah Alam as Akbar II. I put the matter to S. H. Hodivala with the result that the addition of another claimant to the dynastic list was announced in a joint communication by Mr. Hodivala and myself, which appeared in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for the year 1922. A full account is contained in my paper "Akbar II as Pretender: A Study in Anarchy", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1929. The new coins of Akbar as claimant are rupees struck at Shahjahanabad (Delhi) and Saharanpur, and copper pieces of Shahjahanabad, Saharanpur, and Ahmadabad mints.

Key to Plate

Note the following abbreviations: FMC = Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. *IMC* = *Indian Museum Catalogue*. *PMC* = *Panjab Museum Catalogue*.

1. ₤. Punch marked coin. FMC.
2. ₤. Taxila. FMC.
3. ₤. Taxila. FMC.
4. ₤. Amoghabhuti. *BMC, Ancient India*, 1936, Pl. XXII, 3. FMC.
5. ₤. Yaudheya. *Op. cit.* Pl. XL, 1. FMC.
6. ₤. Attic tetradrachm of Antialkidas. *BMC, Greek and Scythic Kings*, 1886, Pl. VII, 9. B. M.
7. ₤. Bhoja Deva. *IMC*, Vol. I, Pl. XXV, 18. FMC.
8. ₤. Eukratides, city goddess of Kapisa type. *BMC, Greek and Scythic Kings*, Pl. VI, 8. B. M.
9. ₤. Tetradrachm of Hermaios, same monogram as 8. *PMC*, Vol. I, Pl. IX, 649. B. M.
10. ₤. Gondophares. *PMC*, Vol. I, Pl. XV, 59. FMC.
11. A. Elephant pagoda; mediaeval South India. *IMC*, Vol. I, Pl. XXX, 18. FMC.
12. ₤. Samanta Deva. *Op. cit.*, Pl. XXVI, 3. FMC.
13. A. Chandragupta II; horseman type. *BMC, Gupta Dynasties*, 1914, Pl. X. B. M.
14. ₤. Ephthalite. B. M.
15. ₤. Muhammad bin Tughluq; 734 A.H.; Darul Islam (Delhi) mint. FMC.
16. ₤. Akbar; *ilahi* month Amardad and year 50; Agrah mint. B. M.
17. A. Portrait medal of Jahangir; 1020 A. H.; regnal year 6. *NC*, 1929, Pl. I, 2. B. M.
18. A. Zodiacal mohur of Jahangir; 1036 A. H.; regnal year 21; Lahore mint. *NC*, 1931, Pl. X, 8. B. M.
19. ₤. Rupee of Akbar, son of Shah Alam II, as pretender; 1202 A. H.; first regnal year; mint Shahjahanabad (Delhi). *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1929, Pl. VI, 1. B. M.
20. ₤. Rupee of Akbar as the emperor Akbar II; 1222 A. H.; first regnal year; mint Shahjahanabad (Delhi). *PMC*, Vol. II, Pl. XX, 3250. B. M.



INDIAN COINS

